



Thieu Regime Totters

As we go to press, a major offensive has been launched by North Vietnamese forces against the armies of the Saigon regime. Sweeping across the DMZ, they have captured over half of Quang Tri Province, with the South Vietnamese army retreating in front of them. They are also threatening to cut the country in half by capturing the southern highlands. As South Vietnamese troops have been moved to the north to defend Quang Tri, battles have begun in the Saigon area. Even Thieu has been forced to admit that his regime is in danger.

Reflecting its policy of not admitting anything until the rest of the world already knows it, the Nixon administration has been trying to project an attitude of calm. Government spokesmen proclaim confidence in the South Vietnamese army's ability to withstand the assault. Given the Laos fiasco, and now the rapid retreat from the DMZ, this must be hard to do with a straight face.

The administration admits that this offensive represents an acid test of Nixon's highly publicized "Vietnamization" program, and indeed it does. One obvious conclusion can be drawn already -- the South Vietnamese army wouldn't stand a chance without US air support.

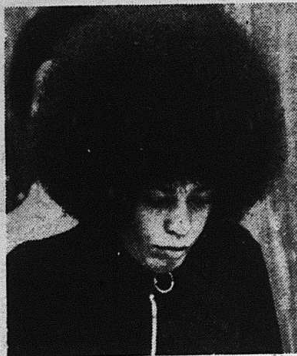
The possible collapse of the Saigon forces underlines once again the real nature of Nixon's "Vietnamization" program -- that it is not a program for ending US involvement in the war, but for *prolonging it*. Nixon has no

[Continued on page 4]



North Vietnamese troops

EDITORIAL DAVIS ON TRIAL



Following the selection of an all-white jury, testimony began on March 30 in the trial of Angela Davis on murder and conspiracy charges. Davis is charged with providing guns used in the "jailbreak" attempt in Marin County, California, on August 7, 1970, in which two black prisoners, a judge and the younger brother of Soledad Brother George Jackson were killed.

The tone for the trial was set by the opening statement of prosecutor Albert Harris, Jr. Harris stated openly from the outset that *the state would present no material evidence linking Davis to the alleged conspiracy to kidnap hostages for the release of George*

Jackson and other prisoners. The state's evidence in the case is purely *circumstantial* -- that is, the fact that Davis purchased the guns used in the "jailbreak" is the "proof" that she masterminded the escape attempt itself.

To back up this less than convincing argument, Harris stated that the prosecution would demonstrate a "motive" on Davis' part -- a "passionate personal involvement" between Davis and George Jackson, which supposedly drove Davis to undertake any attempt, no matter how suicidal, to free her lover. The evidence for this contention will consist of letters exchanged between Davis and Jackson (who had

been imprisoned for ten years for an alleged \$70 robbery), plus one personal meeting which occurred when she visited Jackson in prison.

Harris' gutter-level, sensationalist presentation was answered directly by Davis herself in her opening statement. Assuring the jury (as Harris himself had actually admitted) "that at no time will you hear evidence that a gun was bought by me for any criminal intent or purpose," she stated that she had purchased the guns for protection following death threats from right-wingers. These threats followed a long period of harassment by the Regents of the University of California, who or-

[Continued on page 7]

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 all national minorities; the liberation of women from subordination in society and the home; the organization of homosexuals to fight their oppression. These struggles are in the interest of the working class as a whole: the bars of racism and male chauvinism can only prevent the establishment of workers' power. Oppressed groups cannot subordinate their struggle today to the present level of consciousness of white male workers: their independent organization is necessary to their fight for liberation. But we strive to unite these struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

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

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

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

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

The International Socialists is holding a socialist educational conference on the crisis of capitalism and the rank and file revolt in the labor movement, to be held in Chicago on May 13 and 14. The conference will feature speakers and discussions on various aspects of the economic and social crisis in the US, the intensification of the class struggle in response to the government's New Economic Policy, the impact on the black liberation movement and the tasks of socialists in the present situation.

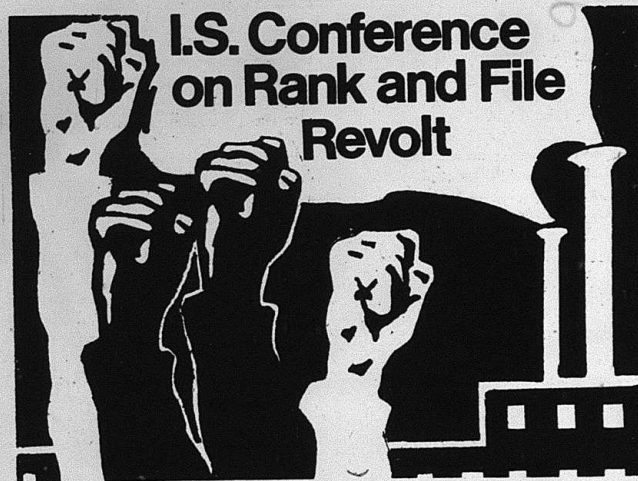
In addition to veterans of the earlier labor, civil rights, and socialist movements, the speakers will include active members of the United National Caucus of the United Auto Workers, the United Action caucus in Local 1101 of the Communication Workers of America, and the United Action Caucus of the American Federation

of Teachers. The experiences of these groups provide insights into the course of the struggle against the policies of the bureaucratic officialdom of the trade unions and the attempt to develop a new, fighting strategy for the American working class.

The site of the conference will be the Circle Campus of the University of Illinois. The conference organizers expect to attract observers and participants from many areas of the Midwest. Readers of *Workers' Power* are especially encouraged to attend. ■

[For information on registration, housing, childcare, and the schedule and speakers for the conference, please write:

Chicago International Socialists,
P.O. Box 3451 Merchandise Mart,
Chicago, Illinois 60654, or call
312-753-2233, Extension 114.]



Workers' Power 55

Copyright © 1972 by the International Socialist Publishing Company.

Editor: Kit Lyons. Editorial Board: James Coleman, Joel Geier, Kit Lyons, Jack Trautman, Michael Stewart. Art Editor: Lisa Lyons.

14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203. Subscriptions: \$3.50 per year. Supporting subscriptions: \$.50. Foreign subscriptions: \$5. Bundles of 10 copies or more: 10c per copy. Introductory subscriptions: \$1 for 3 months. Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of *Workers' Power*, which are expressed in editorials.

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

Workers' Power is a member of the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS) and a subscriber to Liberation News Service and G.I. Press Service.





Michael
Stewart

THE DEMOCRATS, PART 2

The McGovern Myths

George McGovern has been an announced candidate for President longer than anyone else. He has been almost continuously running since he picked up the fallen mantle of Robert Kennedy in 1968. In spite of all his hard work, the polls have shown him running at best fourth.

The focus of McGovern's candidacy has been his opposition to the war. On his basis he has staked his claim to be the leader of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. He hopes to win the nomination by picking up the support of the old Kennedy-McCarthy forces from 1968.

This strategy has met with some success, and McGovern has won the support of numerous liberal coalitions in various states, including the New Democratic Coalition in New York and the California Democratic Council in California.

McGovern's anti-war reputation has won him the support of many students and anti-war activists, who in many states have provided the backbone of his campaign. He has helped once more to convince them to give the Democratic Party another chance.

McGovern, however, represents nothing new in the Democratic Party, nor are his politics significantly to the left of any of the other major candidates, except Wallace. This is clearest with regard to his strongest position, his opposition to the war.

McGovern claims that he is the only candidate who has been consistently opposed to the war, not merely since 1968, but since the early days of the war. There is a wide gap, however, between what McGovern has said about the war and what his voting record has been.

In 1966, McGovern voted against repeal of the Tonkin Gulf resolution which had provided the "legal" cover for Johnson's escalation of the war. In 1967 he voted to allocate defense appropriations for Vietnam, and he has consistently voted in favor of defense budgets which included allocations to fund the war.

McGovern's position on immediate withdrawal has been at best vague. He has at various times been for negotiations, setting a date for withdrawal, conditional on the release of all prisoners of war. Now he claims that, if

electd, he would withdraw all troops within 90 days. Perhaps he would, but campaign promises are cheap, and his record does not instill confidence.

More important, however, McGovern's policies do not represent any significant break with America's foreign policy as a whole, with the imperialist foreign policy which is responsible for the war in Vietnam. He is not in favor of dismantling the US's foreign military bases, nor of cutting off military aid to the various reactionary dictatorships the US currently supports.

He still supports NATO and SEATO, the two main imperialist alliances the US established at the end of World War II. Yet without a fundamental change in foreign policy, there will be new wars to come.

McGovern promises to cut back the defense budget to around \$50 billion a year, from the current \$83 billion, and of course any cutback would be welcome. But the cutback he proposes is not based upon opposition to the policy of US imperialist adventures abroad. He just disagrees about

how much it should cost to maintain American imperialism.

Thus, his \$50 billion figure is based on the Pentagon's estimate for a 1½ war capability, as opposed to the current 2½ war capability. The point, of course, is that even one imperialist war is too many.

Yet even here, his campaign promises dwarf his past performance actions. In 1967, he voted for budget cuts in everything but defense. In spite of this, it is still widely believed that McGovern is an anti-war candidate.

ANTI-LABOR RECORD

His position on other issues is equally weak. For example, while he is vigorously criticizing Nixon's economic program now, McGovern voted for a bill giving the President authority to impose a wage-price freeze, and has consistently spoken in favor of "selective" wage and price controls.

He also favors controls on profits, calling for an "excess" profits tax. But he voted against a freeze on profits, and it is difficult to tell what he means by "excess" profits.

In truth, McGovern's controls would work no differently than Nixon's because they accept the same analysis upon which Nixon's controls are based. That is, the idea that working people, especially those in large unions, are the ones responsible for inflation. McGovern's selective price controls would be just as fictitious as Nixon's, while wages would continue to be rigidly controlled.

Any doubt of this was removed when McGovern voted for a bill to enforce compulsory arbitration to end the dock strike. Presumably, he too feels that dock workers are being paid too much. This bill concerned more than dock workers' modest wages, however, and was an attack on the entire labor movement's right to strike.

Nor was this vote an isolated mistake on McGovern's part. In 1967 he twice voted to extend the ban on strikes by the rail unions.

His most famous anti-labor vote, however, came in 1966 -- his vote, against cutting off a conservative filibuster aimed at preventing repeal of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act,

[Continued on page 5]

In Wisconsin's April 4 presidential primary, voters had another chance to take part in the popularity contests which influence who is nominated for President by the major parties. As in New Hampshire and Florida, their votes most clearly showed dissatisfaction with the alternatives offered by the Democrats and Republicans.

Senator George McGovern upset the leaders by finishing first, with 30 percent of the vote; George Wallace upset the trailers by stealing second place with 22 percent. Humphrey's 22 percent kept him in the running, while Senator Muskie's dismal 10 percent virtually wiped his candidacy out. Lindsay, with only 7 percent, withdrew from the race.

Muskie, the front-runner until New Hampshire, was the victim of his own strategy of projecting a bland image, avoiding taking positions on issues, and relying on contentless slogans like "Trust Muskie." Muskie's recent,

blatantly cynical attempts to switch to a fighting reform image did him no good.

The big votes went to the "protest" candidates -- McGovern and Wallace. McGovern, considered a sure loser until now, managed to come on like a traditional Democratic Party reformer -- pro-labor, anti-war, in favor of tax reform. His positions on all these issues were weak-kneed, but he clearly tapped the desire of many voters for progressive changes.

THE WALLACE VOTE

Wallace, benefiting from a "huge" Republican vote (Wisconsin law allows cross-voting), drew both on the race issue (which continues to be his stock-in-trade although not pitched openly) and the sense of many voters that both parties are rotten. Wallace has played down his refrain that "there's not a dime's difference between the Democrats and Republicans," now that he is running as a Democrat, but

he remains the only candidate to raise this question.

Wallace thus emerges as one of the slickest capitalist candidates -- for in fact there is not a dime's worth of difference, except in rhetoric, between Wallace and the other candidates. Wallace talks a lot about the "little man," but he is as much tied to business interests as the others.

Despite the strength of the "protest" votes in Wisconsin, Humphrey is the candidate whose position has been strengthened most. Unless McGovern can make a clean sweep in later primaries -- which is unlikely -- he will not have the delegate strength to win in one ballot. And if the Democratic convention is decided by the party power brokers, the big-city bosses, and the business interests behind them, as is almost certain, they will prefer someone more reliable from their point of view than McGovern. Humphrey is grooming himself to be their choice. ■

Wisconsin: McGovern Up, Muskie Down, Lindsay Out

The events following the murder of the Maoist Rene-Pierre Overney by an armed security guard at the Renault factory have clearly shown both the enormous potential and the deep weaknesses of the French left.

The crowd at Overney's funeral was at least 100,000 -- some estimates put it at more than 200,000. This is remarkable not merely because it was the biggest demonstration since May 1968, but because it was organized not only without the support of the Communist Party, but against its active opposition.

The role of the French Communist Party has been quite scandalous throughout the whole affair. It has made a token criticism of Renault's armed guards, but its whole attack has been on the leftists.

Worse still, the Party has not merely criticized the tactics of the leftists, which might be legitimate, but has openly attempted to label them as agents of the right.

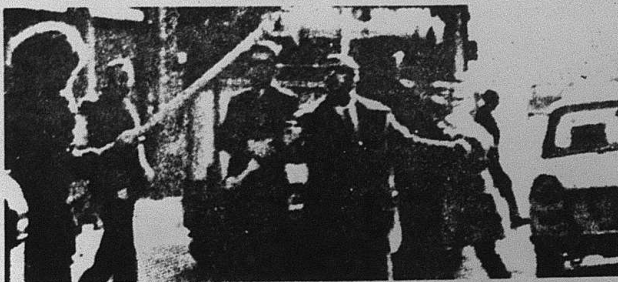
The whole operation represents a return to the worst traditions of Stalinism, with its accusations of fascism and treachery directed at any political opponent.

Thus, on the evening after Overney was killed, the Renault branch of the CGT (the union controlled by the Communist Party) issued a statement including the following:

"A serious provocation has just taken place. The management, the government and their Maoist accomplices must take full responsibility. Thus for more than two years leftist groups have been used outside the factory to create an unhealthy atmosphere, with the aim of slowing down the struggle for our demands and of discrediting nationalization."

"Therefore on various occasions the CGT at Renault has denounced this collaboration of leftists and management. Fascist toughs, under Maoist labels, have been specially employed and carried out a series of provocations at the company."

The following Tuesday, after the first demonstration of protest, the



The murder of Overney (left, with pole) by a Renault secret policeman (center).

What Now For The French Left?

Ian Birchall

Communist Party paper L'Humanite commented:

"The self-styled 'revolutionaries' have carried out an anti-Communist demonstration. One which the government expected of them. One which corresponds to the true nature of their groups. One which explains why they exist and why the press and radio credit them with an importance they don't really have."

Why does the Communist Party stoop to such implausible slanders? Even the corrupt careerists of the French Socialist Party put on a better display of concern at the practices of the Renault management.

The answer lies in next year's parliamentary elections. The Party is aiming for an electoral agreement with the Socialist Party and other 'progressive' parties.

Such an alliance, if present trends

continue, could win the election. For this the Party is willing to sacrifice everything.

In order to prove themselves worthy to re-enter the mainstream of French politics, from which they have been excluded since the beginning of the Cold War 25 years ago, they must prove they are 'respectable.'

The Socialists, on the other hand, are eminently 'respectable.' What they need is support from militants. They can afford a few crocodile tears for Overney.

Overney's funeral showed that the leftists are capable, without and against the Communist Party, of organizing a massive turnout of young militants. The revolutionary left has not declined since May 1968. It has in fact grown stronger.

Yet the past two weeks have also

shown that the weaknesses that were present in May 1968 are still there.

Too many revolutionaries still believe it is possible to by-pass the real work of developing working class consciousness. They think that striking gestures or acts of courage are enough.

The tragedy of Overney's death is that, while it mobilized a huge response on the streets of Paris, it did not provoke the workers inside the factory to take decisive action against the management and its reign of terror.

The incident during which Overney was killed was just one among many where Maoists from outside tried to enter the factory to carry out agitation. A correspondent of *Lutte Ouvriere* inside Renault describes the reaction to one such invasion by a delegation including writer Jean-Paul Sartre:

"However spectacular it may have been, this raid into Renault left nothing behind, and could hardly have done so. Half-interested, half-amused, the workers consider this kind of action as spectators, not wanting in any case to be associated with the Maoists for fear of getting the sack."

The kidnapping of Nogrette, a Renault manager, was a similar stunt. Nogrette was released after two days. Little was achieved except that the police were given a good excuse for searching the homes of many left-wingers in Paris.

In fact, the Nogrette kidnapping helped to draw the line between the gimmick-chasers and the serious revolutionary left.

A joint statement was issued by seven left-wing organizations (the PSU, *Lutte Ouvriere*, and other Trotskyist groups) criticizing the kidnapping as "an action contrary to the united mass movement launched at the time of Pierre Overney's funeral, which enables the middle class to step up its policy of repression, and enables the Communist Party leadership to try to justify its methods of exclusion and splitting." ■

[Ian Birchall is a member of the British International Socialists.]

Vietnam

[Continued from page 1]

intention of withdrawing all troops and ending air support. Even now, more aircraft carriers are on their way to South Vietnam. The US aircraft strength is already at its highest in the war.

In desperation, the government is trotting out numerous old lies about Vietnam. One official even tried to argue, on the April 3 NBC *Evening News*, that this offensive was a violation of the Geneva accords of 1954. But the Geneva accords -- an imperialist deal to begin with -- were thrown out the window by the US in 1956, when it refused to hold elections which could have ousted its puppet, Diem.

Government officials are also

claiming that the offensive is a violation of the "1968 accords" leading to the bombing halt. But there never were any accords. Johnson was forced to stop the bombing because of the failure of his policies in Vietnam and the strength of the anti-war movement at home.

One could laugh off these absurd claims except for the fact that there is a horrible logic behind them -- to provide a basis for the resumption of the wholesale bombing of the north. With these lies they try to place the blame for new US aggressions on North Vietnam.

Any resumption of the bombing of the north should be a signal for immediate, mass, militant demonstrations protesting the bombing and demanding an immediate withdrawal of all US troops and planes from Indochina. Such action would prove once and for all that the anti-war movement has not been fooled by the lies of Nixon and his henchmen.

Some will say that demonstrations are not what is needed now, but rather votes for the Democrats in November. But where is the Democratic

Party now that a decisive point has been reached in the war? What is it doing to bring about US withdrawal?

A recent statement by George McGovern gives an indication of what the Democratic Party's real attitude towards the war is. The *New York Times* reported that on ABC's *Issues and Answers* McGovern stated "that the attack convinced him more than ever that the Vietnam war was a 'hopeless venture' and that the US should make a deal setting a final date for withdrawal in return for release of American prisoners."

That's all. No call to action, no demand that Nixon withdraw now, no call even for immediate Senate action. Only that he has been convinced that the war is a "hopeless venture." Presumably if it wasn't a hopeless venture, if the US could somehow win, he would have no objections to the continued brutal oppression of the Vietnamese people.

It is the Democratic Party as a whole which was responsible for developing the policies which led to the war. It has not changed its basic position on those policies, nor its sup-

port of American imperialism in general. Its "opposition" to the war is based not on a recognition of the right of self-determination for Vietnam, but only on the fact that the US can't win, and that the war is weakening US imperialism in other parts of the world.

And where are those labor leaders who have often spoken out against the war? They are the ones who should be calling demonstrations and work stoppages to force an immediate end to the war. It is the organized labor movement which has the power to end the war, not next year but now. The labor bureaucrats, however, are more afraid of a mobilization of the rank and file than of the continuation of the war in Vietnam.

National demonstrations have been called in New York and Los Angeles by the National Peace Action Coalition for April 22. It is especially important, given the present offensive and the possibility of a large-scale US escalation, that these be large demonstrations. We urge everyone who is opposed to the war to join and help build those demonstrations. ■

McGovern

[Continued from page 3]

the section enabling States to outlaw the union shop.

In spite of this record, McGovern still parades himself as the friend of labor. With friends like that, who needs enemies?

McGovern has been a strong supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment, and this has won him the support of some women's groups. However, many women recognize that this amendment is a mixed blessing, since it will be used to abolish all protective legislation, much of which is beneficial to women workers and should be extended to cover all workers, not simply abolished.

Furthermore, McGovern has opposed repeal of all abortion laws, preferring instead "liberalization." He has also refused to support 24 hour, community-controlled child care centers for all.

McGovern has supported all major civil rights legislation, and believes that this qualifies him as a friend of the blacks. However, most blacks have realized how shallow such legislation was. Firmly rooted in the racist framework of the Democratic Party, McGovern has no real program for significantly improving the conditions of black people in this country, nor for ending racism. The first step toward the liberation of the black community -- like the first step toward any real change in this country -- must be a break from the Democratic Party -- the most important single prop of the American status quo:

On the question of busing, an issue of major concern to black people, he has taken no clear position. While he voted against the anti-busing amendment, he voted for a bill to bar the use of federal funds for busing except where the local board specifically requested it, and to bar the government from forcing school districts to implement busing programs.

McGovern's politics are not significantly different from those of the other candidates, either Democratic or Republican, because he accepts the same framework that they do, the framework of the capitalist system. And that framework allows very little leeway today in terms of concrete alternative actions.

McGovern's program is as bankrupt as all the others, and offers no real change. Where they propose a band-aid to solve the society's ills, he at most proposes two. None are willing to operate in order to save the patient.

Basic change cannot be won using campaigns like McGovern's (or Shirley Chisolm's) as a vehicle. On the contrary, they have the effect of helping prop up the status quo -- by preserving the illusion that change can be won through the Democratic Party.

McGovern's real problem in this campaign is convincing people that he can beat Nixon in November. That is the only real "issue" in this election. That is why the campaign is so dull. It is also why, no matter who wins, we lose. ■

Seattle: A Taste Of The 30's

Shelley Van Dyke

One of the areas that has been hardest hit by the economic recession in the US is Seattle, Washington. The whole economy of the area is based upon the aerospace industry, which is severely depressed; there have been a great number of lay-offs and cutbacks. One of the problems that has accompanied the resulting high rate of unemployment is hunger.

Efforts to alleviate the hunger problem have come mainly from community groups and have resulted in the setting-up of volunteer food banks. The largest of these food bank projects in Seattle is Neighbors in Need which has been operating for over a year.

Neighbors in Need maintains 36 neighborhood food stations, providing food for an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 people a week with no questions asked. In addition to handing out food to anyone who needs it, Neighbors in Need has succeeded in calling attention to the enormity of the problem and putting pressure on the government to respond to it.

Although Washington State has a food stamp program, it is obvious from the number of people who use Neighbors in Need that it has failed completely to meet people's needs. But then, a program that has in the past been unable to satisfy the hunger of the perpetually poor can hardly be expected to deal with the present situation caused by a depressed economy. In fact, food stamp requirements have recently been stiffened, preventing more and more people from using the program.

The last few months have seen a growing controversy over the prospect of a federal food distribution program in the Puget Sound area. The Department of Agriculture at first insisted that it did not have the legal authority to allow surplus food to be distributed in areas which also have a food stamp program. Senator Magnuson of Washington led the fight for the program by

calling the Department of Agriculture insensitive and hard-hearted.

While the great debate continued, Seattle, with unemployment at a record 13 percent and many people's unemployment insurance running out, got hungrier.

On November 28, having completed a study of the area, the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs strongly recommended the federal distribution of commodities in the Puget Sound region in addition to the use of food stamps. The Senate investigators found in Seattle "widespread evidence that many families are suffering from nutritional deprivation." They also stated that the Agriculture Department had ample food available and clear legislative authority to approve the state's application to operate a direct distribution program along with food stamps.

The Agriculture Department's position was weakened further by the outcome of a suit filed by Legal Services. A United States District Court Judge ruled that the department was violating the law by not distributing the food.

On December 10, the Department of Agriculture finally directed that surplus food stocks be released for distribution in the Puget Sound area. On December 30, the program went into effect.

At first glance this may seem like a good deal -- it is not. The distribution program is limited to a three county area, but hunger in Washington State is not. Most important, though, is the fact that the program has had almost no effect.

In order to get surplus food you must first go through the dehumanizing process of qualifying for food stamps. Then, if you are eligible, you are issued an authorization-to-purchase card.

This card enables you to either get

40 pounds of food commodities free or buy food stamps (a single person pays anywhere from \$.50 to \$27.50 for \$28 worth of food stamps, depending on income and "legitimate" expenses, such as rent, medical bills, etc.). Food stamps can be used at most grocery stores so you can buy fresh foods in addition to staples. The 40 pounds of surplus food consist of things such as dry milk, canned meat, rice, beans, etc.

More than half of those eligible to buy food stamps can't afford them. If you are among these, then you will probably decide to get the surplus food. But if you have no money to buy food stamps and no transportation of your own, how are you going to get to one of the few distribution plants to pick up the food?

If you are among those people that are able to buy the food stamps, you've still got problems. A study made by the Washington Department of Labor and Industry pointed out that a family of four living in the Seattle area needs \$161 a month for food. The food stamp program allots a family of four only \$108 a month -- \$53 short.

Many people just don't qualify for the program even though they may be in desperate need. A person who can't pay rent doesn't qualify because you must have proof of shelter. Many of the "new poor" can't qualify because they have assets such as a home or car. The same government cited above also states that a family of four needs \$600 a month to live adequately in the Seattle area, but an income of over \$360 a month makes them ineligible for food stamps.

After more than two months in operation the food commodities program has helped almost no one -- Neighbors in Need is still serving 15,000 to 20,000 people a week, new food banks are being started in various parts of the state, and food donations are even being sent to Seattle from abroad, such as from Japan (to the great embarrassment of the US government).

The real answer to the problem -- an answer that the government cannot give -- is full employment with a guaranteed annual wage. Then, and only then, will there be an end to hunger. To quote Senator Magnuson, "It's not a pleasant commentary on the American system that we have people hungry and unemployed." ■



Hunger marchers in Seattle



SEATTLE UNEMPLOYED LINE UP FOR FREE FOOD FROM "NEIGHBORS IN NEED"

Jesse Jackson And Black Liberation

Clarence Jones

Over the last decade, the bitterness and the determination-to-win of the black masses produced a consciousness of militant resistance to American capitalism. Out of this consciousness came the radical black left, which simultaneously threatened to take the black struggle beyond the confines of capitalism and to break up the restricting hegemony of the moderates in the black community.

The moderates retreated to the dressing room to reappear in new dress -- the Southern Christian Leadership Conference with its "militant insistence," the NAACP with its "community involvement," etc. In this way the moderates maintained their hegemony while the government murdered and jailed the real militants. The moderates are now the virtually unchallenged leaders of the black community.

The rise of Jessie Louis Jackson as a national figure is part and parcel of this entrenched moderate leadership. But, at the same time, it caricatures the militancy of the masses and the radical left with greater sophistication than the dress-up act of SCLC, NAACP, etc.

ASTUTE POLITICIAN

A brief profile of Jackson reveals the fact that Jesse L. Jackson is the most astute black politician in the country. Beginning his career in Chicago as the SCLC organizer of Operation Breadbasket, Jackson demonstrated his sharp insight (and class arrogance) when he moved the SCLC operations from the Westside ghetto to Southside black community.

The Westside ghetto is populated by Chicago's poorest and least-educated Blacks. The Southside is the turf of Chicago's more established black community and more organized and educated middle class. It is here that Jackson established his central power base of businessmen, professionals, and ministers, along with a subsidiary base of workers and poor.

Jackson built his power base by carrying out community economic struggles that fattened the pockets of the businessmen and enhanced the conservative role of the ministers in the community. The subsidiary base was established in the course of these same struggles -- for working and poor people minor economic gains were made (minor compared with the businessmen's gains and the people's needs).

Jackson won national prominence following the death of Martin Luther King. The death of King fragmented the black movement, which was already beginning to falter with confusion over direction.

Jackson began to strengthen his central power base nationally by proving his worthiness to the black middle class and elites. He extended the functions of Operation Breadbasket from simple store boycotts (demanding jobs

and favorable treatment for black wholesalers and manufacturers) to the lucrative Black Expo (a business fair), Black Christmas, and the endorsement of, and campaigning for, liberal politicians.

Jackson's following grew to include some of the nation's top black politicians, bankers, entertainers, and Ph.D's. National leaders of the Democratic Party, such as Ted Kennedy, began checking out the Jackson movement.

Following King's death, the charismatic Jesse began speaking out on the political issues facing the black worker and the poor. He took up the school issue and encouraged the organization of black teachers, parents, and students.

He has come to the "aid" of black rank and file caucuses, as well as encouraged the organization of black labor bureaucrats. On occasion, he has

being thousands. Unlike most, he has created a efficient and effective organization, disciplined and controlled by him.

Jackson must be crowned the best of the elitist organizers. Even though Jackson has organized a base in the most oppressed lower echelons of the black community, he has not done so primarily in their own interest. They are troops for Jackson's battles in the capitalist political system.

So even though these battles have brought marginal returns, the troops cannot assess the mistakes, and launch better, more militant campaigns, because Jackson holds all organizational controls. The troops are maneuvered here and there, but they possess neither the opportunity to make decisions or even the right to utter a word of criticism. Their "participation" is limited to gathering for weekly rally-type meetings, where the

room to move, to manipulate, and to seemingly stand above all. Operation Breadbasket gradually took on an independent character, far more militant than the SCLC.

But there were other factors behind the split. Jackson was by far the most competent SCLC organizer when it came to big city politics and organization. As the focus of the black liberation struggle moved to the North, out of the South, Jackson had a definite edge.

But even though Jackson was the most competent leader for the time and the place, he could not assume control of the SCLC following King's death -- he was too far to the left of the power center, the Atlanta staff. This situation created a state of insecurity for Ralph Abernathy, who did assume control.

Abernathy felt obliged time and time again to publicly proclaim that he was "the leader . . . chosen by God and Martin Luther King." He might have been the leader by formality and divinity, but Jackson was quickly becoming the leader in fact and deed.

SCLC vs PUSH

The conflict between Jackson and Abernathy first became apparent during the Poor Peoples Campaign. Abernathy removed Jackson from his post, mayor of Resurrection City, for leading unauthorized marches and turning the morning prayer service into political pep talks.

On December 3 of last year, the conflict reached a breaking point. Abernathy and the executive board of the SCLC summoned Jesse to a suburban motel to have him explain why he did not obtain permission to set up the Black Expo Foundation and Black Expo, Inc. Jackson pleaded innocent, stating that the black businessmen who backed Black Expo had set up the corporations to run the annual fair.

But his jury found him guilty and suspended him for two months. The important thing to understand here is not whether Jackson is guilty or innocent, but that he had gotten to big for his britches and had to be disciplined.

A week or so later Jackson announced his resignation, the reasons being he needed "room to grow, to spread out." Almost the entire staff of the Chicago-based Operation Breadbasket and SCLC chapter split with him to set up PUSH (People United To Save Humanity).

Abernathy's reply was consistent with his politics. He announced plans to rebuild the Chicago SCLC-OB and to deliver the organizations back into the hands of the conservative ministers.

Even though Jackson's PUSH is more left and militant than the SCLC, it still represents the same fundamental political strategy, i.e., pressuring



Jesse Jackson, Martin Luther King, and Ralph Abernathy in Memphis

fraternized with Chicago's youth gangs and encouraged the organization of Chicago's black police force. His successful economic boycotts have brought over 5,000 new jobs for Blacks.

It is quite clear that the white powers-that-be shiver somewhat when they hear the sound of Jackson's footsteps. It's no wonder that a lot of Black folks have their eyes glued on Jackson. The down-home Jackson presents an image of struggle, hope, and success.

Also, Jackson appears as a unifier of the black community which sees its power in a *declassé* black unity and not in class politics (a unified working class fighting black oppression). Jackson talks militant to militants and moderate to moderates. He will accommodate himself to anybody and has a little something to offer everybody (the lower status you are the littler, but still you get something).

The end result of all this is the fact that Jackson is among the few black leaders with a visible mass base num-

bers give speeches and so on.

Jackson's split with the SCLC can be characterized as a snake shedding its old, restrictive skin. Jackson was a leftist in a basically conservative organization.

The SCLC's attempts to shift to the left with the changing climate of the black community proved almost impossibly difficult. The god-like dominance of Dr. King, and the conservative base of the organization in the black clergy and Atlanta's wealthy black middle class, were obstacles to any leftward transformation. Also, the organizational structure of the SCLC helped to check any leftward drifts -- all decision-making powers were held by the Atlanta staff.

Jackson, on the other hand, was relatively independent of some of these restrictions and cleverly avoided others, such as King. Even though Jackson initially organized Operation Breadbasket with church backing, he was able to go beyond their influence with the extension of his base to many diverse elements.

This factor gave Jackson plenty of

the ruling class for concessions to blacks. The aggressive PUSH is a little more willing to kick up a storm (a small one), but, like the SCLC, it will not go beyond the boundaries established by the system.

American capitalism has a vested interest in black oppression and exploitation. It may be willing to grant concessions to quiet discontent, but never black liberation. It is therefore self-defeating to accept the limitations the system places on opposition struggles.

POOR ALTERNATIVE

The role of PUSH and SCLC in the Illinois state attorney's Democratic Primary race clearly illustrates both their differences and their similarities. The SCLC endorsed the candidate of the Democratic Party machine, Raymond Berg. PUSH endorsed the anti-machine "independent" Democrat, Donald Moore.

The SCLC endorsement was simply a continuation of the party machine tradition of Chicago's black ministers. PUSH, on the other hand, has broken with that tradition, but offered only a poor alternative.

Berg made no pretensions of having anything to offer Black people. Moore made a few nasty complaints about the party machine and Hanrahan, the incumbent who is deeply hated by Blacks, but had nothing else to offer. Both candidates are loyal to the Democratic Party, a long-standing agency of black oppression.

Jackson's leftism represents itself as a "third force." Jackson speaks of organizing the black masses into an "independent" bloc, which at times will unite with other oppressed people and "interest groups" to effect social change.

But this third force will be "independent" only in the sense that the two capitalist parties, i.e., the Democrats and Republicans, will both bargain with the third force leaders for votes. It will be an appendage to the system in that its conception of struggle is leaders wheeling-and-dealing at the top with the masses as their trump card.

BILL OF RIGHTS

Jackson's role in preventing a break with the Democrats at the National Black Political Convention fits perfectly in this picture [see *Workers' Power No. 54*]. What Jackson wants to bargain over in the '72 Presidential election is his "Economic Bill of Rights." Parts of this bill were adopted by the National Black Political Convention in Gary a few weeks ago. Also, George McGovern has adopted the document for his presidential campaign.

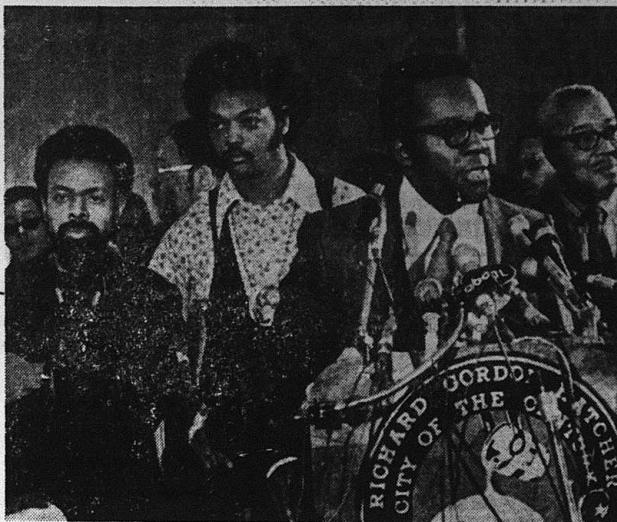
The Jackson document consists of five guarantees:

"1. A floor on incomes for all Americans at a level which provides for a modest, but decent standard of living.

"2. Creation and maintenance of an optimum environment for employment and investment in activities which enhance the marketable job skills of the poor.

"3. Elimination of racism and discrimination in all areas of American life.

"4. Maintenance of maximum opportunities for voluntary free choice decision-making by the poor.



Imamu Baraka, Jesse Jackson and Richard Hatcher in Gary

"5. Establishment of the right to a job at the level of one's ability as a national commitment."

There is no doubt that large numbers of poor and working people will behind Jackson's program. The stated objectives of the program, the elimination of poverty and racism, are good ones (although there are still important criticisms to be made, such as its vagueness on mechanics and on who's going to be taxed to pay for it—workers already bled dry or capitalist

profiteers, the creators of poverty).

But Jackson's publicly stated strategy for implementation is this: endorse and gather support for Shirley Chisholm, then use her candidacy and delegates to play "power-politics" at the Democratic National Convention. Jackson and Chisholm will strike a deal with the bigger powers, McGovern or whomever.

Thus, the question to ask at this point is will the two capitalist parties really implement this program or

Davis

[Continued from page 1]

dered Davis dismissed from the faculty because of her membership in the Communist Party.

Harris, upset by the fact that Davis—whom he is trying to portray as a woman driven by mindless passion, incapable of any critical thought or judgment—was allowed to present her own statement, attempted to interrupt her with objections until the defendant requested the judge to silence him. "We sat here four hours while he said things that were not appropriate," Davis stated, "and now we ask him not to interrupt."

"This is utterly fantastic, utterly absurd," Davis said of the case outlined by the prosecution. "The prosecution would like to take advantage of the fact that I am a woman, for in this society women are supposed to act only at the dictates of their passion. Clearly this is evidence of the male chauvinism that pervades this society."

The outlines of the trial have already begun to emerge. The prosecution will base its attempt to permanently imprison Angela Davis on an argument of individual passion. The defense, for its part, will have no difficulty in tearing the state's case to shreds. From her opening remarks,

however, it is not clear whether Davis will attempt to convince the jury that the government's real motives are political—i.e. that the state is desperate to gain a conviction against one major figure in the black movement to gain legitimacy for a new wave of repression.

There is no doubt that on purely "legal" grounds, Davis' acquittal should be assured. By all the rules of justice, conviction for a crime entailing life imprisonment (or the death penalty, until the recent California Supreme Court decision) on the basis of circumstantial evidence would be incredible.

But precisely because this case is political, its outcome will not be decided by legal arguments alone. Without a mass movement demanding freedom for Angela Davis and all political prisoners, the trial could end in defeat rather than victory.

The defense of Angela Davis would be many times more effective and powerful if the Angela Davis Defense Committees were to go beyond fund raising for the legal defense and petitions for bail and begin calling demonstrations in her support. By demanding that union officials who claim to support Davis actually mobilize their members—particularly masses of black workers—for demonstrations and work stoppages to defend her, the Defense Committee could help build a powerful deterrent to further political victimizations.

Unfortunately, the Angela Davis Defense Committees are controlled by the Communist Party, which is opposed to policies that would put "pro-

a similar program at no expense to working people?

The current economic crisis, the capitalist vested interest in racism, and our own practical experience with bosses and their politicians, all tell us that their resistance will be great. This means we need a fighting strategy and strong movement.

Neither the Democratic nor the Republican Party can possibly tolerate such a movement; their whole role in politics is to absorb or crush popular movements.

We need a movement that fights for jobs and other black needs with mass actions that will encompass all oppressed segments of the black community, especially the black worker, in democratic organizations. We don't need wheeler-dealers, but rather a clear-sighted program with no illusions about Democrats and Republicans.

We must tap the strength of the rank and file labor movement as the most powerful potential ally of black liberation. A program for all workers is the logical extension of a black program fighting for jobs, improved social services, etc. It is a logical extension in a period of rough times for all workers. Despite the racial breach between the black worker and the white worker, the rank and file labor movement will be pressed towards some level of class unity by the deterioration of their living conditions. People must not sit passively by and let unelected leaders decide their fates—the struggles of the black community should continue before, during, and after the elections. ■

gressive" union bureaucrats under any uncomfortable pressure. Thus, the opportunity to build a mass movement in the working class to defend Davis will be lost, despite the enormous sympathy for her among blacks, younger workers, and militants.

The Davis trial began against the dramatic backdrop of the acquittal of Soledad Brothers John Clutchette and Fleeta Drumgo on charges of murdering a prison guard at San Quentin in 1969. After the "not guilty" verdict on March 27, one of the jurors explained that the state had presented no case at all, that all the witnesses were prisoners who were either threatened or offered favors in return for their testimony.

The verdict was only a partial victory, however—both because Clutchette and Drumgo remain imprisoned on their earlier convictions, and because the third of the Soledad Brothers was murdered last August before the trial could begin. That prisoner was George Jackson, who more than any other individual was marked for death by the state of California and the prison authorities.

The murder of Jackson, who was shot in the back in the San Quentin prison yard, remains as eloquent testimony to the state's disregard for its own rules of "legality" and "justice" when it comes to political prisoners and black revolutionaries in particular. Nevertheless, the public impact of the Soledad Brothers acquittal is another blow to the government's war against the black movement—and will make the government even more anxious to secure a conviction in the Davis case. ■

Free Puerto Rican Political Prisoners

Eric Langdon

Court Victory In Feliciano Case

In a surprise move, the Bronx District Attorney offered a deal in which all charges, except one count of "reckless endangerment," would be dropped against Carlos Feliciano, framed Puerto Rican Nationalist militant.

The move came on the second day of consideration of pre-trial motions. The flimsiness of the D.A.'s evidence and the illegal methods of obtaining it -- including wiretaps, searches of Carlos's home and car without warrant and the use of paid police informers -- was already becoming clear.

Carlos, with the advice of his lawyers William Kunsler and Conrad Lynn and of representatives of his defense committee decided to accept a guilty plea on the one charge. Attached to the plea was the condition that all charges be dropped in Manhattan. The decision was announced to a crowded courtroom, filled mostly with representatives of the Puerto Rican movement.

The outcome was a clear victory. The government was forced to retract its initial charges of 41 bombings and its attempts to fabricate non-existent links between Carlos (and by implication the entire Puerto Rican independence movement) and an underground terrorist group and an "alien" government.

The final charge -- reckless endangerment -- can mean anything from throwing a brick through a window to driving down a one-way street the wrong way. It was accepted because of the possibility of paid agents claiming they saw Carlos with a bomb (similar perjury is going on in the Berrigan trial) and of the threat posed by the general witchhunt hysteria being whipped up against the Puerto Rican movement by the millionaire press.

The press consistently portrayed Carlos Feliciano as a "mad bomber." The influential *New York Times* persisted to the end, with a lying report that claimed the courtroom was packed with supporters of MIRA (the underground terrorist group)!

For Carlos, the last two years have been a nightmare. The 42-year-old cabinet maker, husband, and father of six, spent 17 months in jail on an out-

rageous bail of \$175,000. Denied his support, his wife, Lydia, and family were forced onto welfare.

Carlos's only crime was that, as a young man in Puerto Rico, he was a leader of the militant pro-independence Nationalist Party and participated in the 1950 independence revolt against brutal US colonial domination. He had been, because of circumstances, politically inactive for years, though he continued to advocate independence.

The Feliciano defense committee, a coalition of the entire Puerto Rican left in New York, has carried on an intensive battle to defend Carlos and to point out the test case nature of his arrest, a prelude to wholesale repression of the Puerto Rican left. It successfully combined mass actions with strong legal defense. On March 14 a rally of 600 people gathered to demand freedom for Carlos and "Yoruba" of the Young Lords.

Summing up, Jose Rivera Sotomayer, the Second Vice President of the Nationalist Party, called the decision a victory for the Puerto Rican independence movement and for the fight against social oppression both in Puerto Rico and in the US. However, there are still a host of cases pending against Puerto Rican activists -- including several new ones directed against the Young Lords Party.

A mass rally is planned for the day

of sentencing, April 10, at the Bronx courthouse, to Free Carlos Feliciano and all Puerto Rican Political Prisoners!

[Funds and support are still urgently needed. Write: Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, Box 356, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10003. It is also vital that letters be sent to the court demanding that Feliciano not be imprisoned beyond his time already served. Send letters to: Judge Asch, c/o Bronx Supreme Court, 161st and Grand Concourse, Bronx, NY.]

Police Step Up Terror Against Young Lords

Pablo "Yoruba" Guzman, Central Committee member and Minister of Information of the Young Lords Party, was sentenced early March to two years in jail for refusing induction and to attend his physical examination.

During the trial, the judge presiding over the case refused to listen to Yoruba's contentions that he was Puerto Rican and therefore not eligible for the draft since Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States while it should be an independent nation [see *Workers' Power No. 51*].

On the day he was supposed to be sentenced, a demonstration of about 500 people picketed the courts in protest and also in solidarity with Carlos Feliciano, whose trial started the same day. The judge, afraid that these two cases together would be too much for the government to handle, remembered he had another case and postponed the sentencing to the following day.

Yoruba is now appealing the case and is meanwhile working for the Young Lords Party in Philadelphia.

Saturday, March 18, three Young Lords Party members were arrested in the bloody aftermath of a rally in defense of Yoruba. The rally of 300, sponsored by the Lords, was initially disrupted as a cop car barreled toward the crowd.

Soon after, the cops began firing shotguns into the air to provoke the Puerto Rican youths. Minutes later the cops waded into the march, billy clubs swinging. To defend themselves many youths grabbed bottles and sticks.

In the melee, a molotov cocktail was thrown into a nearby bank. The



Yoruba (far left) at a meeting of Young L

cops ran wild grabbing any Young Lord in sight. Richie Bertran, Jose Torres, and Roberto Salgado were taken to the 40th precinct where they were punched around and Roberto was brutally beaten and kicked.

Richie Bertran, a Young Lords Party member, a campus organizer for the Puerto Rican Student Union, and an activist in the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, was charged with throwing the molotov cocktail. His initial bail of \$25,000 was later reduced to \$8,500, on which he was released. Richie, in a statement to *Workers' Power*, said, "We are innocent. We were there for a rally to defend Yoruba. We did nothing."

The police have recently intensified their war against the Lords. The Lords symbolize the growing resistance of Puerto Rican youth in New York to squalid housing, lack of medical care, miserable working conditions and wages, and the draft.

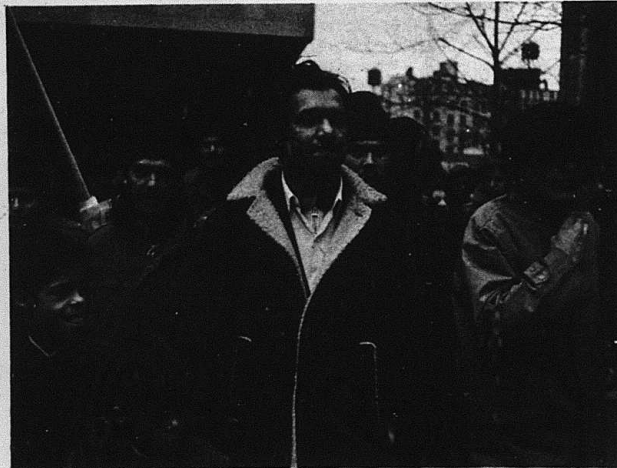
In an attempt to squelch what seems to be a resurgence of the Young Lords, the government appears to have also decided to use the tactic of drafting the Lords' leadership into the army. Benjamin Cruz, who was organizing for the Lords in Puerto Rico, was also recently arrested and charged with refusing to be drafted [see *Workers' Power No. 50*]. He is now awaiting trial.

[Defense funds and support are badly needed. Write: Young Lords Defense, 352 Willis Avenue, Bronx, New York 10454.]

Prisoners Conference Held In New York

On March 19 close to a thousand Puerto Rican youth and movement activists filled the auditorium of Our Lady Queen of Angels Church in Manhattan for a Puerto Rican Political Prisoners Conference. The Sunday before March 21 has traditionally been marked by marches commemorating the bloody massacre of unarmed Puerto Rican Nationalists by US colonial forces on Palm Sunday, 1937, as they marched to the church in Ponce demanding the release of the interned Nationalist Party leadership.

This year, the conference was held to educate and build actions to re-



Carlos Feliciano at a demonstration on March 14



ing of Young Lords Party leaders.

lease the presently-imprisoned Puerto Rican independence fighters, including Nationalist Party members still in prison from the 1950 independence uprising, and others from the attack on the US Congress in 1954, as well as more recent cases.

Father Jose McCarthy Gonzales told of his recent interview with Lolita Lebron, one of the prisoners of 1954 still held in the penitentiary in Alderson, West Virginia. Jose Rivera Sotomayor, of the Nationalist Party, gave a dramatic speech on the struggle for independence and freedom waged by the Nationalist Party in the 1930's and 1940's, and the vicious repression by the US colonial government.

A panel of representatives from on-going defense committees, including those of Carlos Feliciano, Humberto Pagan, the Young Lords, and Eduardo Cruz, gave presentations on their cases. A representative of the Hartford, Connecticut, Committee of Defense underlined that the present wave of repression was an attempt by the US government to intimidate and to drive the mass movement for independence and against social oppression off the streets.

Slides and readings presented a brief history of the Puerto Rican nation, its culture and struggle for national liberation.

The second half of the conference was devoted to an analysis of the present struggle and repression. Don Julio Pinto Gandia, of the Nationalist Party, delivered a fiery speech in which he pointed to the growing combativity of Puerto Rican workers and the heroic role of women as essential keys to the present liberation movement. Alfredo Lopez of the Carlos Feliciano Committee gave the background of the movement in New York, and Roberto Jose Maldonado, Humberto Pagan's lawyer, did the same for Puerto Rico today.

Despite its tremendous success, the conference failed to develop a strategy or an on-going organization that can win the release of these political prisoners. The size and spirit of the conference, which had the active support of the entire Puerto Rican movement in New York, indicates the potential for such a development. Hopefully in the coming months such a broad coalition organization will be built, that can work to free all Puerto Rican political prisoners and carry on the defense of the Puerto Rican community. ■

Over 2,600 workers in Edison, New Jersey, walked out on strike against the Fedders Corporation -- makers of home and industrial air conditioners, and of the Norge line of refrigerators, food disposals, and kitchen appliances.

Fedders' Edison workers come from a wide area -- about six hundred from as far away as New York City and Newark. Eighty percent are Spanish speaking -- over half are Puerto Rican, and a large percentage are Cuban. Fifteen percent of the work force are black; well over half are women. All are members of Local 483 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE).

The strike is a response to a wage-cutting offensive by the Fedders Corporation. During two weeks of contract talks, the company made the following demands on the workers:

**The elimination of seven paid holidays; *a cut in pay of 17 cents an hour for night shift workers; *a reduction in the piecework rates; *elimination of piecework system in the paint shop without an increase in the hourly wage; *automatic firing of any employee absent for 15 days in one year; *no wage increase the first or second year of the contract, and a five cent an hour raise the third year.*

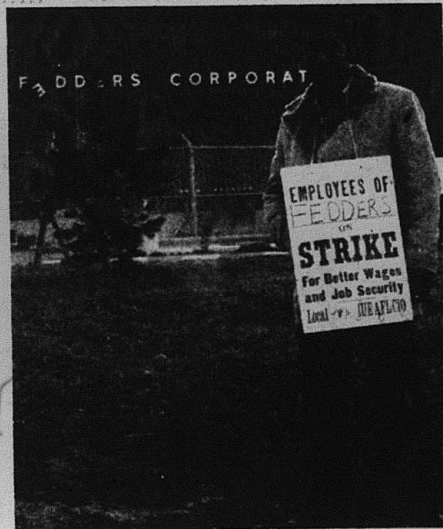
Fedders threatens to close the plant completely, or to move overseas, if these demands are not met.

Over 2,400 Fedders workers picketed at the plant gates on the first day, snarling traffic and production. By the second day, Fedders was ready. Over two hundred cop cars stood at the gates. Again there was a mass picket line, but this time there were many arrests and a number of strikers were beaten by the cops.

By the third day, the corporation had obtained an injunction -- limiting the number of pickets to twenty-five at a time, and stating how far from the gates the pickets must stand. Each day the pickets watch as 1,200 scabs and three freight trains enter and leave the plant. "I've never seen a strike like this before!" is a common complaint on the line.

The Fedders Corporation's offensive is an example of an increasingly

Strike Against Wage Cuts In New Jersey



common strategy under the New Economic Policy. Fedders and all large corporations feel that they hold all the cards. Unemployment is rising and the government's overt policy is to help the corporations squeeze workers for more profits.

Wage slashing, plant closures, and payroll paydays are becoming common in many industries and public services. Workers in any individual plant feel almost powerless to defend themselves against this kind of attack.

Yet, a defense is crucial if the unions themselves are to survive. The Fedders offensive, for example, is only the beginning of a broader attack aimed at crippling industrial unionism in the entire electrical industry. If this offensive succeeds, the progress that was made when the electrical unions united in the strike against General Electric in 1969 will be wiped out.

In its fifth week the strike is not yet lost, but it has been effectively isolated and faces probable defeat. If the strike is to be won, production at the Edison plant must be shut down.

Scabs and parts must be kept out.

Furthermore, Fedders' Edison production must not be allowed to be taken up at other assembly plants. The Edison workers need the co-operation of other Fedders' workers across the country -- co-operation which has not yet been actively sought by either the International or the local.

The strike's weakness is in large part the fault of the International. The official IUE could support the strike by acting as a link between the Edison plant and other Fedders workers around the country.

It could attempt to shut down plants where parts are coming from, and those to which Fedders' Edison production is being taken. It could negotiate with the rail union not to take freight trains to the plant, and with local construction unions to refuse to install Fedders products.

It is a sad commentary on the IUE and the union movement that the extent of the International's support is twelve dollars a week strike benefits -- from a depleted fund which will run out the first week in April. ■

Radicals Support Fedder Strike

A coalition of students, trade unionists, independent radicals, and socialists has formed in New Jersey to give support to the Fedders workers in their struggle against one of the corporate giants of the electrical industry. Calling itself the Fedders Strike Support Group (FSSG), the coalition includes third world student organizations, radical campus groups, community organizations, the newspaper collective "All You Can Eat," and the International Socialists.

The work of the FSSG cannot win the strike, but it can be a factor in its success. On a daily basis it helps to maintain the strike by getting workers onto welfare (there are few bi-lingual welfare workers to aid Spanish-speaking clients in New Jersey); collects food and clothing for strikers; and helps to publicize the strike through leafletting and demonstrations at shopping centers, making press contacts, and publication of a strike support newsletter.

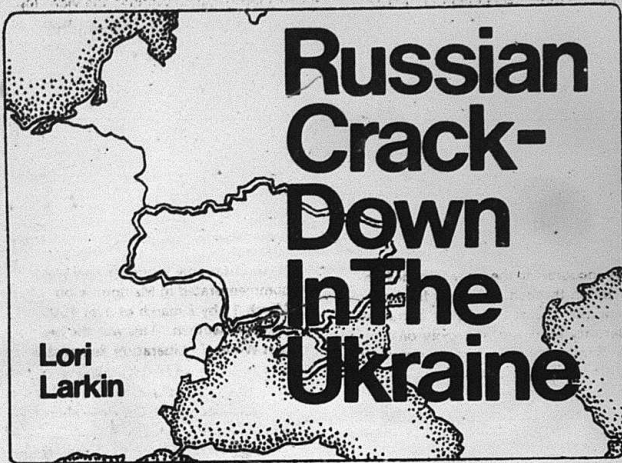
The FSSG has come under political attack by a second strike support group initiated by the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC). The NCLC launched its group with a leaflet "signed" by itself and the union local -- although the leaflet was not presented either to the local membership or the executive board (many of whom do not read English).

The NCLC leaflet called for a strike support committee based on virtually the full program of the NCLC, without even mentioning the demands of the strikers themselves for increased insurance protection, improvements in piecework rates, pro-

per ventilation in the plant, and other minimal benefits. The NCLC, which considers such demands "economist" and "trade unionist," is acting as if its only interest in the strike were as a vehicle for its own sectarian propaganda.

A particularly vicious slander in *New Solidarity*, the newspaper of the NCLC, attacked the participation of the IS members in the FSSG, denouncing the IS for supposedly "selling out" the New York telephone strike -- by building the United Action caucus which led the rank and file struggle against the international and local bureaucracies! The behavior of the NCLC in the Fedders strike has already isolated it from the strikers and from the radicals who were initially attracted by its call for strike support.

Despite limited resources and inexperience, the FSSG is playing a modest but significant role in raising the morale of the strike and breaking down its isolation from the community and the rest of the labor movement. Its work as a strike support coalition sets an example for radicals and socialists elsewhere. ■



Twenty-one Ukrainian intellectuals have been arrested in the series of house searches, police interrogations, and arrests sweeping through the Soviet Union. One of those held, Vyacheslav Chornovil, had already spent time in jail for compiling and sending to the authorities an expose of judicial violations by the KGB (Russian secret police) during a similar crackdown in the Ukraine in 1965-66. Now he is charged with "conducting activity hostile to the socialist system."

Despite the government's cries of "bourgeois nationalism," what is really at stake is the fight of Chornovil and others against forcible "Russification" . . . the banning of the Ukrainian language from schools and the suppression of Ukrainian traditions and customs, among other things.

The Ukrainians are by no means the only national minority in the Soviet Union whose protest activity is mounting. A letter has just reached Western Europe from 17 long-standing mem-

bers of the Latvian Communist Party. (Latvia is one of the three Baltic republics, sandwiched between Poland and Russia, which the Russians annexed by force in 1940.)

The letter outlines the systematic suppression of Latvian culture, the exclusion of the Latvian language from the schools and the broadcasting of two-thirds of all radio and television from Riga, the capital, in Russian. Among the evidence of oppression it cites is the fact that a very large number of the government and trade union officials are Russian, not Latvian. Many of these do not even speak the Latvian language.

The current campaign of intimidation and arrests stem from a secret resolution of the Communist Party Central Committee, dated December 30, 1971. One of the aims of the resolution is to silence the Russian "human rights" movement, particularly the underground publication, *Chronicle of Current Events*, which began appearing in 1968.

The great number of arrests which have been taking place in the Ukraine and Lithuania (another Baltic Republic) can only mean that the Russian Government fears that the dissident movement in Russia may acquire a wider base by linking up with the growing movement among oppressed minorities. Their fear is not unfounded.

Over the past year, the *Chronicle*

of *Current Events* has devoted a great deal of space to the struggles of the Crimean Tatars, the Moslem Mehti, the Jews, and other "non-Russian" groups. In December of last year, the *Chronicle* reprinted a long portion of an editorial from the underground *Ukrainian Herald*, which complained that the Russian dissidents have still not paid enough attention to the rights of non-Russian minorities.

The Soviet Committee on Human Rights, itself under heavy attack, has with greater frequency protested against the persecution of Jews and other minorities.

When the Bolsheviks, as the leadership of the working class, assumed power in Russia in 1917, the right of national self-determination was an important part of their program. Provisions in the Soviet Constitution officially guarantee this right. However, as workers' power was destroyed and the reins of state assumed by Stalin, this right, so basic to revolutionary socialist thinking fell by the wayside, along with many others.

As the aims of Russian dissenters and national minorities converge, the movement for democratic rights in the Soviet Union could well broaden into a mass working class movement with socialist demands. It is this knowledge which is keeping the Russian police working overtime. ■

Everyone knows about the Indian Army's liberation of Bangladesh from the torturing and massacring troops of West Pakistan. The role of that same army in Nagaland, an area to the northeast of Bangladesh, is not so well known. In Nagaland it is the Indian Army which is doing the torturing and massacring.

The Nagas are a people of about one million, living in a style not far from primitive communism. Their country was never conquered by Indians, but became part of the British Empire in the 19th century and was then annexed to an Indian province.

In 1948, when India was partitioned, the various states were given the so-called choice of joining India

or Pakistan or remaining independent. The Nagas (like Kashmir, Nepal, and Bhutan) wished to remain free.

Gandhi made fine-sounding speeches promising them freedom, but Nagaland remained a part of India, and the Indian Army has carried on a relentless struggle against the underground Naga Federal Army, which still goes on despite the cease fire of 1964.

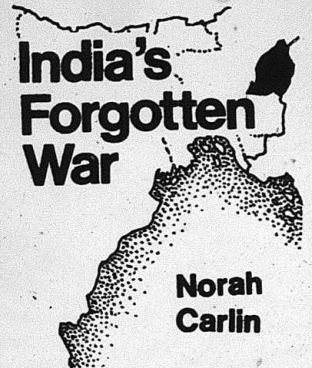
Last summer the Indian Army carried out a series of atrocities which strongly resemble those of colonial wars elsewhere, such as in Malaya and Vietnam.

The guerrillas are accused of an ambush or attack, and this is made the excuse for harassing villagers in the surrounding area -- torturing, raping, loot-

ing, and preventing the villagers from transplanting their rice crop, so next season they starve or are forced to depend on Indian food handouts. These events are reported only in the local press.

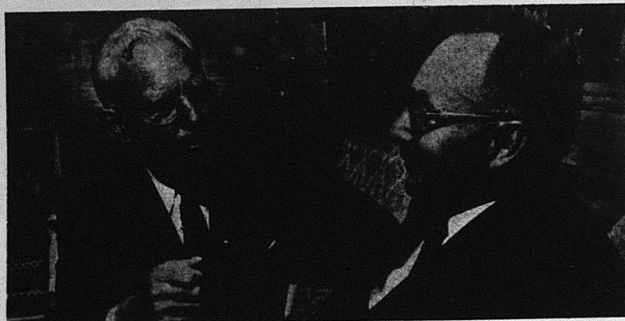
India's war in Nagaland shows the readiness of the Indian army to use imperialist methods against a less developed people. It also shows the Indian government's determination to dominate the sub-continent.

There can be no free areas, no self-determination for the peoples of India -- not for the Nagas, nor, in reality, for the people of Bangladesh -- while the Indian state remains tied to world imperialism. ■



ITT vs. Chile

Charles Leinenweber



John McCone (left) and JTT President Geneen

Jack Anderson has revealed still another dimension of ITT's operations: a 1970 attempt, coordinated through the CIA, to prevent Allende's election as president of Chile. Anderson's latest documents show that ITT "dealt regularly with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and at one point reveal they considered triggering a military coup to head off Allende's election."

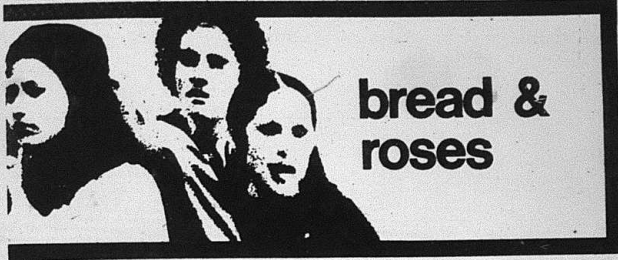
The ITT-CIA conspiracy underlines the importance of ITT director John A. McCone, to the company. McCone knows nothing about a telephone except how to dial it. But he knows plenty about the CIA, which he is former head of. Anderson says that McCone "played a role in the bizarre plot."

Another ITT director expert in the ways of imperialism is Eugene R. Black. Black is on the International Council of Chase Manhattan Bank, which through associated banks operates 200 branches in South America.

More importantly, he is former head of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which was known as "Black's bank" and is now headed by Robert McNamara. IBRD specializes in promoting relationships between major capitalist powers and underdeveloped countries, coordinating investments, trade, and balance-of-payments.

Under Allende, Chile's government threatened to expropriate ITT's holdings -- which eventually they did, costing the company \$70 million worth of assets, and depriving it of roughly \$140 million per year in revenues. That is what ITT -- and numerous other corporations -- and the CIA wanted to prevent.

In retaliation for the takeovers, financial institutions like IBRD and private banks like Chase Manhattan, will put the screws to Chile, refusing the country credit and isolating it from the world market. ■



bread & roses

Abortion Reform

Liberalization of abortion policy has made headlines in the past month, from East Germany to St. Louis to Washington, D.C.

On March 9, the East German Parliament passed a bill allowing free abortion on demand within the first twelve weeks of pregnancy, and lowered to 16 the age at which birth control pills can be provided on prescription. Several reasons were given for the change in policy.

According to the *New York Times*, the "primary reason" was a desire to end illegal abortions. The East German Minister of Health, Prof. Ludwig Macklinger, said that "women must have the right to determine whether they want to have a baby, or whether they wish to end an unwanted pregnancy."

But the *Times* article added that "East Germany's apparent need to augment its labor force through women workers was an influential factor in the decision." Most of the "Communist" countries, including the USSR and China, have a history of granting the rights of abortion and childcare when women are needed in the labor force, and then rescinding them when the state wants to send women back into the home.

In New York State, an Appellate Division Court in Brooklyn affirmed the constitutionality of the state's liberalized abortion law, thus overturning a State Supreme Court ruling that could have halted abortions in municipal hospitals in that state. Robert M. Byrn, the Fordham University law professor who initiated the suit, said that he would appeal to the State Court of Appeals.

In Missouri, 75 women members of Teamsters Local 688 met on February 13 in St. Louis to discuss the problems of women workers. According to *Missouri Teamster*, the conference agreed that abortion should be legalized - that "the question of whether or not to have an abortion was a medical question between the woman and her doctor." The conference also discussed the need for childcare facilities available to working parents, for equal pay for women and for an end to sex discrimination in employment.

Finally, the President's Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, established by Congress in March, 1970, released two of its three final reports on March 11 and 16. The first of these, dealing with population growth, concluded that "No substantial benefits would result from continued growth of the population."

The Commission, chaired by John D. Rockefeller III, foresaw continued population growth resulting in an oppressive society in which "social free-

dom would be choked by fees, forms, licenses, lines, regulations, and red tape." (Quotation from the *New York Times*.)

To anyone who has ever been on welfare, received unemployment benefits, or foodstamps, these conditions certainly sound familiar today. But the problem is not that there are too many people for "social freedom" to operate, but that capitalist society is unable to sustain all of its population, and must keep track of its marginal labor force with humiliating and dehumanizing amounts of red tape.

The second Commission report called for liberalization of abortion laws, permitting a doctor to perform an abortion on the patient's request, for the government to fund abortion services, and for abortion costs to be covered by health insurance.

Ironically, this proposal goes further toward assuring the availability of abortion to all women than that of the Women's Abortion Action Coalition. WONAAC has refused to make "free abortion" one if its demands, on the grounds that it conjures up images of socialized medicine and would scare people away.

Nonetheless, while the Commission's recommendations sound quite radical, and embody some of the demands of the women's liberation movement, the thinking behind them is concerned much more with population control, and in particular control of the US third world and poor population, than with women's liberation.

The Commission's first report declared that population growth should cease, and that the United States should become the first nation to adopt a deliberate population policy. However,

the commission claimed that it based its recommendation for legal abortion on entirely different grounds, namely, that prohibitions on abortion are "obstacles to the exercise of individual freedom."

Women, it said, "should be free to make their own moral choices, to control their own fertility, and to avoid the burdens of unwanted child-bearing." The report also recommended that voluntary sterilization should be made easier.

The Commission assailed the idea of encouraging the poor to seek sterilization through the use of financial rewards. But it added that unwanted fertility weighs most heavily on certain minority groups in our population and that "if blacks could have the number of children they want and no more, their fertility and that of the majority white population would be very similar."

This implies that one goal of population control is to prevent the third world minorities in the US from becoming too large a section of the population, in an age in which the upper and middle classes have access to birth control and abortion, and thus have smaller families, while lower income groups, to which most third world Americans belong, continue to have larger numbers of children.

Finally, the report recommended that "public and private forces should join together to make high-quality day care available to all families who wish it." Exactly how this joint effort is supposed to result in high quality day care is not made clear in the *New York Times* article. But what is clear is that unless childcare is free, is available 24 hours a day, and is controlled by the parents and staff, childcare could easily become just a more expensive extension of the stultifying school system which working class and poor children are now subjected to.

Undoubtedly, the women's liberation movement has had some effect on the outcome of this report, and many of its provisions, if implemented, would benefit women. But women have learned time and time again that liberation will never be handed down from benevolent government officials. We must fight for liberation, and

we must fight to preserve the victories that we win. Finally, we must fight against any attempt to use our goals and our movement as a method of "controlling the population," against its own interests.

Karen Kaye

Down Under

International Women's Day was commemorated in Melbourne on March 11 by a march of over 1500 men and women. This was the biggest Women's Liberation demonstration ever held in Melbourne, and showed the rapid growth of interest and participation in the Australian movement.

Speakers discussed the demands of the demonstration: equal pay and job opportunities, free child care, free safe contraception and abortion on request, and equal educational opportunities. An Aboriginal speaker described the special problems of black women and children.

The March was noisy and enthusiastic, attracting the attention of shoppers with chants of "Women's rights, we will fight!" An even larger demonstration -- about 2,500 -- was held in Sydney.

Women's Liberation activities in Melbourne first began two years ago, after an arbitration commission awarded equal pay to women, but only in those jobs which were not considered "women's jobs." Angered by this decision, which meant that the vast majority of working women would get one half to one third the wages of men, three women chained themselves to a fence in front of the court in protest. Soon after, they formed a small Women's Liberation group and held a public meeting which attracted 43 women.

Today there are groups all over Australia and in New Guinea. Some are involved in consciousness-raising; many are active in the fight for equal pay, abortion reform, and child care.

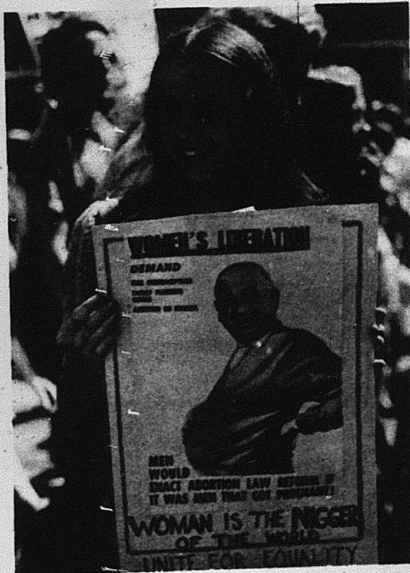
Last year's activities included a conference on working women, which took the Australian Council of Trade Unions to task for union inaction and insensitivity, and picketed an A.C.T.U. meeting. Demonstrations were held in both Sydney and Melbourne in November for Abortion on Demand, in solidarity with groups in England and the US. Germaine Greer's recent visit provoked a flurry of interest in the press and among the public.

Here, as in the USA, there is a prevailing popular myth of social egalitarianism and individual freedom. However, the last few years have seen increased activity by many dissatisfied groups, particularly Women's Liberation and Aborigines.

In some ways this is a response to the American movements, which have a considerable influence on Australian political life. It is also a response to the general climate of militancy among the Australian working class. Women's Liberation has shown great interest in the problems and potential of working women.

Women's Liberation in Australia is clearly on the verge of explosive growth. The demonstrations on March 11 have undoubtedly given it a very big boost. ■

Shayna Birstein



Poster portrays Henry Bolte, Premier of Victoria



PROTESTANTS CARRYING FLAGS OF ULSTER & BRITAIN

Northern Ireland: British Imperialism Drops Its Facade

Joan
McKiernan



MARCH IN PROTEST AFTER SUSPENSION OF STORMONT

On March 24, Britain announced it was imposing direct rule over Northern Ireland. At long last, Britain acknowledged what the rest of the world has long known - that Britain is directly responsible for the atrocious condition of Northern Ireland today.

Britain has suspended the undemocratic Unionist parliament for one year. A Secretary of State appointed by British Prime Minister Heath and a local commission are to rule. Heath also announced the gradual phasing out of the internment policy.

After a one-day visit to Northern Ireland, the new Secretary of State, Whitlaw, clarified Heath's position on internment. 100 of the 900 internees may be released, but the date of release was contingent on the ending of "violence" in Northern Ireland. Heath and Whitlaw made quite clear that they were still prepared to use internment as they saw fit.

While internment continues, there have been reports that British troops have received orders to "soft pedal" temporarily in Catholic areas. Army patrols have been reduced. It will be no surprise to the nationalist population if this action leads to the lessening of violence.

While Protestant leaders denounced the takeover, most Catholic and republican leaders agreed to cooperate with Britain. John Hume of the Social Democratic and Labor Party said of the new proposals: "We welcome

them and will give our fullest cooperation to their implementation."

The Official IRA and the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, in which the Official IRA has a dominant voice, made excellent statements denouncing the takeover. Kevin McCorry, organizer of NICRA, stated that "we do not accept that the so-called phasing out of internment represents a genuine attempt by the London Government to come to grips with this problem." Cathal Goulding, IRA chief of staff, said that the new proposals were tantamount to imposing martial law in Ulster. However, NICRA immediately announced a moratorium on its planned civil rights marches in order to show respect for the new Secretary.

IRA TRUCE

The Provisional IRA has been known as the most militant republican group and has repeatedly stated that 1972 is the year of victory and that they would continue fighting until Britain is out of Ireland. However, at the first offer of minor change by the British government, northern Provisionals wanted to call a truce for one month.

Paddy Kennedy, a politician linked with the Provisionals, said: "Westminster has at least conceded some of our demands and the majority of the Catholic people are overjoyed as a result. I feel that the IRA should now call a truce for a month, to see how the new deal works..." Michael

Farrell of the Northern Resistance Movement, which supports the Provisional IRA, while calling for the campaign of civil disobedience to go on, said the suspension of Stormont was a major victory.

Even Sean MacStiofain, chief of staff of the Provisionals, who wants to continue the military campaign in the north, has watered down the demands of the movement. He no longer demands an immediate withdrawal of British troops, but simply a statement of intent to withdraw the troops.

It is obvious that the Provisionals are feeling pressure from the northern communities who want peace. Because the IRA has failed to politically educate the population, people may be willing to listen to those leaders who claim direct British rule as a basic change in the situation or even a victory. The Provisionals have themselves consistently failed to understand that direct rule may be the first step toward a "federal solution" to the Irish question.

Time and time again the population of Northern Ireland has been misled by its so-called leaders. The civil rights movement has been organizing marches for years now, demanding that Britain grant one man, one vote, that it outlaw religious discrimination, that it reform the judiciary, the police, and the electoral system. But each time a demand was supposedly granted, the British in fact merely changed the form of the system while preserving its basic oppressive nature.

Local councils have been replaced by appointed commissions, elections have been put off, the infamous B Special volunteer police have been replaced by the Ulster Defense Regiment. Freedom to march for civil rights has been replaced by a ban on all marches, wholesale murder of civilians, and the internment of 900 men.

All those who ask the Irish workers to give Britain another chance are betraying the republican ideals and the long years of struggle against British imperialism in Ireland. Direct rule over Northern Ireland only means that British power has discarded its Irish facade, Stormont.

Britain still has 15,000 troops in Northern Ireland and still has 900 men in concentration camps. Britain still has not granted the basic civil rights demands. Britain has not begun to deal with the real problems of Ireland - unemployment that reached 44 percent in some areas, lack of housing, and high emigration rates.

ULSTER VANGUARD

The Protestant population, under the leadership of William Craig's Ulster Vanguard, has shown its opposition to the new policy by calling a general strike. Northern Ireland was at a standstill on the first day of the strike.

Over 200,000 of the 450,000 workers in Northern Ireland took part in the strike. Rallies and marches were held all over Northern Ireland. 100,000 marched on Stormont on the

U.S. Dock Workers Protest Internment

1900 dock workers walked off their jobs when the British liner Queen Elizabeth II docked in New York on March 24. International Longshore Association Local 824 was cooperating with a picket line organized by the Anti-Internment Coalition, demanding the end of internment in Northern Ireland and the immediate withdrawal of British troops.

Supporters of the IRA, both Provisional and Official, and members of the American Committee for Ulster Justice, Saor Eire Cumann, and the International Socialists, took part in the demonstration. John Bowers, president of Local 824, stated that the union supported the demands of the demonstration and would respect the

picket line. Maire Bradshaw, chairwoman of the Coalition, declared:

"We are picketing the Queen Elizabeth II to show Britain that we condemn the policy of torture and murder in Ireland. Over 1,000 Irish workers are being held in two concentration camps and a prison ship in Belfast harbor.

"Britain says the over 15,000 troops are in Ireland to 'keep the peace.' We saw how they kept the peace in Derry on Bloody Sunday when they gunned down 13 innocent civilians. We demand that all the prisoners be released immediately and that Britain get all her troops out of Ireland."

After delaying the unloading of the

ship, the demonstrators disbanded so that the workers could return to their jobs. It was impossible to completely stop the unloading. The ship's crew would simply have done the job and the longshoremen would have lost a day's pay.

COALITION

The demonstration was organized by the Anti-Internment Coalition, formed by many groups and individuals to unify support in New York to demand the end of internment and withdrawal of British troops. The Coalition has already held a successful march to the United Nations and is planning a march and rally in Central Park on Saturday, May 13. ■

day of its last session. There were riots in several areas and attacks on Catholic shops.

Trade union leaders opposed the general strike. But no one has attempted to convince the Protestant working class that Stormont never really worked in their interest and that the link with Great Britain which they wish to preserve is the real reason for all the problems in Northern Ireland from which they also suffer.

The Unionist government and Britain have always pointed to the mythical Catholic threat to make the Protestant working class forget about their low wages, the layoffs, and the unemployment. Only when the Protestant working class organizes to defend their *real* interests -- fighting alongside the Catholic workers -- will peace and justice come to Ireland. It is up to the new revolutionary socialist movement in Ireland to begin that organizing now. ■

SOCIALIST WORKERS MOVEMENT Formed In Ireland

The International Socialists welcome the publication of a revolutionary socialist newspaper in Ireland, *The Worker*, put out by the newly formed Socialist Workers Movement. As Bernadette Devlin wrote in a statement welcoming its appearance, "*The Worker* is more than just another paper. It is a pledge on the part of a group of committed Socialists to do the work necessary to create the Socialist Workers' Republic."

The statement of its aims explains: "*The Socialist Workers Movement is a revolutionary workers movement whose aim is the organization of the working class in the struggle for power and the transformation of the existing social order. . . . The working class has the capacity to end exploitation and oppression.*"

"*Independent working class action can create a society based on production for human need, democratically controlled by the majority. By organizing at the point of production and in the localities, the workers can lead a struggle to the Workers' Republic.*"

"*The Socialist Workers Movement stands for the nationalization of the banks and industry under workers' control and without compensation. To this end we actively engage in the day to day struggles of workers and small farmers and seek to build a mass working class party which can lead the struggle to build socialism in Ireland as part of the struggle for international socialism.*"

We believe the publication of *The Worker* and the founding of the Socialist Workers Movement are important achievements for the international socialist movement. We urge everyone to give their support to the Irish workers struggle. ■

[Subscriptions to *The Worker* can be obtained by writing to: The Socialist Workers Movement, 30 Strandville Ave., North Strand, Dublin 2, Ireland.]

The conflict with Russia has made the problems for China's rulers even greater. They need massive resources if they are to defend themselves against both the US and Russia at once. And industrialization seems to be an even greater need than ever if that defence is to be maintained.

At present China, with less industry than Britain, maintains millions of men under arms, and is developing H-bombs and intercontinental ballistic missile systems. The cost must be enormous.

China is a country of hundreds of millions of peasants, most of whom live on the bread line. To build either massive armaments or massive industry means somehow forcing these peasants to part with some of their meagre produce so that it can be used to feed industrial workers.

The peasants will only do so willingly if in return they get the goods produced by industry. But then industry would be used to satisfy peasant needs, rather than to build up more industry or to make arms. In other words, there would be overall industrial stagnation.

The alternative would be to use force to compel the peasants to give up their produce. This is what Stalin did with Russia's so-called collective farms.

In 1958-59 Mao tried to follow a "collectivization" policy. Tens of thousands of peasants were herded together into "People's Communes," from which it was hoped to get a massive surplus of food -- so that industry could be built more quickly. This was the "Great Leap Forward."

The effects on the economy, however, were devastating. Agricultural production did not rise, but fell. The years that followed, 1960 and 1961, were of terrible hardship -- made worse by the Russian withdrawal of aid and technicians.

China's rulers had no choice but to beat a sharp retreat and follow a policy of placating the peasants. But the pressures that had produced the "Great Leap Forward" were still there. A section of China's rulers, around Mao, remained worried about the need to build up industry as fast as possible.

This group began to believe that the responsibility for the state of affairs lay with those other rulers most identified with implementing economic policy. They began to claim that, from the top downwards, the Communist Party and the government apparatus were full of people who had given up fighting to expand industry and instead were content to coexist with the mass of better off peasants and with the working class, while building up privileges for themselves.

In 1966 Mao and his followers tried to oust these officials, in particular focussing attention on Liu Shao-chi. Mao closed down the schools and colleges and instructed the students to physically force Liu's supporters from office.

However, this "proletarian cultural revolution" was neither proletarian, cultural, nor a genuine revolution. It was initiated from above, and careful instructions were given that the core of the Chinese ruling group, the leaders of the army, were not to be touched.

When, in the spring of 1967, industrial workers began to be involved in

MAO'S CHINA PART 2

From The Great Leap Forward To The Nixon Banquet

Chris Harmon

massive strikes, while sections of the Red Guards began to call for the overthrow of all the "red capitalists," Mao and his supporters abandoned the cultural revolution.

The cultural Revolution caused chaos throughout the country. But it neither removed the old ruling group nor contributed to solving its economic problems.

Western commentators -- no doubt influenced by the new cordiality between Peking and Washington -- have tended recently to draw a fairly glowing picture of the Chinese economy. This is true insofar as, since the curtailment of the Cultural Revolution, the peasants seem to have been allowed to keep much of their produce and raise their miserable living standards a bit.

But from the point of view of China's rulers, this is not nearly good enough. It means that industry is not growing at a speed that will ever enable them to catch up with Russia and the West. It also means increasing difficulties for them in keeping up the arms race.

Lin Piao's downfall shows that in reaction to these problems China's rulers and generals are more and more falling out among themselves.

The pressing economic problems explain their foreign policy. They feel that if they can make deals with the rulers of other countries, however reactionary their politics, they will be able to increase the leeway and ease the burden of their economic problems.

To get these deals, they are pre-

pared to offer not only help at the diplomatic level, but also help with the internal problems facing the ruling classes. Their attitude to the Pakistani generals and to Ceylon's Bandaranaike are examples of this approach.

But that behavior is not new. As long ago as 1954 the Chinese joined with the Russians to pressure the Vietnamese into accepting a continued division of their country, and in 1955 at the Bandung Conference they preached "peaceful co-existence."

The friendly attitude towards Nixon is merely the culmination of a trend that has existed since the beginning. The aim of the Chinese leaders has always been to build up industry on a national basis and to subordinate everything else to that end.

This does not prove that revolution as such must fail. But it does point to the nature of the sort of revolution that happened in China, which was not based upon the working class and which had as its goal merely the building of the economy of one country, in isolation.

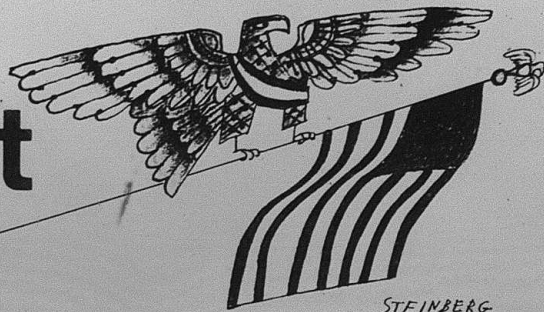
Only a genuine working class revolution, which saw itself as the first bridgehead towards revolution throughout the world, could avoid the problems that have faced China's rulers. Such a revolution could take the wealth needed to overcome the poverty of China from the hands of the ruling classes of the advanced countries, instead of attempting to squeeze it from the already impoverished Chinese peasants. ■



Working class resistance helped force an end to the "Cultural Revolution."

Empire Without Frontiers

Judy Barton



Claude Julien is foreign editor of *Le Monde*, one of the most prestigious newspapers of France. Although Julien is in no sense a socialist, as a Frenchman critical of American influence in Europe he has written a book which can open working people's eyes to the imperialist pillars of American capitalism. This book is *America's Empire* (Random House, 1971), which Julien calls "an empire without frontiers."

Julien argues that American imperialism is based on the need to import vital raw materials. He cites impressive figures -- 34 percent of the iron ore used by American industry, 88 percent of the bauxite (used to make aluminum), 25 percent of the tungsten, 92 percent of the nickel, 21 percent of the copper ore, 44 percent of the zinc, 28 percent of the lead, 66 percent of the tin, 14 percent of the petroleum, 85 percent of the asbestos, 99 percent of the manganese, and 100 percent of the natural rubber and chrome -- all must be imported.

Naturally, Julien argues, it is essential for the US to exercise political control of the countries from which these vital materials come, to ensure a regular supply at low prices. For this purpose the American government invented "neo-imperialism," which means effective political and military control of an area without formal colonization.

Neo-imperialism has all the benefits of good-old-fashioned imperialism and none of the costs -- for instance, there are no colonies whose exports must be let in duty free or whose excess population must be admitted as immigrants.

Julien mentions only briefly another important reason for capitalist imperialism -- the need to export cap-

ital, to find new areas for investment once the domestic economy is saturated. But he does give important statistics about American capital investment.

Since World War II, Canada and Europe have been the victims of the fastest growth of American capital investment. Investment almost doubled in Canada between 1957 and 1965; at the same time it more than tripled in Europe.

The biggest profits, however, still lie in the mines and petroleum of the Third World, where Americans have invested only half as much as in the industrialized countries but receive almost twice the profits. The Third World thus finances not only the wealth of American capitalists but also their takeover of the economies of Europe and Canada!

SORDID STORY

Julien presents a historical survey of the rise of the empire since 1898. He relates the sordid story of how the US, under the guise of pursuing America's "civilizing mission" (Woodrow Wilson) or our "spiritual direction of the planet" (Bobby Kennedy), has become the world's policeman and banker.

If you've never heard about the Marines in Latin America or the CIA in Iran, it's worth reading. Julien also tells in detail how the empire maintains its control today, using the CIA, the universities, and the labor establishment as agents to reinforce its power.

For anyone who still has illusions that the role of a capitalist government is to serve the people, Julien convincingly shows that its real function is to enrich the giant corporations by means of a "power structure" in

which industrialists, politicians, and retired generals all happily rub shoulders together.

Although Julien's analysis of imperialism focusses mainly on the need for raw materials, many socialist economists believe this factor is now less important than previously. Instead, they emphasize the international scope of investment.

The critical weakness of *America's Empire* is its failure to give any class analysis of American society. According to Julien, the white American worker has profited along with the American capitalist from US imperialism. The worker has acquired a steady stream of consumer goods bought with his share of the loot.

Julien points out, with much truth, that the most active imperialists -- Teddy Roosevelt, Wilson, Kennedy, Johnson -- have been the same politicians who have followed progressive policies at home designed to give American workers a bigger share of the neo-imperialist pie. (It is worth mentioning, though, that recent scholarship has challenged the reputations of Teddy Roosevelt and Wilson for domestic progressivism.)

It is certainly true that the white American worker's standard of living, far above that of workers in the Third World and Europe, results in part from the exploitation of imperialism. But the American workers had to fight for everything they received -- the expansion of the US economy meant only that business was able to grant some concessions without being hurt too badly.

And have the American workers received their "fair share" from their labor? Have their wage increases kept pace with the rise in the cost of living, not to mention the rise in corporate

profit? Have all the program of so-called social welfare freed us from the fear of sudden poverty which can result from unemployment, an industrial accident, major medical expenses, or old age? Obviously, no!

Throughout the 1950's and early 1960's, American workers were able to make substantial gains in wages, but their real security and quality of life eroded. Imperialist policies have favored -- indeed, actively encouraged -- the increasing domination of the American economy by a small number of giant corporations. For working people, this has meant shoddy goods and more pollution, layoffs as small businessmen go broke and large firms shut down plants for tax savings.

IMPERIALIST CRUMBS

Generally, the rise of "monopoly imperialism" has led to greater insecurity and intensified the effects of a boom and bust business cycle; the failure of any one huge firm, such as Lockheed or Penn Central, is more likely to trigger a major crash. All this has become more obvious in the last few years as unemployment has kept rising. Now the "free" world is teetering on the brink of another Depression, and for American workers their hunk of pie is fast becoming rarer crumbs.

We must recognize that it is the American capitalist, not the American worker, who is responsible for imperialism and who stands to benefit from it. The true interest of the American working class lies not in preserving imperialism but in smashing it, replacing imperialist exploitation with a socialist world economy in which workers of all nations will share the wealth they produce. This is the task which lies before us. ■



The Year 1905 by Léon Trotsky

Just published -- first English translation. The classic account of the first Russian Revolution, when the working class shook Tsarism to its foundations. The history of the origins of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, the fighting arm of the working class in the revolutions of 1905 and 1917. \$2.95

Memoirs of a Revolutionary by Victor Serge

Translated by Peter Sedgwick -- the autobiography of a leader of the European revolutionary movement. \$2.95

Homage to Catalonia by George Orwell

The greatest account of the Spanish Revolution, by a rank and file participant. \$1.75

Century of Struggle by Eleanor Flexner

The rise of feminism and the suffrage struggle in the US from the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 to the 19th Amendment in 1920. \$3.95

The Black Jacobins by C.L.R. James

The history of Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Santo Domingo Revolution, the greatest slave uprising in history. \$1.95

Eugene V. Debs by Ray Ginger

The biography of the greatest leader of the American socialist movement. \$1.50

New
From
IS
Books

[For a complete catalog, please write: I.S. Books, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, Michigan 48203.]

support your local

NATIONAL OFFICE: 14131 Woodward Ave.,
Highland Park, Mich., 48203.

ANN ARBOR: 2503 Student Activities Building,
Ann Arbor, Mich., 41101.

BALTIMORE: P.O. Box 1644, Baltimore,
Md. 21203.

BAY AREA: P.O. Box 910, Berkeley, Ca.,
94701.

BERKELEY: 6395 Telegraph, Oakland, Ca.,
94609.

CHAMPAIGN/URBANA: Box 2062, Sta. A,
Champaign, Illinois, 61820.

CHICAGO: P.O. Box 3451, Merchandise Mart,
Chicago, Illinois, 60654.

CINCINNATI: P.O. Box 20001, Burnet Woods
Sta., 3408 Telford, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220.

CLEVELAND: P.O. Box 91253, Cleveland,
Ohio, 44101.

DAVIS: c/o Butz, 12 J Solano Park, Davis, Ca.,
95616.

DETROIT: 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland
Park, Mich., 48203.

EUREKA: P.O. Box 446, Arcata, California
95521.

LANSING: P.O. Box 361, East Lansing, MI
48823.

LOS ANGELES: P.O. Box 125, 308 Westwood
Plaza, Los Angeles, Ca., 90024.

MADISON: c/o Sheppard, 1602 Packers Ave.,
Madison, WI 53704.

NEW JERSEY: c/o Chris Mark, 108 Demr-
sey Ave., Princeton, N.J. 08540.

NEW YORK: 17 E. 17th St., 7th Floor, New
York, N.Y. 10003.

PITTSBURGH: c/o White, 6709 Penn. Ave.,
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 15208.

PORTLAND: 8200 S.W. 39th Ave., Portland,
Oregon, 97219.

RIVERSIDE: 6096 Riverside Ave., Riverside,
Ca. 92506.

SAN DIEGO: c/o La Botz, 3827 Miramar St.,
Apt. C, LaJolla, Ca., 92037.

SAN FRANCISCO: M. Rubin, 294 Carl St.,
1A, San Francisco, Ca., 94117.

SEATTLE: 4333 8th Ave. N.E., Seattle,
Wash., 98105.



Revolutionary Buttons

Karl Marx, Fred Engels, V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, William Morris, Eugene Debs, Big Bill Haywood, Joe Hill, Nat Turner, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Malcolm X, John Brown, Emiliano Zapata, James Connolly, Jean-Paul Marat, Sam Adams, Tom Paine.

25c each in day-glo colors, white, or gold. Bulk orders: 10 for \$2, 100 for \$15. Order from: International Socialists, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Mich. 48203.



I.S. Forum Discusses N.Y. Phone Strike

On Friday, March 24, nearly 100 people came to a forum, sponsored by the New York International Socialists, to hear three rank and file telephone leaders talk about the lessons of the New York telephone strike. The speakers were Joe Naebeck, Chief Steward in Local 1101 and a leader of United Action, Rose Vevieka, a New York telephone operator and member of the IS, and Brian McKenzie, from United Action and the IS.

Joe Naebeck described the way the Communication Workers of America International leadership and the Local 1101 leadership systematically sold out the strike. Five days after the nationwide strike began Joseph Beirne, CWA International President, ordered everyone back to work because he had "settled" the strike for a 12½ percent raise the first year and 5 percent in subsequent years.

When New York State rejected the

contract, it was isolated from the rest of the country which ratified the settlement and returned to work. The local leadership persistently sabotaged every attempt to end that isolation.

Naebeck described how 1101 President Ricky Carnivale overturned a membership vote to fund picketing telephone locations in cities from which the company was bringing in scabs. Carnivale went further and killed this out of state picketing, which had originally been proposed by United Action, claiming that the International would cut off all financial aid to strikers if the picketing continued. Even the International had to deny that, but the threat intimidated many members of 1101.

Naebeck also attacked the CWA leadership for refusing to fight the wage freeze. Naebeck said, "obviously the wage freeze was a tool the com-

pany used to bludgeon us into accepting their settlement."

Rose Vevieka said that one of the crucial reasons the strike was defeated was the isolation of the New York craftsmen not only from the rest of the country but from the 40,000 operators in New York State. She declared that, "If operators had stayed out the strike would have had a totally different outcome."

Operators in New York City supported the strike until the CWA International announced its "settlement" and ordered them back to work, saying it would not defend any operators who stayed out. This action effectively killed the CWA's chances in the bargaining election that was held shortly after Beirne's sellout.

Vevieka made it clear that the CWA leadership in fact was never serious about organizing the operators. Beirne agreed to fund the organizing drive only on condition that the operators not be organized into 1101 (he was afraid this might make for a strong, militant New York local). The men who were put in charge of the drive were mainly concerned about seeing that the operators never got control of their own organizing committee.

One said that the women were inexperienced, stupid, and didn't know what they were doing. Another boasted that he was a male chauvanist and "proud of it."

As a result of Beirne's sellout of the craftsmen and of this kind of organizing drive, many militant operators (particularly in Manhattan where young black operators predominate) simply did not vote. The Telephone Traffic Union, the company union, won the election.

Operators continue to have no protection against the company, and the operators and the craftsmen remain divided. Vevieka said in closing, "If there's one thing we've all learned is that we'll all keep losing until we get together."

Brian McKenzie argued that, "Joe

Beirne and his machine engineered the defeat of the New York telephone strike in the interests of the company and of the American ruling class generally." The ruling class wanted to defeat the strike because it posed two dangers: first, as an unauthorized and unruly rejection of a national contract, it could set a dangerous precedent for the rest of the labor movement; secondly, if the strike had been allowed to win, it would have been a pace setting strike in the fight against wage controls.

McKenzie described how the strike was attacked not only by the federal government but by the courts, the police, the newspapers, and virtually every organ of the American ruling class. The strikers had no way to fight this attack politically. They were unable to force the bureaucrats to make a serious fight.

McKenzie said that what was needed was a national rank and file movement that could fight for democratic rank and file control of the unions and for a labor party that could engage in a political fight to defend labor's interests. He pointed out that there were encouraging signs that such a movement is beginning to be built.

United Action is beginning the politically fight in CWA to build a national opposition. It is putting forward a political program for the rank and file. McKenzie closed by saying:

"It is my belief that a national movement can be built in the CWA and that the CWA can be transformed into a militant union. And it is my belief, as a member of the International Socialists, that that movement is going to have to have a program for independent political action by labor, for strikes against wage controls and government attacks on unions, and for rank and file control of the union. The struggle has begun in telephone. It has suffered a setback, but we believe that setback is only temporary."

in this issue

- Behind The McGovern Myths /3
- Angela Davis On Trial /1
- British Takeover in Ulster /12
- Carlos Feliciano Victory /8
- Mao's China, Part 2 /13
- The Rise of Jesse Jackson /6



Workers' Power

A revolutionary socialist biweekly, published by the International Socialists.

Subscriptions: \$3.50 a year. Supporting Subscriptions: \$5 a year. Foreign Subscriptions: \$5 a year. Bundles: 10¢ a copy for ten copies or more. Introductory Subscriptions: \$1 for three months.

I enclose _____ Please send me a subscription to Workers' Power.

Name _____

Address _____

1431 Woodward Avenue
Highland Park, Michigan 48203

Workers' Power

international socialist biweekly 55



Indochina: Saigon Regime Shaken

Workers' Power No. 55

April 14-27, 1972

25¢

60455 IW NOSIDVW
131305 TAC1R015TH S4T5
NOL103S SNO11151NDV