

Workers' Power

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The War: Is It Over?

In the last nine months, the United States government's war aims in Vietnam have shifted from the desperate hope of pulling victory out of defeat, to the more modest hope of limiting the extent of defeat. At the same time, the government hopes to keep the defeat localized in Vietnam, and is escalating the indirect war in Cambodia.

A military stalemate has prevailed in Vietnam roughly since 1968. Despite the massive US troop buildup beginning in 1965, the US was never able to gain the military initiative. The North Vietnamese/National Liberation Front forces were able to make a massive political impact with their Tet offensive in 1968; but this was only won through an all-out military effort, and the pro-Communist forces were able neither to hold the areas captured, nor to follow up with further major gains. Tet demonstrated the massive support the NLF possessed from the Vietnamese people — but the NLF has never been able to gain a decisive military edge.

The US cannot win, but the NLF cannot, by itself, expel the US either.

Nixon's strategy of Vietnamization, announced in late 1969, meant a shift in the forms and focus of the war, but not a genuine de-escalation. By reducing US ground involvement, Nixon hoped to quiet the anti-war movement and gain room for maneuver — to facilitate continuation of the stalemate until some way out could be found.

The invasions of Cambodia and Laos were attempts at such a way out by tipping the balance toward the US. Nixon

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EDITORIAL

When Thieves Fall Out

In a sudden move that caught the United States by surprise, the General Assembly of the United Nations voted on October 25 not only to bring the government of China into the UN, but also to expel the Chiang Kai-shek regime which has ruled Taiwan for 22 years claiming to represent China. The US had fought for a proposal to seat both governments.

Interesting reactions came from various quarters. President Nixon threw a temper tantrum over the reaction of many UN delegates to the vote. Through his press secretary, Nixon noted that:

"This shocking demonstration and the undisguised glee shown by some of the delegates, following the defeat of the US motion, could have a detrimental effect on support of the United Nations in this country. This undistinguished

action on the part of some delegates is not worthy of an international forum..."

The obscene spectacle of an American President denouncing a breakdown of diplomatic etiquette, while American planes drop millions of tons of explosives in Indo-China and American arms crush popular movements in every part of the world, symbolizes to perfection what the UN is all about.

The United Nations was created after World War II by the victorious imperialist powers — the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union — as part of their agreement for the postwar division of the world. So long as they remained in agreement on basics, the UN could provide a "representative" facade for the continued domination of the US in Latin America and China, Britain in the

Middle East, Asia, and Africa, and the Soviet Union in its occupied territories in Europe.

Even within the short-lived imperialist consensus, maneuvering began. Roosevelt insisted that Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist regime (then in control of mainland China, but already facing a civil war with Communist forces) be placed on the Security Council — although China was not regarded by anyone as a "great power" — in order to counter the influence of Russia, Britain, and France. Similarly, Stalin demanded three votes in the General Assembly through giving seats to Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine, actually parts of the USSR but supposedly self-governing.

What cracked open the whole cozy
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Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nor can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans; the liberation of women from subordination in society and the home; the organization of homosexuals to fight their oppression. These struggles are in the interest of the working class as a whole: the bars of racism and male chauvinism can only prevent the establishment of workers' power. Oppressed groups cannot subordinate their struggle today to the present level of consciousness of white male workers: their independent organization is necessary to their fight for liberation. But, we strive to unite these struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

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

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

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

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

Forum

THE PUERTO RICAN MOVEMENT AND REPRESSION

Carlos Feliciano
William Kunstler

Tuesday, November 9
8 PM — Loeb's Lobby
New York University

Co-sponsors: International Socialists,
New University Conference, Lucha.



Carlos Feliciano



How To Win The War

Richard Lyons

He sat in his small cubicle in the Pentagon, tinkering, planning and reading and reading how to win the war. There came at last Sand Creek. There came to him Wounded Knee. There was Joseph fleeing north, the whole moving menagerie running, running, and dying. How did the Army win it then? What, he wondered, was the key move?

Later, reading *Heart of Darkness* for escape, he came surprised upon the answer from a strange man. "Exterminate the brutes," said Kurtz. "Of course," he said.

He sat in his abstract bunker in Virginia, winning and winning all the old wars again and again.

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The War: Is It Over?

Chris Winslow



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invaded Cambodia in search of a swift and showy victory that would demoralize the enemy and galvanize support for the war at home. He hoped that an audacious and dramatic escalation of the war into Cambodia would tip the balance in South Vietnam in favor of the US.

When this failed, and the Cambodian situation itself deteriorated, Nixon tried the same approach in Laos — now trying to break the stalemate in both South Vietnam and Cambodia. But the Laos invasion was an even bigger disaster than Cambodia. The US troops in Cambodia were merely frustrated; the South Vietnamese troops sent into Laos were decisively defeated.

Whether or not the invasion made some minor dents in immediate North Vietnamese capabilities, the basic fact was that the South Vietnamese proved totally unable to stand up to the North Vietnamese, even with massive American air support and logistical aid. Yet their being able to do so was the basic premise of "Vietnamization."

Though nothing was said publicly, we believe that Nixon faced this fact and drew the bitter conclusion that he could never salvage a victory in Vietnam. Since February, the US has been sounding out North Vietnam in private about a settlement, and is probably willing to accept the formation of a coalition government.

Stabilization

This decisive choice has been made in the context of Nixon's attempted settlement with China. The underlying reality is that as the Vietnam war draws to an inevitable end, the US and China are emerging as Asia's major status quo powers — each afraid of the traditional Asian powers (Russia and Japan), each interested not in upsetting the status quo but in stabilizing it as a balanced system of alliances.

This stabilization requires a settlement in Vietnam just as much as failure in Vietnam forces Nixon to seek accommodation with China — the two go together.

In this situation, the rabid President Thieu has become an embarrassment to the US — one the US cannot do without, but an impediment to the settlement. The settlement will be arranged over Thieu's head, and probably over the heads of the South Vietnamese PRG. In part, it will be arranged in China.

Although officially Nixon's talks in China will be limited to issues between the US and China, neither side will lose the opportunity to "exchange views" privately about Vietnam. Neither Nixon nor Chou En-lai can afford to be seen making a deal on Vietnam — but neither

can afford not to try to make one.

In the context of Southeast Asia as a whole, Nixon's shift in Vietnam is only an imperialist retreat, not an abandonment of the aim of domination. Not only does Nixon hope for the best conditions in South Vietnam (see below) but in addition, US involvement in neighboring countries, particularly Cambodia, is increasing.

In recent months, combat has increased on the Cambodia-South Vietnam border; there is extensive US bombing in Cambodia. US plans call for increasing the Cambodian army from its present strength of 180,000 troops to 256,000 by mid-1973, and to more than 300,000 by 1977.

The US will help build up mechanized and artillery brigades, while the US Agency for International Development (supposedly a peaceful foreign aid agency) will provide funds to train police and other auxiliary armed forces. The CIA will provide air transport.

These were the recommendations made by the Joint Chiefs of Staff in a request in mid-October to double US spending in Cambodia to \$500 million a year over the next five years. Whether these specific recommendations are accepted or not, involvement is already increasing — the operations of the 50-man US "Military Equipment Delivery Team" attached to the US Embassy in Phnom Penh (actually a military training and advisory unit) are growing.

The war situation is already ruining

the Cambodian economy, as the destruction of crops and transportation forces Cambodia to import rice and as the printing of paper money to finance the expansion of the army causes a sharp inflation.

The Cambodian operations — and less ambitious efforts in Laos, through the US puppet government there — are attempts to make sure these countries do not fall to the pro-Communist forces, either as a prelude to a pro-Communist victory in South Vietnam or as a consequence of one. Keeping pro-US governments in power in these two countries is not just a way of minimizing the effects of the defeat in South Vietnam, but also a way of influencing the balance of forces and therefore gaining better terms in the settlement in South Vietnam.

Because these operations are also unlikely to tip the balance decisively in either direction, the next step will take place in Paris. Though the US now may be willing to accept a coalition government, and this is what North Vietnam wants too, nothing could be further from the minds of either side than a stable compromise. Each will maneuver to gain an advantageous position — the US to keep some measure of control, the NLF-PRG to gain a position from which, after a respectable interval, it can create an outright Communist state.

The major chess pieces will be, on the one hand, control of the army and

police, as well as the question of whether the NLF troops retain their weapons; on the other hand, the steadily disintegrating authority of the Thieu government, which deprives the US of some maneuverability.

If the NLF-PRG is unable, in the negotiations, to win a coalition through which it can maneuver at the top to gain complete control, its only alternative will be to continue fighting after the US combat troops are gone. Given the probable continuation of US air support, plus a possible permanent US occupation force, victory might not come quickly.

The North Vietnamese-NLF troops would be able to win a decisive military victory in time, but they are too strung out to do so quickly.

Thus in the dickering over coalitions, the North Vietnamese will sacrifice much to gain agreement. They have already indicated that they will accept in the government any of the present Saigon leaders, even the Hitler-admiring Vice President Ky, with only the exception of Thieu himself.

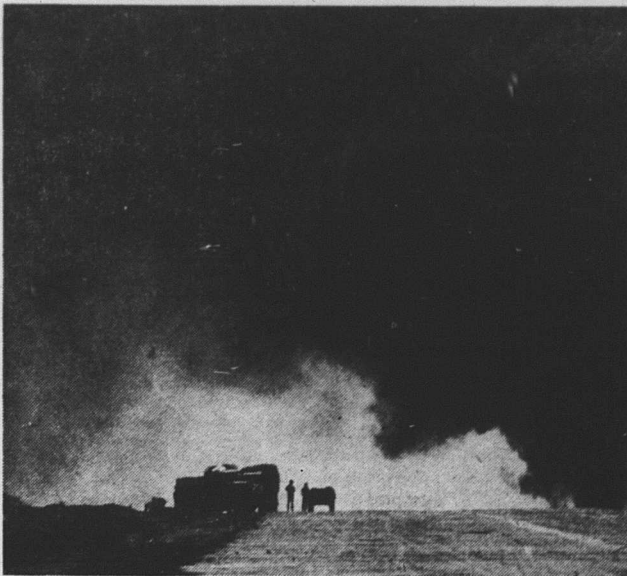
No Deals

In this situation, all the reactionary characteristics of the bureaucratic regime in North Vietnam and of its allies in the South will be seen more clearly — not only the willingness to make rotten deals with the imperialists and their puppets, not only the willingness to make deals involving scaling down the struggles in Laos and Cambodia, but also the preference for top-down political maneuvering to gain sole power in South Vietnam without rousing the people in democratic struggle.

The possibility that the war in Vietnam may drag on after the withdrawal of US ground forces, together with the fact that the US appears determined to continue the wars in Laos and Cambodia whatever the outcome in Vietnam (or at least to use them as a bargaining counter), means that the anti-war movement in the United States must continue its struggle against the war in Indochina.

The withdrawal of most US ground troops expected this spring will make our job more difficult. At the same time, the growing resistance to Nixon's wage control policies can help make it easier to end the war — more and more people are becoming aware of the tie-ups between America's imperialist adventures abroad and the deterioration of American life at home.

The precedents set by the Labor Action Contingents in Detroit and other cities, who organized support for the November 6 marches on the basis of a working class program, must be followed throughout the country. ■



Nixon's "Public"

Michael Stewart



Nixon's Price Commission; from left: William T. Coleman, Jr., John W. Queenan, C. Jackson Grayson, Jr., Robert F. Lanzillotti, William W. Scranton, Dr. Marina von Neumann Whitman, J. Wilson Newman.

After some delay, Nixon has finally announced his appointments to the Pay and Price Boards. They give further evidence of the anti-working class character of the entire system of wage and price controls.

On the Pay Board there are 15 members — five representing business, five representing labor, and five representing "the public." Presumably, the public members are not supposed to represent either business or labor, but the "public interest." A brief look at Nixon's choices, however, will indicate exactly who he

considers "the public" to be.

On the Pay Board, at least two of the "public" members have direct business connections. William G. Caples has been a general attorney for the Continent Casualty Co., a director of Inland Steel Container Co., and Vice-President of industrial and public relations for Inland Steel Co. — in which position he was in charge of contract bargaining for the company against the United Steel Workers Union. He is currently a member of the board of Inland Steel Products, and a member of the American Management Association

and the National Association of Manufacturers.

Dr. Neil H. Jacoby is a professor of business economics and policy at the Graduate School of Management at the University of California, Los Angeles. He has also been a consultant to the RAND Corporation, the cold war "think tank," and is a director and economic adviser of the Occidental Petroleum Corporation.

The situation is even worse on the Price Board, which has seven "public" members. Of the Chairman, Charles Grayson, Jr., *Business Week* was able to

boast that he was a perfect Nixon candidate, since "he has been a professor, a reporter, an FBI agent, and a businessman."

Grayson is currently Dean of the Southern Methodist School of Business Administration. He has been a consultant to at least three major oil companies — Sun Oil, SOHJO, and Humble.

James Wilson Newman is chairman and chief executive officer of Dun and Bradstreet, Inc. He is also a director of Chemical Bank Corporation, Chemical Bank, Fidelity Union Trust Co., and General Foods. He is a trustee for Consolidated Edison Co., Atlantic Mutual Insurance Co., and Mutual Life Insurance Co.

William Scranton is president of the Scranton-Lackawanna Trust Co., chairman of the Northwestern Pennsylvania Broadcasting Co., National Liberty Corp., National Liberty Life Insurance Co., National Home Life Assurance. He is also a director of Scott Paper Co., IBM World Trade Corporation, and Norton Simon, Inc.

John Queenan is a former managing partner of Haskins and Sells, one of the largest and most prestigious accounting firms. Through that capacity he has been a consultant to many large corporations.

Robert Lanzillotti is Dean of the College of Business at the University of Florida.

These are not all of the alleged "public" members of the Pay and Price Boards. However, they give a good indication of who Nixon believes the public to be: the business community and their friends.

For labor to participate on such boards only keeps the illusion that Nixon's New Economic Policy is somehow also in labor's interests. It's a stacked deck, and labor ought to withdraw from the game. ■



David McDonald

The first convention of Teamsters United Rank and File (TURF) was held in Denver on September 24-25. Teamster militants from over 34 locals attended.

In addition to the more than 100 rank and file Teamsters at the convention, several International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) officials also came to Denver. But their participation was limited to attempts to harass the convention by circling the building in cars and cancelling the airline reservations of several TURF members.

The TURF convention marks a big step forward in the fight to regain membership control of the IBT. The number of Teamsters represented at the convention was more than double the number represented at TURF's Toledo conference in June (see *Workers' Power*, no. 40).

This growth underlines the immediate appeal to rank-and-file Teamsters of seriously taking on the monstrous IBT bureaucracy. For this purpose the convention created the beginnings of the local, regional and national program and machinery needed in this struggle.

While most of the two days were devoted to establishing this organizational machinery, there was discussion of one very important political question — the issue of pensions. Teamster pensions are based on the insurance principle: everybody pays for calamities that affect only a few. But everyone gets old, and many workers must get cheated to keep the plan solvent as presently administered.

In the Western Conference, the ratio of working to pensioned Teamsters is

about 100 to 1. Of Teamsters now contributing to the pension plan, perhaps 5 percent — an optimistic estimate — will ever get their pensions, and of these only a few will get anything close to the maximum amount (although bureaucrats and International flunkies collect pensions from as many as three different rank-and-file-financed programs).

Most Teamsters are robbed of their pensions through the system of "vesting." Workers have no right to the money they contribute (through deferred wages) until they have contributed for 15 years, after which their pensions are "vested" — credited to them personally and paid on retirement at a certain percentage rate per year. Various pretexts, such as a person's changing their job, are used to deprive people of their pensions.

In response to this outrage TURF has endorsed the demand for all Teamsters to receive pensions of \$500 a month starting at age 50. The "500 at 50" committee affiliated with TURF has collected over 100,000 signatures on a petition containing this demand, and TURF members have filed several lawsuits for redress on pensions.

TURF's basic task is to become an organization to which rank-and-filers look for leadership in a wide variety of struggles over working conditions, the grievance procedure, and the changes needed in the IBT. The way in which TURF attacks these issues will be important in establishing its character as an organization and consequently its ability to win real victories.

Although detailed tactics cannot be

[Continued on page 81]

PAPER GOLD

Roger Cid



When President Nixon pulled the United States off the gold-exchange standard in August, he threw a large wrench into the machinery of international trade. This move, and the 10 percent surcharge on imports which accompanied it, represented an ultimatum to the ruling classes of the other advanced capitalist nations: "It's your job to bail out capitalism," says Nixon; "we will supervise your work."

So far the European and Japanese ruling circles have generally stayed in line, revaluing their currencies, agreeing to buy more US arms, to limit exports to the US, to take on a greater share in the "defense of the free world," etc. — all the while making some very sincere-sounding protests.

One stumbling block to stabilizing the international economic situation (at least on a temporary basis) is the restructuring of the international monetary system. And here as well, Nixon is trying to force his colleagues in Europe and Japan to carry the ball while he coaches. He is succeeding, too, at least for now.

Interest-Free Loan

Under the old system — that is, up to August 15 of this year — the dollar's value was calculated in terms of gold (\$35 to one ounce). The value of the other currencies, in turn, were set in terms of dollars — and the non-US capitalist governments were obligated to maintain these exchange rates through various fiscal and monetary policies, most of which involved harsh attacks on their respective working classes.

With the US incurring a steadily increasing balance of payments deficit due to stagnation-induced capital exports and overseas military activity, while arms spending at home induced inflation, the European and Japanese central banks wound up with ever-increasing amounts of decreasingly valuable dollars. But by agreement, the central banks (watching US dollar reserves shrink to 50 percent of what they had been at the end of World War II) did not try to cash in their dollar reserves for gold, recognizing, with an occasional hint from Washington, that to do so would disrupt the international monetary system and destroy the basis for international trade.

The result was a vast interest-free loan to the US from the other capitalist ruling classes, who in turn extorted it from their respective working classes.

Since the dollars held today by the central banks, amounting to more than \$40 billion, in effect represent debts owed to these countries by the US, the question of whether the debts will be paid and how is a major underlying point

of contention in the talks to establish a new international monetary system.

In the mid-1950's, when the US had more gold in Fort Knox and foreign dollar holdings were significantly smaller than they are today, France, under De Gaulle, proposed a massive increase in the price of gold as a means of creating enough gold reserves to cover the dollars held by the central banks. Today, such a solution is completely out of the question since it would require a five-fold increase in the price of gold (which among other things would provide a bonanza for the Soviet Union — one of the world's largest gold producers) and even the French have no hope of returning to a pure gold standard.

With foreign capitalists tired of financing the US deficit, and the US ruling circles desiring more leeway to fight inflation without spurring waves of speculation, it seems likely that agreement will be reached on the need to establish a new international monetary system based on a new reserve currency.

As it stands now, the new reserve currency will most likely be analogous to the "Special Drawing Rights" (SDR's) or "paper gold" set up by the International Monetary Fund in 1970. Whether they are called SDR's, International General Reserves, or any of the other proposed names, they will be similar to the present SDR's in that they will basically be bookkeeping entries, representing who owes whom and how much.

It is hoped that such a reserve medium, freed from a direct link to gold or a national currency, will be more flexible, and less susceptible to alternations in the relative positions of the capitalist economies.

The shift to the new medium, however, will be a rather tricky affair (and may take years to complete), since holders of gold and dollars will need quite an incentive to exchange their holdings for the new currency whose worth and stability are unknown.

A number of schemes to facilitate the exchange have been proposed, of which the more interesting are those advanced by US economists. One plan — devised by an economist from the Brookings Institution to induce the exchange of gold for the new medium — involves paying interest on the new medium, the idea being that the central banks would prefer to hold the new medium as a reserve since it would earn interest while gold would not.

This conception is not without its weaknesses since the IMF can only earn interest to be paid on the new medium by the sale of securities of one kind or another — which sale would most likely not be accompanied by a proportionate increase in the production of goods and services, given the state of the advanced capitalist economies as a whole.

If this is the case, the result can only be to add the burden of another expansion of credit to the already debt-ridden capitalist economy and build inflation into the new system from the start.

Another scheme involves the exchange of dollars for the new reserve currency. Under this plan, foreign governments are to exchange the dollars they are holding for the new medium, while these dollars are to be returned to the US and used to retire an equivalent amount of the national debt.

Since these dollars, which represent a

debt owed by the US to the ruling classes of the other capitalist nations, will be returned to the US free of charge (some have called this a "reverse Marshall Plan") the effect of this maneuver is to release the US from its obligation to pay the debt, while European and Japanese capitalists are left to their own devices to cover the losses incurred from having held depreciating dollars for years. While such a plan may be favorably received in the US, the fact that it creates over \$40 billion apparently out of thin air, without a corresponding increase in goods and services, is actually inflation-producing.

Stabilization

Whatever plan is accepted, it will be the working classes who will be carrying the major burden of the rearrangement of the international monetary system. The \$40 billion to be transferred to the US will not appear by magic; both the inflation and the European capitalists' drive to make up for their losses will be felt by workers here and abroad in the form of a deterioration of living standards, speedup, longer hours, and layoffs.

Not only are these schemes inflationary themselves — in addition, the elimination of the real causes of inflation in the various capitalist economies is highly unlikely. Moreover, the efforts of the various capitalist governments to deal with their respective economic crises are all based on intensifying the exploitation of their workers as a means of increasing profits and reestablishing "stability."

But this is only part of the story, since the total international economic situation is quite shaky. The US is in a fairly severe recession, Japan appears to be headed for some rough going, and Western Europe is showing signs of entering a serious slump. Nixon's policies, particularly the 10 percent surcharge, and the revaluations of the German Mark and the Japanese Yen, can only worsen the situation since their combined effect will be to cut a significant chunk of the US market off from what are largely export-oriented economies. Although apparently beneficial to US manufacturers, this will actually deepen the crisis in the capitalist economies as a whole.

When it is borne in mind that in this situation a major disruption in international trade could trigger a world depression, the significance of the changeover to a new international monetary system — which may provoke just such a disruption — becomes clear. ■



TEXTILE WORKERS DENOUNCE U.S. TRADE BARS IN TOKYO

UAW Convention Must Confront Phase II

John Weber



Woodcock announces he will serve on Nixon's Pay Board

On November 13, the United Auto Workers (UAW) will hold a special convention in Detroit. What's going to happen at that convention is still anybody's guess, but the UAW leadership can expect trouble.

The United National Caucus of the UAW (UNC) has issued a call for a demonstration against unemployment and the wage freeze, to be held at the site of the convention. In the call, they state: "The UNC believes this convention should be the springboard to launch a program to fight the critical problems of unemployment, inflation, and the deteriorating situation of all union members."

The demands of the demonstration are: (1) End Unemployment; (2) 30 Hours Work at 40 Hours Pay; (3) No Overtime Where Lay-Offs; (4) No Wage Freeze; (5) Fight Inflation — End the War.

The UAW leadership only calls special conventions when they have specific objectives in mind — when they feel confident that they can control the convention and can limit it to the consideration of well worked-out proposals that they wish adopted. But because of circumstances beyond their control, which they could not have predicted, this will probably not be the case on November 13.

One Item?

Originally, a special convention was called by the UAW for September 11, strictly a one-item convention to deal with a financial crisis within the union. The UAW leadership at Solidarity House wished to increase the amount of dues money coming into the International coffers to offset operating deficits, and changes in dues structure can only be adopted by a convention.

Then came Nixon's announcement of the "wage-price freeze." This happened while the UAW was holding a skilled trades conference in Boston and representatives from every UAW auto local in the country were present.

Even before the wage freeze had been announced, the United National Caucus had begun insisting that the special convention be expanded to take up the many pressing questions facing UAW members.

Pete Kelly of the UNC argued persuasively that the UAW leadership was only concerned with its bureaucratic problems — more dues money for its operations — while the membership, particularly those in the skilled trades where there have been mammoth lay-offs, is burdened with unemployment and inflation.

Kelly's proposal was well received by numerous delegates to the conference, and when Nixon made his "freeze" announcement, the UAW leadership realized that it would be impossible to go ahead with their plans for a September 11 one-item convention. Instead, President Woodcock announced that the convention was postponed until November 13, and to head off the growing pressure from his left, he promised that unemployment and the UAW response to Nixon's new policies would be placed on the agenda of the special convention.

At the time of this writing, no official agenda for the November 13 convention has been sent out to UAW locals. Possibly the UAW Executive Board has not yet decided on the exact agenda. Or possibly they have decided, but want to keep it quiet until the last minute to make it more difficult for those who disagree with the Executive Board's approach to organize their opposition.

The UAW leadership has announced that the convention will be limited to one day. In this way, they hope to limit the controversy that will likely arise.

The transportation bill for bringing delegates from all over the country to Detroit will amount to millions of dollars of union money. If the delegates are then sent home after only one day, and if they are thus kept from taking up the critical problems facing the UAW, there are bound to be a lot of angry union members.

Even the dues question is likely to be explosive. Several years ago, UAW dues were set at two hours' wages per month. At that time it was argued that the leadership would never have to come back and ask for further dues increases because as wages went up, so would dues. Now, since the membership would probably protest a new dues increase, the leadership is proposing instead to in-

crease the income of the International by taking away money which previously went to the locals.

At present, 40 percent of dues money goes to the local, 30 percent goes into the strike fund, and 30 percent goes to the International. The International wants to cut the locals' share to 35 percent and up their own share to 35 percent. In this way they hope to avoid increasing the per capita tax on members.

The result, however, has been to anger local leaders who in the past have been closely tied to the International. There is a growing sentiment that the International has been wasting money and doing a poor job in providing services to the membership. There is bound to be support for the notion that, rather than increasing income, the International should cut its expenses.

The most important controversies that are likely to arise at the special convention, however, will be the UAW's response to Nixon's Phase 2, and a UAW program for fighting unemployment. These are the issues that the UAW leadership would prefer to sweep under the rug.

The demand for a 30-hour work week at full 40 hours' pay was put forward by the UAW as far back as 1936. This demand makes even more sense today, and must be a central part of any program for really coming to grips with unemployment. But the UAW leadership no longer supports it.

"30 for 40" is one of the main demands of the United National Caucus and one it will try to fight for on the floor of the convention. The UNC would like to see steps taken immediately to prepare for making this a central demand

in the next round of UAW contract talks.

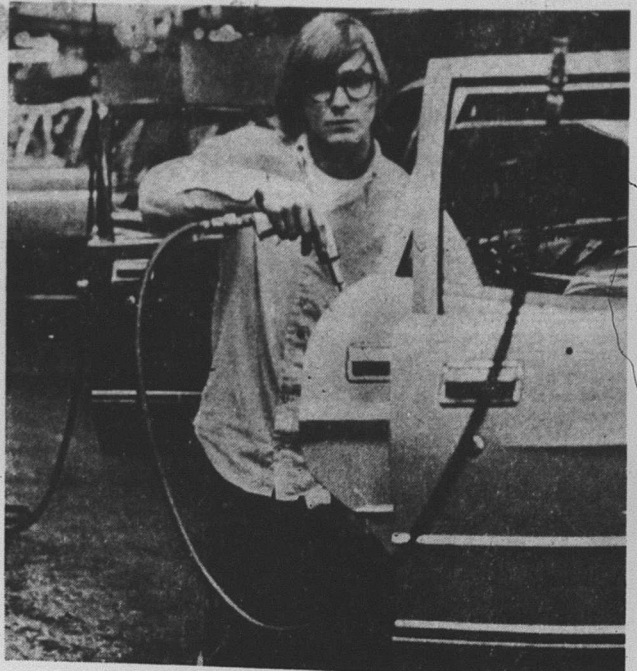
The question of Phase 2 will be the most difficult issue, and potentially the most explosive. When the freeze was first announced, UAW President Woodcock made a militant speech opposing it. Since then, he has capitulated to it. He has agreed to sit on the pay board, a body whose primary task is to keep down wages. This represents UAW endorsement of the attempt to hold down wages.

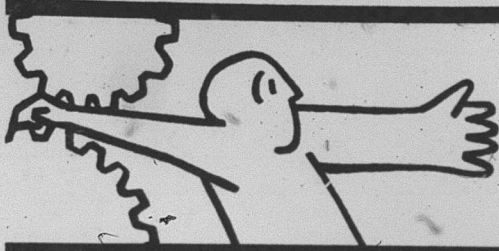
No Cooperation!

Workers' Power has long argued that the wage freeze and Phase 2 are just the beginning of a long-term offensive against labor. The goals of this offensive are to cut real wages while encouraging increased productivity through speedup — to assure the corporations greater profits at the expense of working people.

We believe that the best way to serve the interests of UAW members is to demand that:

- (1) Woodcock should resign from the Pay Board;
- (2) The UAW should announce that it will refuse to cooperate with Phase 2;
- (3) The UAW should reaffirm its support for the unrestricted right to strike and to bargain collectively without government interference;
- (4) The UAW should announce that it will take strike action if necessary to defend gains already won in contracts and to support unions threatened with sanctions; and
- (5) The UAW should take the leadership in preparing for a national one-day work stoppage to protest the government's new anti-labor policies and to demand an end to the Vietnam war. ■





Life and Limb

Dr. Alice Watts

Black Lung and the Doctors

There are no coal mines in New York City, but several weeks ago coal miners set up a picket line at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. They were demonstrating at an international meeting of scientists who had been brought to New York from as far away as Australia. The subject of the meeting was the disease "Coal Workers' Pneumoconiosis," commonly known as Black Lung.

The miners who came to picket were members of the Black Lung Association, a group of militant rank and file miners who are fighting for the rights supposedly granted under the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969. They asked the assembled doctors to take note of the fact that the law was preventing many disabled miners from receiving benefits.

The law fails to require further tests of disability if an abnormal X-ray is not found. The miners wanted the distinguished conference to state that the X-ray test was an invalid screening procedure for black lung, a fact that was substantiated many times by the papers presented at the conference.

Thirteen doctors drafted a statement endorsing the miners' demand, but the conference refused to consider it. The conference took the position that scientists must be objective and not take sides on political issues. Unfortunately, in abstaining on this issue they are really supporting the coal industry against the workers' needs.

The 1969 Act involved in this dispute was the first important law passed in this country concerning health and safety at the workplace. Its provisions cover two main areas: safety — the prevention of

accidents and especially explosions in the mines; and health — the creation of a "standard" of mine dustiness which will prevent future cases of black lung. It also allows for compensation to those miners who have contracted black lung by working in dusty mines.

The law provides for inspections and dust sampling, and gives government inspectors the right to close mines after repeated violations have been found. But its enforcement has been weak, and the problems of health and safety are behind the mining industry's many wildcat strikes and the official strike now in progress.

Black lung disease results from years of breathing coal dust. The dust causes

scarring of the lungs, which interferes with the normal processes by which oxygen is transferred from the lungs' air spaces to the blood stream. This abnormality is detected by measuring blood oxygen content.

Under the Health and Safety Act, the Social Security Administration is to administer disability benefits from Federal funds until 1973. As of September 3, 293,189 miners have made claims — but less than half have been judged by the Social Security Administration to be disabled with black lung.

The reasons for this high rejection rate are both medical and political. American doctors are not trained to recognize or



study occupational diseases like black lung. Some even claim that pure coal dust (without silica, a mineral that causes a different lung disease) causes no disease at all. Until the 1950's, the major American textbook of medicine stated that coal dust was healthful!

In England, by contrast, a massive study in 1942 led to a coal miners' compensation law for black lung. Since then, Britain has had tight dust standards and has greatly reduced the incidence of this disease. When British mining companies buy US-made mining machinery, they have to add \$1 million worth of dust control equipment to meet British standards.

American doctors have largely ignored the British experience and have diagnosed ill coal miners as having heart disease or emphysema. They have not attempted to find the causes of these illnesses in the miners' daily exposure to coal dust over their entire working lives.

For some doctors, this misunderstanding is based on ignorance. Others have close social and financial ties to the mining industry, which will have to pay compensation to 450,000 miners with black lung, after 1972, if everyone who has the disease is compensated.

In addition, there are very few doctors in the isolated coal mining areas of the Appalachians, one of the "medically indigent" parts of the country. Thus a sick miner has very little help from unbiased sources when he applies for benefits.

Under the government standards, a miner's chest X-ray must show many small spots in order for him to qualify for further testing. Yet miners with normal X-rays have been found to have severe shortness of breath and marked impairment of oxygen transfer to the blood stream, according to their blood oxygen measurements. The Social Security Administration does not grant benefits in these cases.

Strike for Life

As they showed by their demonstration at the Waldorf-Astoria, the members of the Black Lung Association are prepared to try a variety of tactics to make their case. But they realize that action by the miners themselves will be the real key to their success or failure.

Wildcat strikes in recent years have won local improvements, and the strike that shut down West Virginia mines in 1969 led to the Federal Mine Safety Act. As B.L.A. President Arnold Miller has said, "It may take a shutdown of production to get fair black lung benefits." ■

Anti-Freeze Picket at N.Y. Labor Council

On October 21, at the monthly meeting of the New York Central Labor Council, about 750 rank and file trade unionists threw up a picket line to demand active opposition to the wage freeze and Phase 2 controls. Represented were teachers, taxi drivers, postal workers, hospital workers, public employees, and others.

The seven or eight sponsoring groups demanded that the Central Labor Council (CLC) oppose all wage controls, support all unions striking against the freeze, and call a one-day city-wide work stoppage against controls. In addition, the telephone workers (from United Action, a caucus in Communications Workers of America Local 1101) demanded that the CLC direct building trades members to stop crossing CWA picket lines.

Members of the Taxi Rank and File coalition also had a few words for Harry Van Arsdale, President of the CLC and also of Taxi Drivers Local 3036. Harry's preplanned response to the demonstra-

tion was to have a "loyalist" goon squad, composed of members of the Taxi Union and Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (of which Harry is Financial Secretary), on the scene. While Harry's goon squad tried several times to provoke an incident, the spirited picket line maintained its discipline.

The demonstration was the first instance in years of a coalition of rank and file groups uniting around joint political objectives. While relatively small in size, the picket line showed that the government's attack on wages will spur on the development of the growing rank and file movement.

The groups sponsoring the demonstration included: United Action, TELRUM, "Another View from District 14" (published by teachers), the Teachers Action Committee, the Taxi Rank and File Coalition, "Outlaw" (published by postal workers), the National Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy, and others.



Self-Determination And The NLF

James Coleman

[This two-part article is an explanation of the International Socialists' viewpoint on a decisive political question of the American anti-war movement — what position opponents of the war should take toward the Vietnamese forces. Part I explains why International Socialists are politically opposed to the coming to power of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam, and also for the overthrow of the North Vietnamese regime. Part II, to be printed next issue, explains why we nevertheless support the defeat of the US forces by the armies of the PRG and North Vietnam.]

This autumn, President Thieu of South Vietnam made an international stink by holding "elections" so blatantly rigged that all his opponents were either ruled off the ballot or forced to withdraw in protest. But just to Thieu's north, in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), there has never been a contested election since the republic was established in 1954.

In South Vietnam, strikes are broken up by government troops; in North Vietnam, with the trade unions under government control, there is no right to strike at all. In South Vietnam, anti-government demonstrations are smashed by troops; in North Vietnam, there have never been anti-government demonstrations (there has been occasional armed resistance).

In sum, South Vietnam is a military dictatorship, ruled by a clique dependent on the United States, with few rights for citizens; North Vietnam is a totalitarian state. Moreover, the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG), formerly the National Liberation Front (NLF), is controlled by a party whose philosophy exactly mirrors that of North Vietnam's rulers.

In other words, the defeat of the US in Vietnam by the PRG-North Vietnamese forces will be a victory for Vietnam's people in only one respect — it will get US imperialism off their backs. The double tragedy of Vietnam is that, after 25 years of war, another set of oppressors — indigenous Vietnamese ones — occupies the leadership of the struggle against the US and its puppets.

What Side Are You On?

The anti-war movement in this country thus faces a difficult political problem: what attitude should opponents of the US war take toward the other side?

The International Socialists stand for the right of Vietnam to self-determination — that is, for the defeat of the United States in the war and for a military victory by the PRG forces. At the same time, we oppose the political program of the PRG and the society its leaders will seek to create after the US is defeated. We look to Vietnamese workers and peasants themselves, in a revolutionary struggle which is inevitable sooner or later, to complete their fight by toppling their new exploiters.

This viewpoint cannot be understood without understanding that most of the "anti-war" leaders in the United States, whether they realize it or not, do not actually stand on the side of the common people of Vietnam.

Liberal Senators like George McGovern and Eugene McCarthy oppose the war for a reason of their own: this war, which the US cannot win, is draining away American power and influence. They wish to cut their losses and defend American interests — meaning power and control — in the rest of Asia (and elsewhere). They oppose the war from an imperialist standpoint; they propose to give up an indefensible outpost in order to safeguard the rest of the empire.

Most activists in the anti-war and radical movements take a different position — they connect opposition to the war with support for the government of North Vietnam and the political program of the PRG. Their prominent leaders, such as Tom Hayden a few years ago, Dave Dellinger more recently, and now representatives of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), have visited North

landlord rights are the capitalists' and landlords' methods.

No government, whatever it promises, can simultaneously defend the counterposed interests of capital and labor, landlords and farmers. In fact, once in power, the PRG, like its predecessors in North Vietnam and other Communist countries, will defend neither.

For the PRG shares one other feature with American election platforms — as President Roosevelt once remarked, "After the train starts, the platform is left behind." As in America, the platform is designed mainly to hold together as diverse a group of supporters as possible in order to put the candidate — in this case the PRG — in power. But the real PRG program, the one it will actually carry out, is quite different.

Although the PRG, and the National Liberation Front on which it is based, are coalitions of more than 20 parties, all these parties acknowledge the "leading role" of one party — the People's Revolutionary Party of South Vietnam. The other parties, in fact, are almost all paper organizations, based on a few pro-



Vietnam or the PRG delegations in Paris and elsewhere, and report glowingly on their conversations. Many accept the PRG's self-portrait — as a coalition of many different independent parties, united by their opposition to US control of Vietnam and by a program of popular reform.

This program, when examined, is something of a marvel. It promises fair treatment to labor and arbitration of labor disputes (but omits the right to strike); fair conditions for small and big capitalists, farmers and landlords; and political freedom (but it offers no specific guarantees). In short, rather like an American election platform, the PRG program promises something from the pork barrel for everyone.

In practice, this program could never be carried out — the interests of capital and labor, of farmers and landlords, are in conflict. Strikes, seizures of estates by the tenant farmers, and other rights of which the program says nothing, are the workers' and farmers' methods of resolving this conflict. Suppression of strikes and government protection for

minent personalities but with no organized existence. Only the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) has a real organization.

In turn, the PRP is descended from the Southern wing of the Vietnamese Communist Party which existed before the partition of Vietnam in 1954. PRP members fill the most important posts in the PRG.

The PRG program — designed for it by the People's Revolutionary Party — is virtually identical with the programs of half a dozen other Communist dominated national resistance movements of the past — in Albania and Yugoslavia during World War II, in China after the war, and later in North Vietnam itself.

In each of these cases, once the movement gained state power, "the platform was left behind" and either immediately or in a few years, the machine of the Communist party came to dominate every aspect of political and social life, with no rights for workers and no political rights for citizens in general. Capitalism was destroyed, but replaced by the rule of a totalitarian bureaucracy

controlling the economy through its power over the state. There is no reason to believe anything different will happen in South Vietnam, after the war against American imperialism is won.

The PRP leadership limits the program of the PRG to nationalism and vaguely defined popular reforms. This is for two reasons. First, this draws the widest support and, if it does not win the enthusiastic support of capitalists and landlords, at least it partly neutralizes the opposition they might otherwise express. Second, a pure-and-simple nationalist program allows the PRG to avoid taking a stand on class issues — the issues of workers' and farmers' rights — except in the vaguest terms.

The pure-nationalist approach has given the NLF-PRG its greatest support among the peasantry — the small farmers and tenant farmers. They have also won popularity by reducing the rents paid by tenants. (The rents were not eliminated, however, and the farmers were not encouraged to take control of the estates — moreover, in recent years, as it has become harder and harder to keep the war going, the rents have gone up again. Still, peasant loyalty remains great.)

The peasant class, however, is scattered in thousands of small villages all across Vietnam. It does not have the strength and organization to be an independent political force, in Vietnam or elsewhere.

This is why Communist movements, coming to power with peasant support, have been able to take away from the peasants the land won in the revolution, without being overthrown. (In North Vietnam, when the peasants were forced to join "collective farms" during 1957-1958, this provoked an armed revolt in Ho Chi Minh's home province — which had been among the strongest provinces in the war against the French. The revolt was bloodily suppressed.)

The PRG's purely-nationalist approach and its refusal to make demands for and organize workers as a class have also meant that it has never gained real strength among Vietnamese workers. Several times since the war resumed a decade ago, the NLF issued appeals for general strikes in its support; each time, the turnout was quite small. When working-class opposition to the US has broken out, it has either been unorganized and spontaneous, or has taken the form of support for the movements led by Buddhist priests.

In the absence of a class-conscious, revolutionary socialist leadership either in Vietnam or elsewhere in Southeast Asia, however, these movements have proven unable to build a political alternative to the NLF in the war for self-determination.

For this reason, the leadership in the war has fallen to the NLF-PRG. But their political leadership is aimed in the direction of a certain kind of society after the war. The seizure of power by a political elite based on peasant support — that is, support by a class which lacks the social power to control the government it has

put in power — is part of the PRG's strategy to create in South Vietnam a state which is not capitalist, but also not controlled by the working class.

A direct descendant of the Vietnamese Communist Party, the PRP, like all the Communist parties of the 1930's and later, is actually based on the ideas of Stalinism — the political current which emerged in Russia when the 1917 revolution failed to spread abroad, and which crushed the weakened institutions of the working class in the course of its own rise as a ruling class. These parties define "socialism" to mean the rule of a political bureaucracy over the working class, based on state ownership of the economy.

The reforms in social services and education, and the nationalization of industry, carried out by these regimes, have been enough for many to call them socialist governments. In truth, however, the political process of Stalinist development destroys one class regime — the old capitalist state — only to replace it with a different form of class rule over the workers.

Bureaucratic Rule

These are not workers' states — they are not ruled by the mass organizations of workers and peasants, with free competition among all political parties accepting the rule of these organizations. Nor are they developing in the direction of workers' rule — on the contrary, the ruling elite moves in the opposite direction by eliminating whatever independent workers' institutions and political institutions do exist, and thereby removing any block to its own unchallenged rule.

For these regimes, the problem of economic development in backward societies is not — as it is for genuine revolutionary socialists — a problem of creating institutions of workers' self-government and seeking to spread revolution abroad, while developing both the immediate ability of the economy to provide goods and its long-term industrial capacity. Rather, it is a problem for the Stalinists of creating institutions over which the working class has no control, in order to develop the economy at the expense (sooner or later) of the workers.

This has been the course followed by all the states in which Stalinist parties have taken control since World War II. The irony, however, is that without the unlocking of the world's productive resources which could be brought about by revolution in the advanced countries, their ability to develop their economies is quite small.

Moreover, in order to obtain whatever limited economic aid and trade is available, these countries make alliances with the capitalist governments and place these alliances ahead of the interests of revolution — thus cutting off the very possibility of breaking out of their economic blind alley. For this reason, these regimes represent an historical dead end.

Because the actual political program of the leaders of the PRG — whatever the program on paper — is this Stalinist program of rule by a party bureaucracy, it is not deserving of political support by anyone genuinely dedicated to democracy and human freedom — let alone to socialism and the working class movement.

Nevertheless, revolutionary socialists support a military victory by the NLF-PRG over the United States and its Vietnamese puppets. We base our position on the right to self-determination for Vietnam, even while we are dedicated to the overthrow of the anti-working class leadership of the self-determination struggle. ■

Editorial

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arrangement were the political explosions from 1945 to 1949 — the expansion of Stalinist imperialism throughout Eastern Europe, the upsurge of colonial revolution (continuing into the 1960's), and the rise to power of Mao in China.

In 1948, the US and the Soviet Union could still collaborate against Britain in supporting the partition of Palestine. By 1950, in contrast, the UN was barely able to function as a figleaf for the American invasion of Korea. By the 1960's it wasn't even good for that, as the US was forced to occupy South Vietnam openly on its own responsibility.

The cold war virtually neutralized the UN as an instrument of imperialist policy. Since the Korean War, neither the USSR nor the US has been able to make very effective use of it.

Representatives of newly-independent nations in the third world made efforts to turn the UN into a "moral force" against colonialism. But a moral force it is not; despite their differences, the imperialist powers were not about to let anyone take over their paralyzed tool.

In the US, many liberals have clung to an idea of the UN as a serious "peace-keeping force." But the UN exists as a "force" only as long as the real world powers agree on the nature of the "peace" to be kept — whenever and wherever they disagree, the UN ceases to exist. At no time has it been possible for the UN to support a revolutionary movement against imperialism — whether in Vietnam, Palestine, or Czechoslovakia — against the will of the imperialists themselves.

The switch by the US on the seating of China (favoring its seating, although trying to retain a seat for Chiang) came in response to a two-fold development in world politics.

On the one hand, the relative power

of American imperialism and its corresponding prestige have been steadily eroding. While the US might have succeeded in excluding China indefinitely through increasingly crude threats of retaliation against countries voting against it, the political costs of this policy were increasingly out of proportion to its worth. At a certain point, the defense of Chiang Kai-shek and the sensitivities of right-wing American opinion had to be sacrificed, although the US tried to push through a "two-China" policy which both Mao and Chiang regard as unacceptable.

On the other hand, the US and China are in the process of working out a new arrangement to preserve stability in Asia and to "normalize" relations between them. China's support of the Ceylon and Pakistan governments in slaughtering opposition movements indicates to the US that China, whatever its anti-imperialist rhetoric, is actually maneuvering for a stabilized Southeast Asia with itself as a major regional power — a status the US

claims the right to occupy Taiwan; in both cases, the argument is that Taiwan is a Chinese province.

Taiwan, however, is an oppressed nation which has its own right to self-determination free of any Chinese claims. Taiwan's people, who are not ethnic Chinese but a distinct nationality, have a right to a government of their choice, whether as part of China or as an independent nation. If Taiwan did become an independent nation, it should have the right to a UN seat like any other country. But Chiang has no such right.

No force in the UN debate defended Taiwan's right to self-determination — the Albanian resolution to seat China and expel Chiang explicitly declared Taiwan a Chinese province. If there were any genuine socialist countries in the UN — and there are none in the world today — they would have voted for neither resolution, but denounced the whole proceeding as the squabbling of rival robber gangs and their yes-men over the spoils of imperialism.



ALBANIAN DELEGATE SPEAKING



TAIWAN CHINESE LISTENING

is now quite willing to recognize.

The real US defeat was not, in itself, the dumping of Chiang Kai-shek into the garbage can, but rather the fact that so many US clients thumbed their noses at their master in the voting. US bludgeoning proved insufficient even to carry the "important question" motion, which would have required a two-thirds vote in order to expel Chiang.

From a revolutionary socialist viewpoint, there was no justification for retaining Chiang's regime in the UN as a representative of all or part of China. Chiang represents only a Chinese force occupying Taiwan. Mao's regime also

is now quite willing to recognize. That position adequately sums up the essence of the UN.

As socialists we welcome the defeats suffered by American imperialism — in this sense, we are glad to see China in and Chiang out against the wishes of the US. But we do not regard China's UN membership as a victory for the revolutionary movement, as do those who identify the revolution with the diplomatic interests — always conservative and now openly counterrevolutionary — of the ruling bureaucratic class in China. Outside the UN the struggle continues, against all the forces of reaction who would strangle it. ■

TURF

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mapped out in advance, there are clear strategic necessities. First, TURF must actively involve a broad range of Teamsters in various industries — rather than merely gathering signatures and contributions from them. Only an active movement representing real forces can win significant victories on pensions and other issues.

One loophole closed by the courts can always be replaced by another if TURF's only weapon is the lawsuit. It is the actual social power that TURF represents that will ultimately count in any struggle.

Also, TURF must overcome a general feeling that political discussions are divisive. As TURF gains the ability to win immediate, short-range goals, it will also have to address a broader range of social issues.

For example, if TURF succeeds in

winning \$500 at 50 years and other needed pension reforms (such as immediate full vesting rather than percentage vesting after 15 years), it would open up the larger question of who controls pension funds and what they are used for (see "The New Philanthropists," *Workers' Power*, no. 33).

Moreover, TURF must begin to come to grips now with Nixon's New Economic Policies and the long-term attack on the working class they represent.

TURF should join with other rank and file union groups in organizing resistance to the wage freeze. It should take the leadership within the Teamsters of a fight to get President Frank Fitzsimmons and the other labor bureaucrats off the anti-labor Pay Board.

Also important is TURF's functioning on the chapter level. To a great extent its success nationally will depend on the ability of TURF chapters to gain the confidence of local rank and filers and to involve them in actions. In this way, ideas for a national program will be tested and the importance of a national organization, with a pool of experience and organizing ability, will become apparent.

In this context TURF will have to decide when and under what circum-

stances to support candidates for local union office. It is also on the local level that TURF's national policy of involving the many Teamsters who are not truckers — which is critical if the IBT is ever to become a really democratic union — must be implemented.

The TURF convention established a national steering cabinet, by-laws, and Conference (regional) organizations (in addition to the national newspaper, *TURF*, which will serve as an organizing tool for TURF activities). The cabinet contains three national officers and eight regional officials (two from each conference), and will meet at least four times a year to decide policy questions. The Conference officers will handle regional coordination.

This, along with the local chapter structure, is the organizational shell that must now be filled by a mass movement. The Denver convention opens up an extraordinary opportunity for the ranks of the IBT to begin to change the conditions they work and live under.

[TURF chapters may be formed by seven or more Teamster members. For further information or copies of TURF newspaper, write: TURF, P.O. Box 4204, Downey, California, 90241.] ■

The Fight For Independence In Puerto Rico

Drake Levittan



Pedro Campos

The American press has long tried to depict Puerto Rico as a "showcase" example of the blessings of US investment and the American political system. But behind the facade of the "island paradise" lies the grim reality of US colonial domination.

In recent months, thousands of Puerto Ricans have taken to the streets to demand independence from the US and the US-backed colonial regime of Governor Ferre. Puerto Rico may soon prove, like Viet Nam, to be a weak link in America's colonial empire.

Puerto Rico was seized from Spain by the US in 1899. Without so much as consulting the people of Puerto Rico, the American government determined that the island was its God-given colony and a rich area for the expansion of American big business.

The economy of the island has been completely deformed by US imperialism. A large tourist industry caters to the sun, sea, and night life desires of wealthy American businessmen. American capital controls Puerto Rico's industry, mines and agriculture.

American light industries, such as garment, that require large amounts of labor, make use of the lack of minimum wage protection and high unemployment to reap super-profits from sweated labor. Wages are one-third the US average, prices are slightly higher.

The island also serves as a major military base and center for counter-insurgency, protecting the US empire and financial interests in Latin America, Central America, and the Caribbean.

The present economic squeeze in the advanced capitalist world has hit Puerto Rico especially hard. Lack of jobs, housing, and basic social services has given rise to a new wave of militancy among workers and youth, who form the backbone of the growing independence movement.

Warm Welcome

The rebirth of the Puerto Rican national liberation struggle as a mass movement began among students in the 1960's. When right-wing R.O.T.C. cadets provoked pro-independence students at the University of Puerto Rico by waving American flags, the students organized a

series of demonstrations against US colonialism and militarism, in which the R.O.T.C. building was burned. More recently, demonstrations were held against the US Navy's use of the island of Culebra.

On September 12th, the 63rd annual US Governors' Conference was staged in San Juan, Puerto Rico. The governors came for a sunny vacation — escorted around in expensive limousines. They were warmly greeted. Between 80,000 and 100,000 Puerto Ricans marched through the streets, fists clenched and held high, demanding independence.

The demonstration also celebrated the 90th anniversary of the birth of Don Pedro Albizu Campos, Puerto Rican patriot and leader of the Nationalist Party. Campos died in 1965, his health broken by years in American and Puerto Rican prisons — murdered for his intransigent battle for Puerto Rican independence.

The march, the most massive and militant pro-independence demonstration in Puerto Rico's history, was organized and built by the two-largest pro-independence

groups, MPI (Movimiento Pro Independencia — Movement for Independence) and PIP (Partido Independista Puertorriqueno — Independence Party of Puerto Rico).

The Ferre government initially attempted to stop the demonstration, so as not to embarrass American colonialism. A wave of red-baiting and repression was mounted. Independistas were rounded up. When that tactic proved fruitless, Ferre pleaded that the slogans be toned down. All his efforts were in vain. The demonstration accurately gauged both the depth and militancy of independence sentiment.

Eleven days later, 40,000 pro-independence activists staged a mass march to commemorate the 103rd anniversary of *el Grito de Lares* (Cry of Lares), when a short-lived republic was set up in 1868 during a rebellion against Spanish rule. Smaller rallies were held in the Puerto Rican community in New York City on the same day.

Historic Precedent

The Puerto Rican working class is on the move. Puerto Rico's industrial labor force is a product of the post-World War II expansion of US capital on the island, "Operation Bootstrap." Although young, the Puerto Rican working class has displayed tremendous combativity.

On October 18th, between 2,000 and 3,000 workers marched through the streets of San Juan demanding an end to the wage freeze, which also applies on the island. The rally was organized by the *Directivo del Movimiento Obrero Unido* (the United Labor Movement Council) which contains most of the 80 unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO and independent unions.

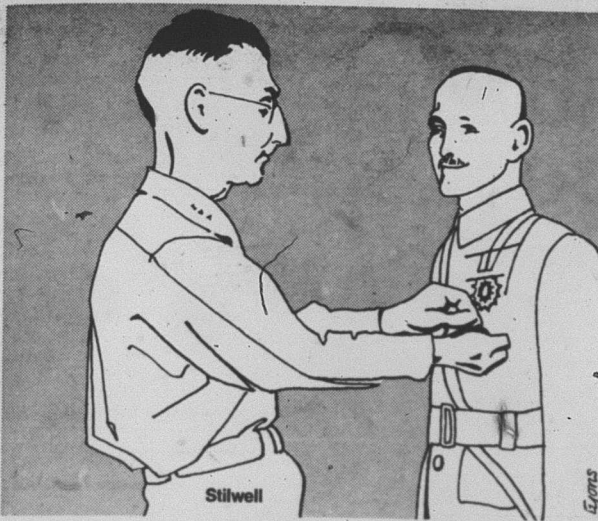
Claridad, the MPI newspaper, called the march "an historic precedent." The wage freeze, of course, freezes super-exploited Puerto Rican workers at the bottom of the income scale.

The growth of the Puerto Rican working class movement provides a great opportunity for the fight for Puerto Rican independence. It is the labor of Puerto Rico which makes the island a gold mine for US colonialism.

The working class has both the power and the need to re-conquer the Puerto Rican nation and build an independent socialist republic of Puerto Rico — and a socialist revolution on the island would serve as an example and vanguard of a Latin American revolution and shake the American empire to its foundations.



Puerto Rican workers march against wage freeze in San Juan



Stilwell and the American Experience in China, by Barbara Tuchman.

It is not good for the Christian health
To hustle the Asian brown
For the Christian riles
And the Asian smiles
And he wreath the Christian down
— Kipling

The Tuchman book is of special relevance for two main reasons. First of all, it helps explain the formation of U.S. policy towards modern China, now being drastically altered. Second, it describes an interesting precedent to the present "Vietnamization" program.

General Joseph Stilwell was sent to the China-Burma India (CBI) theater to try to get China actively involved in the war against Japan. He was probably the best man for the job, having years of experience in China dating back to 1911 and speaking fluent Chinese.

Everyone else despised the traditional Chinese soldier, who went to war with an umbrella in his hand, a teapot hanging from his belt, and a coolie to carry his baggage, if he could catch one. Stilwell insisted that the Chinese peasant would make a fine soldier with the right training.

Biding Time

The CBI situation was a complicated one, as situations in that area always are. Chaing Kai-shek had not done any serious fighting against the Japanese since 1937 and had no intention of doing any in the future.

Even though the Japanese had driven his out of the rich coastal areas of China with humiliating ease, Chaing still had an army and a bureaucracy in the interior, mainly because the Japanese didn't feel it was worth the trouble to chase him down. Chaing was content to wait until somebody else defeated Japan and gave China back to him. He wanted to save his strength for fighting the Communists.

Mao Tse-tung had much the same approach as the Koumintang (KMT), although he concealed his thoughts under a cloud of Popular Front rhetoric. He wanted to save his strength for fighting Chaing. He called for unity against the Japanese, knowing that Chaing would never agree, while he built his armies and bided his time.

Mao waged guerilla warfare against Japan mainly to capture arms and supplies and build support among the peasantry. His one offensive (the Hundred Regiments Campaign) taught him the folly of engaging in conventional warfare without artillery or air support.

The British also wanted to keep China passive. Their main concern throughout the war was hanging on to their colonies. They knew that a strong China might have something to say about that, especially about Hong Kong. Even when the Japanese were at the very gates of India, Britain opposed the help of Chinese troops.

Stalin threw his support behind Chaing Kai-shek all through the war, although neither Chaing nor Mao will admit it in public nowadays. As usual with Stalin, it's impossible to tell just what his motives were, but there are several possibilities.

He may have figured that as long as Chaing had any kind of an army in the field, the Japanese would not move against Siberia, which he had

REVIEW:

Stilwell and the American Experience in China

R.F. Kampfer

emptied of troops for use against the Germans. Also, he knew that Mao would stick by him no matter what he did, whereas Chaing was quite capable of signing a separate peace with Japan if he felt slighted.

He may even have foreseen some of the difficulties Russia would have with a self-made Communist China. That could explain his contemptuous public dismissals of the Chinese Communist Party as "radishes" or "margarine communists".

Finally there was Roosevelt, with his own game to play. FDR wanted to get China "Great Power" status, along with the U.S., Russia, and Britain. At the same time he wanted to be sure that the new improved China would vote with the U.S. at the summit meetings. In Chaing Kai-shek — famous, ambitious, incompetent, anti-Communist and anti-British — Roosevelt thought he had found the perfect tool.

The political situation was unpromising, but the military situation was even worse. Chaing had a huge army,

built with Italian, German, Russian and American aid and advisors (an indication of his political flexibility). The troops were brave enough, but they were untrained, unpaid, unfed and misled.

Soldiers starved to death in Chungking itself, Chaing's capital. Entire regiments died of hunger and disease without ever seeing combat.

Recruits were collected in chains, unless they could buy themselves out for \$300. Ordinary troops were forced to steal from the peasants to survive, while officers raised the arts of graft and extortion to new levels.

The disorganization of the army was the result of deliberate policy as well as incompetence. Since Chaing had been driven out of the industrial areas, the army was his only real base of support. But only a handful of the division commanders, those too incompetent or unpopular to act on their own, were really loyal to him.

The rest were quite capable of splitting off provinces and setting themselves up as warlords, or going after the

[Continued on page 12]



Posters of Stalin, Lenin, Sun Yat-sen, and Chiang hanging together in 1946



Bread & Roses

"Morning After" Pill?

A study at the University of Michigan showed that a "morning after" birth control pill has been an effective emergency means of contraception. No pregnancies occurred among the women participating in the study although most had had sexual intercourse without using other contraceptives at a time in their cycle when they would be likely to be fertile.

Nearly half the women had no side reactions. The rest suffered nausea or vomiting. However, the drug contains such a large dose of estrogen (25 milligrams) that doctors emphasized that it should be used only in emergencies, and not as a regular form of contraception.

The same drug has been used to prevent miscarriage, and in this connection has been linked to the occurrence of cancer of the vagina in the daughters of the women who used the drug during pregnancy.

Head of the Family

A Philadelphia woman who has been making wine for two years was denied a renewal of her IRS license to make the wine recently. A license is needed to enter a local contest.

She received a formal letter from

IRS, denying her the license on the grounds that she is not the head of the family. "I'm not a woman liberationist," Mrs. Patricia Murphy said, "but I always thought my husband and I were both heads of our family. And this is my hobby, not his."

Amateurs

A growing business is that of professional house cleaning. House cleaning

companies specialize in the heavy, once-a-year type of job, such as washing walls, cleaning carpets, and clearing out the basement.

Along with the heavy work comes a heavy price. Cleaning the carpets, washing the walls and polishing the floors and woodwork in an average size house could cost from \$300 to \$400.

Housewives who can't afford such fees must do all this work and more, of course, for free. But then, they're not considered "professionals," only amateurs.



Dock Worker

Mrs. Loretta Laviolette, a former cocktail waitress and mother of five, became Canada's first female dock worker recently. "It's a dirty job compared to some others a woman could do," she said, "but I don't know of too many other positions where I could be making this kind of money. It doesn't take a lot of strength and muscle to be a good worker in this line, but you do have to know something about what you are doing." She said she believes other women could do equally well in a dock job.

Alliance Strike

300 women who have been on strike against the Alliance Manufacturing Company in Shenandoah, Virginia, since June 2 have received a telegram from President Nixon asking them to go back to work in support of his wage freeze.

Alliance is a subsidiary of North American Phillips, and makes small electric motors. The starting wage at this plant, which hires mostly women, is \$1.60 per hour; the top wage \$1.76. The women are fighting for a contract that would give them seniority, a grievance procedure and decent wages.

The strikers have received support from other unions, women's groups, students, and workers from other plants. Their own union, however, the International Union of Electrical Workers, recently agreed that the women would no longer shut down the parent plant in Ohio where workers receive an average wage of \$3.10.

Recently, most of the 150 scabs who had been working at the Alliance plant — mostly high school women — quit to return to school. The strikers feel that the next few weeks will be decisive.

Stilwell

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

throne itself if they thought they could get away with it. Chaing could only preserve his authority by constantly forming and breaking alliances with his generals, inducing them to combine against whoever seemed strongest at the moment.

U.S. military supplies were used for bribery, or hoarded for the coming war against the Communists. Units the Generalissimo thought loyal were carefully preserved from combat.

Stilwell just wanted to fight the Japanese, but his plans were a clear, if unintentional, threat to Chaing. He demanded the complete reorganization of the Chinese army, an end to the domination of the Wham-Pao clique, the elimination of "political" commanders, nepotism, the "squeeze" system, and divided authority. He also wanted KMT and Communist troops to unite against

the Japanese, or at least stop fighting each other.

Suggestions like these tended to make Chaing throw teapots at the wall. He knew that any half-way competent commander of any half-way competent army could, and would take away his power in very short order. He also knew that the Communists represented a much greater long-range danger than the Japanese.

So Chaing fought Stilwell in typical Mandarin fashion. He would agree to some of Stilwell's demands in principle, then systematically block them by inaction, contradictory orders, and planned confusion.

The chaos was heightened by the fact that Chaing had no idea of what was really going on at the front. During the retreat from Burma, when an entire Chinese army was dissolving in panic, he cabled a top-priority order that every soldier be issued one quarter of a watermelon.

Chaing was aided by several individuals high in U.S. military and political circles, who were either pro-KMT, or anti-Stilwell or both. One such was General Claire Chennault, founder of the Flying Tigers and anti-Communist to the point of paranoia.

One of Chennault's main accom-

plishes was a venomous young Lieutenant named Joseph Alsop who was always saying how Chaing could beat the Japs and the Communists too if he just got a few more planes. The situation was not helped by Stilwell's habit of referring to Chaing as "the Peanut".

Eventually of course, Stilwell lost the diplomatic battle and was recalled. His successors managed to reverse the popular feeling of friendship of the Chinese masses towards the U.S. and

fasten the KMT albatross more firmly around their necks.

Stilwell never lived to see a Chinese army of the kind he had dreamed of chase the Peanut off the mainland, then chase U.S. forces out of North Korea. He might have derived a certain satisfaction from the spectacle.

The other military leaders, glumly contemplating the wreckage, vowed to never get involved on the Asian mainland again... ■



CHIANG & MAO AT U.S.-BACKED TALKS IN 1945

Food Technology:

Let The Buyer Beware!

Sara White

A walk down the aisles of any supermarket will tell you that it's getting harder and harder to find food that hasn't been doctored-up, made "more convenient to prepare," or totally invented by the food technology industry. Beyond that, a good way to become afraid to eat anything you didn't grow yourself is to read *Food Technology* magazine.

Of course, you probably won't ever get a chance to. *Food Technology* is written by and for the food industry. It's so frank and honest it's almost literally nauseating.

Take the ads: a two-page spread of delicious-looking cakes, pies, pastries,



cheeses, breads. And the information below tells you the company makes such good cheap substitutes for eggs, butter, milk and flavors that your customers will never guess.

A photograph of a glass of water is labelled "Tomato Juice." Below, it says, "Tomato juice without tomatoes? There's no limit to the possible uses of specialty synthetic flavors in substitute and natural foods."

The articles discuss all sorts of processing devices, artificial flavors, emulsifiers, preservative, binding agents, colors, etc. Have they all been carefully tested to see if they cause cancer? What do you think?

But the editorial board of this house organ must think even they have gone a little too far in one area. In recent years, the American baby food industry has been advertising and selling baby foods and baby milk formula all over the world, especially in underdeveloped countries. *Food Technology* has recently published an article, titled "Commerciogenic malnutrition?" (issue of February, 1971, p. 55), which reveals some of the tragic effects of this advertising campaign.

To begin with, the American-made baby milks are very expensive. The article states that in East Africa, "it would have cost a laborer one-third of his salary to be able to use one of these milks in an adequate quantity to feed his 3-month old baby."

Moreover, says *Food Technology*, the possibility of producing an uncontaminated bottle of milk is almost zero "when a mother may have only one feeding bottle and nipple, no storage space (let alone electricity or a refrigerator), water from a nearby pond or stream, and because of minimal education, difficulty in following advice or preparing foods properly. Under these circumstances... doses of milk are administered with large quantities of bacteria — the result is starvation and diarrhea, too often leading to death...."

By contrast, a recent study done in Guatemala on purely breast-fed babies showed that they had very few cases of diarrhea. The reason was thought to be that human breast milk encourages a "good" kind of bacteria to live in the babies' intestines instead of the adult kind of bacteria, which is normal for adults, but which often causes diarrhea in babies. (L.J. Mata, Juan J. Urrutia, "Intestinal Colonization of Breastfed Children in a Rural Area of Low Socio-

economic Level," *Annals of the New York Academy of Science*, vol. 176, pp. 93-110, Jan. 7, 1971.)

Moreover, for most children in the "underdeveloped world," the only time in their entire lives that they are well fed is while they are at their mothers' breasts. The expensive, commercial substitutes are far less nutritious and offer no protection against disease even if they aren't contaminated.

The article in *Food Technology* goes on to state that the advertising they used emphasized status and convenience, and that the parents are very vulnerable to these pitches. After all, who needs convenience more than someone whose kitchen surrounds a fire on a dirt floor? And who wants status more?

The same kind of advertising also has a strong effect on poor and third world and working people in the US. The people who breast feed their babies and make baby food in a blender are usually the ones who have the time to do it and the education to know it's a good thing to do, and who don't need the status of being "modern."

The article suggests, rather mildly, that the advertising may do more harm than good and that it may be time the tropical baby nutritionist sat down with the commercial baby food industry and came up with something both healthful and profitable. We don't have much hope for that approach.

Time and again, rapacious corporations — food producers, drug companies, auto manufacturers, or whatever — have made it clear that, so far as they are concerned, health and safety come in a very poor second to profits.

[Sara White is a physiologist in training at the University of California.]

Discrimination Against Women Teachers

William Jackson

Teaching is often held up as an example of at least one field where women are not discriminated against or oppressed; where — in fact — women rule. In reality, it is no better than any other job in this respect.

An American Federation of Teachers vice-president, Mary Riordan of Detroit, has commented on "... the all-pervasiveness of paternalism or male-chauvinism so evident in most school districts ... (American Teacher, October, 1971)."

Some of the facts on discrimination in the education "industry" were brought out in the October *Ladies Home Journal*, in Letty Pogrebin's column on "The Working Woman." She points out that advancement, promotion, and job mobility are all limited for women:

... In elementary schools women outnumber men teachers nearly nine to one — but 78 percent of all elementary principals are men. In the secondary schools, the proportion of men and women teachers is about equal, yet 96 percent of secondary school principals are men! Out of 13,000 school superintendents in this country, only three are women.

Another area of oppression is that of maternity leave. A minority of men make the rules for the majority of women, telling them when they must leave and how long they must stay out.

Mrs. Riordan notes that "... maternity leaves are granted in strange ways.

In Detroit, until this year, a woman who wanted to take maternity leave had to take it for two years ... Mrs. Pogrebin says, "... it is appalling to note the blatantly sexist attitude toward the pregnant teacher ... In many instances she loses seniority, benefits, and even the right to return to her own school or class level." Although many teachers are forced to begin and end their leaves by male-made rules, "In no case is a teacher paid during any period of her involuntary unemployment."

The columnist does not mention that

at the last AFT convention the national leadership opposed and defeated the bargaining demand for a period of paid maternity leave.

The union did adopt the demand "... that child-care centers be set up nationwide at the places where people are employed; that these centers be part of the school district; and that they be open to working parents in the community for enrollment." Unfortunately, the AFT pledged to fight for this demand not by building an alliance of

working women, but by "an active campaign in state and national legislatures ... — the same legislatures that won't even pay us our legal salary increments!

There is a myth that conditions are gradually getting better for women. Mrs. Pogrebin shows that the status of women teachers has gotten worse, not better:

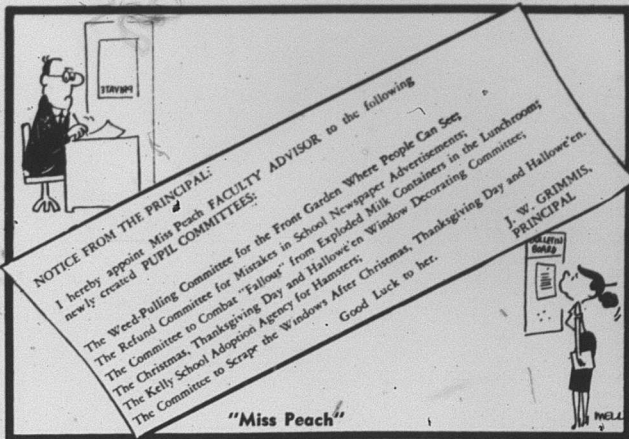
"Forty years ago most school principals were women. In the high schools ... the proportion of women teachers has dropped sharply since 1950, from 57 to 46 percent. Today only one state has a woman chief school officer; 20 years ago there were six."

A similarly worsening situation has prevailed at the higher education level, according to Valerie Johnson (*American Teacher*, Oct. 1971): "In 1870, one-third of the faculty members at American universities were women. Today the figure is less than one-fourth."

By contrast, the proportion of women teachers has remained near the 90 percent mark at the less prestigious and lower-paying elementary school level.

Conditions never improve of themselves. Conditions will improve only if women teachers — like all workers, like all women — realize that they are oppressed and organize to fight back.

[William Jackson is a school teacher in New York City and a member of the International Socialists.]





feedback

YES, BUT ...

As a revolutionary socialist, worker and parent, I thought the lead article on racism and bussing in *Workers' Power*, no. 43, was basically good. In a situation where all the forces of racism are aligned against equality in education, revolutionary workers must support integration. To these racists, who allow our class to be divided, integration is synonymous to equality.

At the same time, as the article makes clear, we must fight for quality education. To watch one's children (even in an integrated school) regimented, lined-up, yelled at and, generally, to see their spirits overwhelmed by irrational authority is deeply heartbreaking. To see working class people in Pontiac, Michigan, or elsewhere, uphold today's rotten, authoritarian, and thoroughly racist school system is scarcely less depressing.

Clearly, we must support integration and quality education in the face of this sort of bigotry — a bigotry which is more in the interests of the employing class than of our children.

Yet, I feel that the article failed to deal with all the issues that face black parents and children in today's schools. Many black revolutionary groups have been critical of integration as a solution to their problems in our urban school systems.

With justification, they have seen integration as but another means of depriving their children of any knowledge of their heritage. In many cases they have watched city school boards pose integration as an alternative to black control over black community institutions.

The short-coming of the Karl Fischer article was that it did not clearly deal with the problem of racist domination of formally integrated schools. Black youth, and indeed white youth, must

be educated in the black heritage — and we would add, the Latin and women's heritage.

We must oppose racist opposition to integration, but we must also support the desire of black parents to see their children made aware of their particular heritage, and to have a full voice in the general conduct of the school system.

Brian Mackenzie

NO

I would like to disagree with the political support for the Pontiac, Michigan, bussing program and the Detroit decision on school segregation expressed by Karl Fischer in *Workers' Power* nos. 43 and 44. In my opinion this position is an adaptation to a strategy which attacks the living standards — and particularly the quality of education — offered to both black and white workers, under the cover of *pretending* to grant the principle of equal educational opportunity.

The "bussing crisis" cannot be examined apart from the national crisis in education — of which racism is one aspect — and the broader social and economic deterioration in the US discussed in part by Fischer in *WP* no. 43. In response to this crisis, America's ruling class is committed to placing the burden of solving it onto the working class, through the New Economic Policy and other measures.

Black and other oppressed people, and black workers especially, have been hit hardest by this crisis and among the first to fight back — demonstrating their potential ability to shake this society to the core and forcing the rulers to respond rhetorically to their demands.

One such response is the Pontiac bussing program, under which black students are assigned to previously all-white schools and white students (mainly working class) assigned to the broken-down, dangerous,

and miserable schools where blacks are presently trapped. Bussing isn't even a demand made by a mass movement — it is based on court suits by middle-class groups with at best the passive support of many blacks.

This program is a complete fraud — it fails completely to improve the quality of education, and (contrary to the claims of its defenders) is fundamentally anti-democratic in two ways.

In the first place, it rejects the right of all black students to the best possible education (and therefore to attend the



best schools — which would and should be flooded until there is massive upgrading and new construction of schools in the black community). Instead it leaves blacks to fight each other over who gets favorable assignments. Secondly, it imposes a *cutback* in education, for those students (mostly but not entirely white) who will be assigned for transfer to poorer schools.

Socialists must be uncompromising in supporting any and all democratic reforms, including integration — but we must also, when necessary, explain the difference between a democratic reform and a swindle, regardless of its popularity.

The Pontiac bussing program provides a perfect example of the liberal as opposed to socialist approach to demands for equality and social betterment, particularly in a period of crisis. This program consciously elevates the democratic demand for integration — which arises in regard to education only because blacks are trapped in the worst positions by a racist and decaying system — to the level of an abstract principle which is allowed to override the underlying basic issue of universal free quality education.

It improves slightly the relative overall position of blacks in education in the context of a drastic decline in the quality of education for everyone. It lays the basis for similar programs which liberals support — to reform the system by redistributing income within the working class while cutting down the share of wealth received by the entire class — in housing, medical care, and all other social services.

To the extent that it wins the support of the black masses, it diverts their movement away from demands for quality education for all black children, which challenge the system, and toward conflict with whites over favored treatment within the system (even to the point where organized self-defense against white racist attacks might become necessary — although liberals don't want things getting that far out of hand).

Socialists have an unequivocal, direct method of opposing forced segregation: we should oppose all regulations which prevent black students from attending schools of their choice. In Detroit, as Fischer notes, such an arrangement perpetuates *de facto* segregation and unequal education — which shows that segregation is not the real issue involved. The program needed is not one that turns the democratic content of the demand for integration inside out by advancing some blacks and victimizing some whites, but rather one of quality education for blacks — quality education for all.

Fischer's solution, to give critical support to the bussing program, is a political cop-out from which no viable struggle can be developed. It lets the liberals use bussing to suppress any chance of building a movement based in the working class fighting for massive educational improvements — since it is absurd to expect such a movement to emerge while blacks and whites fight over getting into the decent schools.

A socialist program for the education crisis is an interventionist and active one. We should urge that the black movement march on local and state government demanding massive educational improvements, rather than out to the white schools to enforce bussing (which Fischer should call for, based on his position, but doesn't since he's not for race-war).

This approach would contribute to reviving the militant wing of the black movement, whose collapse is responsible for the middle-class moderates' ability to channel the movement into its present impasse. At the same time, those whites who oppose racism, but find themselves forced — in order to protect their own children from being bussed — toward the racist organizations which are leading the opposition to bussing in Pontiac, must be urged to begin organizing similar mass actions for universal quality education.

This program is opposed at every point to the acceptance, by blacks or whites, of the bussing program in Pontiac and similar ones elsewhere.

David Finkel

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| Champaign | 75 | 125 | 167 |
| Chapel Hill | 60 | 30 | 50 |
| Chicago | 600 | 255 | 42 |
| Cincinnati | 30 | 10 | 33 |
| Cleveland | 30 | 30 | 100 |
| Davis | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| Detroit | 1,000 | 1,820 | 182 |
| Eureka | 75 | 75 | 100 |
| Lansing | 30 | 30 | 100 |
| Los Angeles | 1,000 | 205 | 21 |
| Madison | 100 | 150 | 150 |
| New Jersey | 400 | 160 | 40 |
| New York | 1,500 | 1,427 | 95 |
| Pittsburgh | 45 | 0 | 0 |
| Riverside | 30 | 10 | 33 |
| Portland | 30 | 60 | 200 |
| Rochester | 30 | 30 | 100 |
| San Diego | 45 | 0 | 0 |
| San Francisco | 400 | 107 | 26 |
| Seattle | 600 | 459 | 76 |
| Nat'l Office | 1,120 | 1,198 | 107 |
| M.A.L.'s | 185 | 56 | 27 |
| TOTAL | 10,000 | 7,237 | 72 |

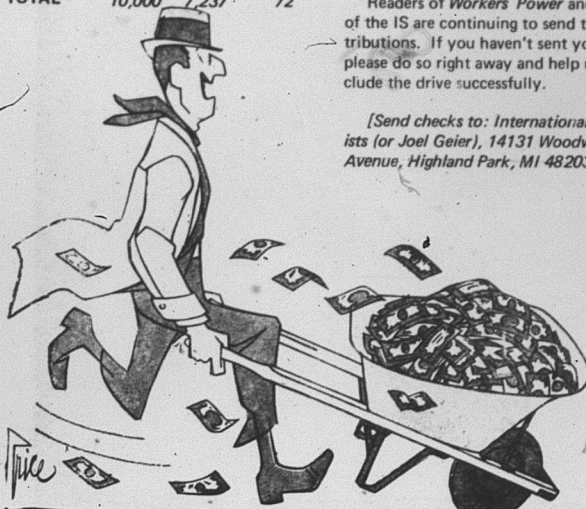
The IS fund drive has passed the half-way point: at press time we are in the seventh week and have raised 72 percent of our quota. Half the branches are ahead of schedule and several have reached or exceeded their quotas. These are the branches that have thus far kept the drive ahead of schedule.

As we near the end of the drive, and as these branches reach their quotas, the drive will fall behind unless the branches that are behind catch up. San Diego, Davis and Pittsburgh are the chief offenders in this category, but Los Angeles and San Francisco are near the bottom also.

Detroit is still in the lead in terms of the amount of money raised. The National Office has joined the branches that have fulfilled their quotas. Portland still has the greatest percentage collected. Seattle has made the most progress since the last report.

Readers of *Workers' Power* and friends of the IS are continuing to send their contributions. If you haven't sent yours yet, please do so right away and help us conclude the drive successfully.

[Send checks to: International Socialists (or Joel Geier), 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, MI 48203.]



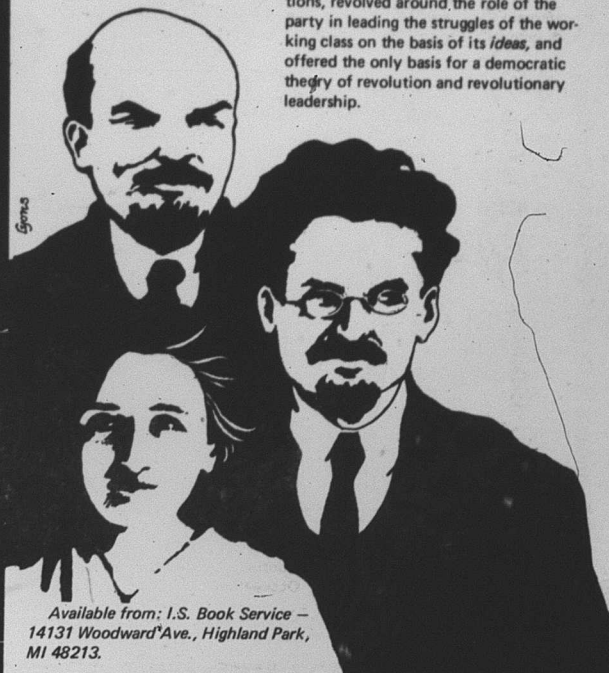
Party and Class

Chris Harman

25c

Harman studies the Stalinist and Social-Democratic theories of the party and shows that, while one offers a "narrow" elite party and the other a "broad" mass party, both lead to anti-democratic functioning and substitute the action of the party for that of the working class.

Harman shows that Lenin's and Trotsky's theory differed from both conceptions, revolved around the role of the party in leading the struggles of the working class on the basis of its *ideas*, and offered the only basis for a democratic theory of revolution and revolutionary leadership.



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