

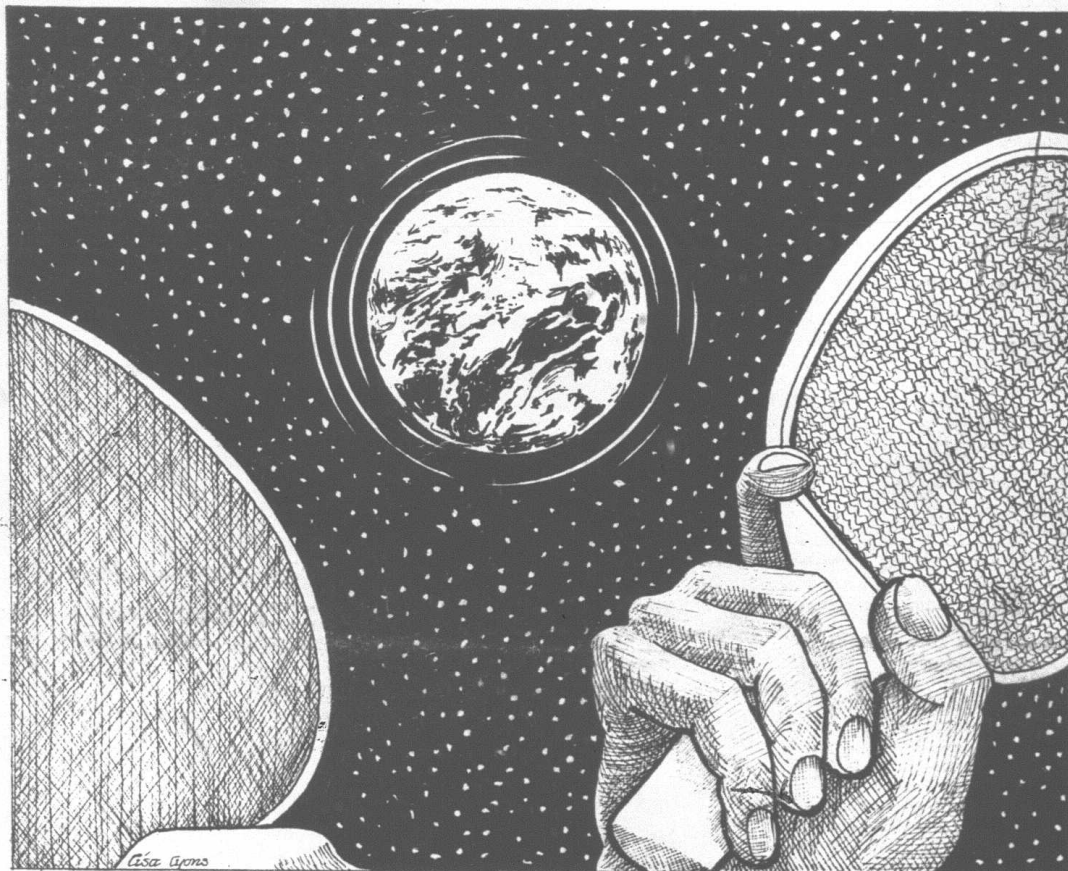
Workers' Power

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The Politics of Ping Pong

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Hard Times in N.Y. · Urban Guerrillas

Reviews: Love Story, Diary, Burn

UFWOC in San Diego · James Johnson



May Day, May 1, is the international holiday of the working-class movement. Few today remember that the holiday grew out of the struggle of American working people for an eight-hour day in the 1880's. On May 1, 1886, demonstrations for the eight-hour day were held in Chicago and other cities; four years later, on May 1, 1890, the struggle was revived, and the Socialist International called for worldwide support demonstrations.

Today, May Day is a dishonored holiday. In Communist countries which pretend to be based on workers' power but are actually ruled by the Communist Party bureaucracies, carefully staged demonstrations are held on May Day — in Russia, it is the occasion for a military parade. In the United States, May 1 has been renamed Loyalty Day, in an effort to make people's legitimate suspicions of the Communist dictatorships the basis for jingoist flag-waving.

This year, however, it is appropriate to remember May Day because the movement which gave birth to May Day — the working-class movement — is on the upswing throughout the world. As recently as three years ago intellectuals, including radical intellectuals, were telling us that the working class was no longer a force for social change — it was conservative, bought off by partial success.

Then in 1968, in France, the anti-government demonstrations of thousands of students suddenly exploded into an almost revolutionary crisis as ten million workers went on strike demanding more wages, a share in control of production, and the end of the De-Gaulle government. Both the reformist political parties and the supposedly revolutionary Communist Party opposed this near-rebellion.

In Italy, a wave of strikes paralyzed the country through the winter of 1969-1970; in these strikes, rank-and-file workers' committees forced the trade unions and their political leadership, the Communist Party, to demand more than they would have otherwise.

In Eastern Europe, too, the working class has become active again. In the reform movement in Czechoslovakia in 1968, a few workers' groups demanded not just reforms, but the dismantling of the Communist Party bureaucracy; after the Russian invasion, strikes were one form of resistance. Two years later, in Poland last December, housewives' and workers' actions forced the ruling bureaucracy to replace the Gomulka government with a new government which made a few concessions to the workers' demands.

In Europe West and East a revolutionary workers' movement is beginning — opposed both to the reform parties and to the Communist Parties which — when they fight capitalism at all — do so only to create a new type of class society. These struggles use not only the weapon of strikes, but also that of occupying the factories. In the most advanced cases, such as in Poland, elected committees decide which services to keep going and which to shut down, and function as a parallel government, negotiating the workers' demands with the official government.

The great weakness of these new struggles is the lack of a leadership, responsible to the workers themselves, which can coordinate the movement. This lack of leadership is a major factor in the defeats which have occurred in each country. But in the wake of de-

feat, new revolutionary organizations, standing for democratic working-class power, are beginning to grow.

In the United States the revival of the labor movement is less dramatic, but equally important. In the 1950's and 1960's, the American labor movement was extremely conservative because of the combination of a period of general political conservatism with a prosperity based on America's position as the world's strongest economic power. In addition, unlike those in Europe, the American labor movement had no political party of its own, but supported the Democratic Party, which made the best promises — and continually broke them.

Thus when radical voices reappeared in the 1960's, they started outside the working class. It was the student radical movement, the mass movement among blacks, and finally the war in Vietnam, demonstrating to everyone that America's foreign policy was one of imperialist domination, which punctured the illusion that America had solved its problems.

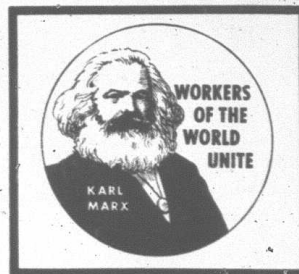
But as the 1960's ended, economic prosperity itself was breaking down — inflation was eating up wage gains, while unsolved social problems of housing, transportation, unemployment, crime, pollution, and race discrimination piled up and caused even liberals to wonder whether American cities were "governable."

Over the last years, the labor movement has slowly begun to emerge from this conservatism. Although the AFL-CIO never took seriously its responsibility to organize the unorganized, the need for collective defense has forced it on the workers themselves, and strong new unions are growing among farm workers, municipal workers (such as sanitation and welfare), and supposedly "professional" groups like teachers. In the old unions too, rank-and-file movements have upset the conservatism of the entrenched leaders, both through wildcat strikes and contract rejections, and through organized opposition.

The present recession has led to greater strike activity. The working class response has been uneven — the American working class has fought against cutbacks in its living standards, but has not begun fighting politically, not has it achieved independence from the Democratic Party or even rank-and-file control of the labor movement itself. In Europe, on the contrary, the struggles since 1968 have exposed the bankruptcy of reformists and Stalinists and begun the process of building new revolutionary forces.

The big questions for the next few years in the United States are whether the new period of labor conflict will remain focussed narrowly on wages, or whether the rank and file will force a focus on working conditions and con-

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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.

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No. 35

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

14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203. Subscriptions: \$3.50 per year. Supporting subscriptions: \$5. Foreign subscriptions: \$5. Bundles of 10 copies or more: 10¢ 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.

The Politics Of Ping Pong

James Coleman

It seemed an unlikely script for a major shift in American-Chinese relations, for it read like a fairy story. Table tennis in Peking, with the Chinese, the world's best players, tactfully fielding their last-string team and still trouncing the Americans . . . nineteen-year-old Glenn Cowan, long-haired, gaily dressed in purple with a yellow cap, flashing an almost Eisenhower-like grin and announcing that he could easily bring President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai together to iron out their differences . . .

In fairy stories, however, everything is arranged by a good (or bad) fairy. Some journalists have spent the last few weeks warning that the same is not true of politics, that we mustn't expect U.S.-Chinese rivalry to end, that changes

in political relations don't grow from a ping-pong paddle. Others have looked diligently for the bad fairy who turned Prince Nixon into a frog, and found the best candidate in Chou En-lai, who, the journalists correctly stress, is Peking's trickiest and most-persuasive diplomat.

Both lines of speculation miss the mark: Whether the new turn in Chinese-American relations will become a permanent thaw cannot be predicted, but this is undoubtedly the *intention* of both sides. And this is not because of Chou En-lai's magic (to us, Nixon has always resembled a frog) or the magic of Glenn Cowan's grin.

The thaw sprang not from the table-tennis tour, of course, but from hard bargaining. This has gone on for several years, mainly in Warsaw. The War-

saw talks were interrupted when the U.S. invaded Cambodia last spring, and only three months ago, China was issuing diplomatic warnings over the U.S.-South Vietnamese invasion of Laos. But despite this background of conflict, the new turn is based not on any idealism, but on solid realities.

Vietnam

The most imposing *immediate reality* is the situation in Vietnam. We cannot know how Nixon privately assesses the U.S.-South Vietnamese disaster in Laos. The objective truth is that — whether or not routing the invasion made some minor dents in immediate North Vietnamese capabilities — the South Vietnamese proved themselves totally unable to fight the North Vietnamese, even with American air support. Yet being able to do so was the premise of "Vietnamization."

We suspect that Nixon has faced this reality — though he will never admit it, he knows the North Vietnamese and local pre-Communist forces have won. This could have been the basis for the U.S. seeking to improve relations with China, and for China being receptive to such an idea. For a Nixon beaten in Vietnam, a thaw with China is, at the least, a diplomatic victory which he can hold up before his critics — at the most, a diplomatic agreement by the U.S. and China to respect each other's major interests.

An alternative possibility is that Nixon has satisfied the Chinese that the U.S. poses no direct threat to China — and that China has gone ahead in the thaw without regard to the state of the war in Vietnam.

Status Quo Powers

Either way, the *underlying reality* is that as the Vietnam war draws to an inevitable close, the U.S. and China are

emerging as Southeast Asia's major status quo powers. Both are interested in building alliance systems of nations friendly to themselves, not in reforming or revolutionizing the social order in those nations — although of course each wishes the various nations to be its own friends and not the friends of its rival.

Both China and the U.S. have a common interest in heading off a resurgence in the power of the other two traditional powers in the area — Japan and Russia. With the end of the unanimity with the Communist and capitalist "camps" which existed in the Cold War years, these rivalries among individual nations assume greater importance.

In addition to the traditional power of Russia, a major change in recent years has been the revival of Japan's economic, and potentially military, strength, and Japanese jockeying for commercial and diplomatic influence throughout Southeast Asia. Ironically aided by huge amounts of American aid in the period after World War II, Japan is already the strongest economic power in Asia and the second strongest in the entire world.

Although the anti-militarist sentiment in Japan remains strong, there is increasing talk of rearmament. As stressed in an earlier issue (see "Laos: Nixon's Last Stand?" in *Workers' Power*, no. 30), Japan and not China is potentially the major rival of American power in Southeast Asia.

Thus both the U.S. and China have an interest in calming their own rivalry in order to concentrate on their rivalry with others: In addition, both have concrete interests in trade. On the Chinese side, there is entry to the American market for Chinese goods. On the American side, the U.S. government is entering a new stage in its policy on trade with China.

When the Communist regime gained power in China, the U.S. imposed a trade embargo, as it had a generation earlier after the Russian revolution. In the 1950's, the U.S. was able to get all its allies to ban trade with China.

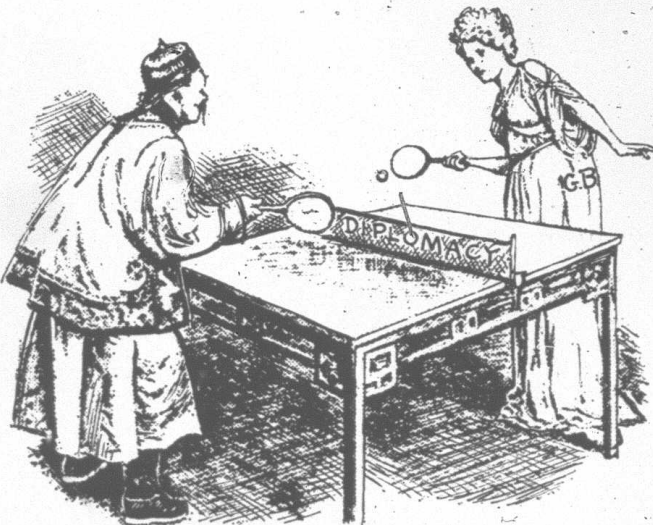
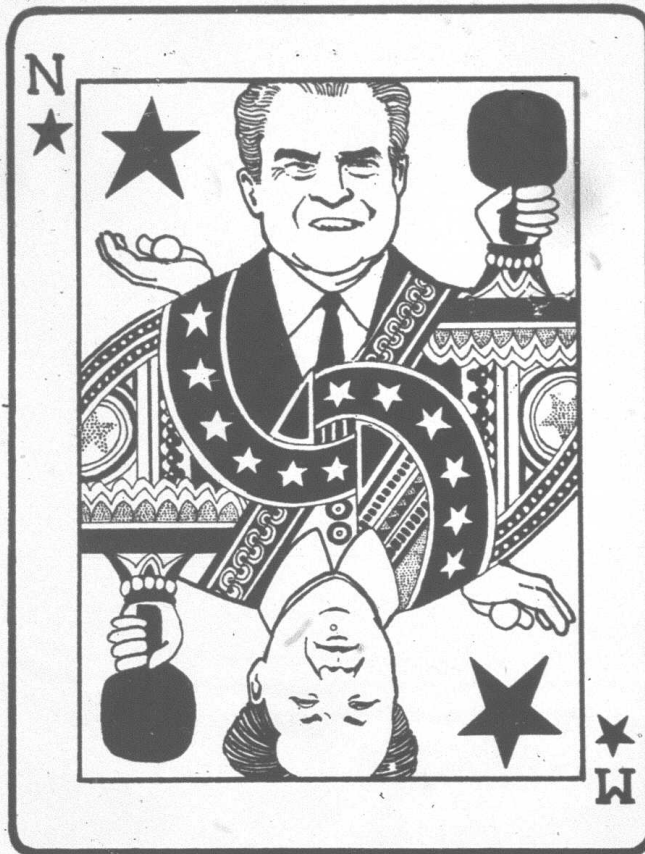
Around 1960 a second stage began when Britain, seeking trade partners to boost its foreign trade, broke the ban (Britain similarly was the first important U.S. ally to break the ban on trade with Cuba). Now a third stage is beginning as the volume of China's trade with U.S. allies — not only Britain, but also France, and again Japan — becomes too large for the United States to allow its commercial rivals to remain alone in the Chinese market. Instead, the U.S. intends to enter the competition.

Peaceful Coexistence?

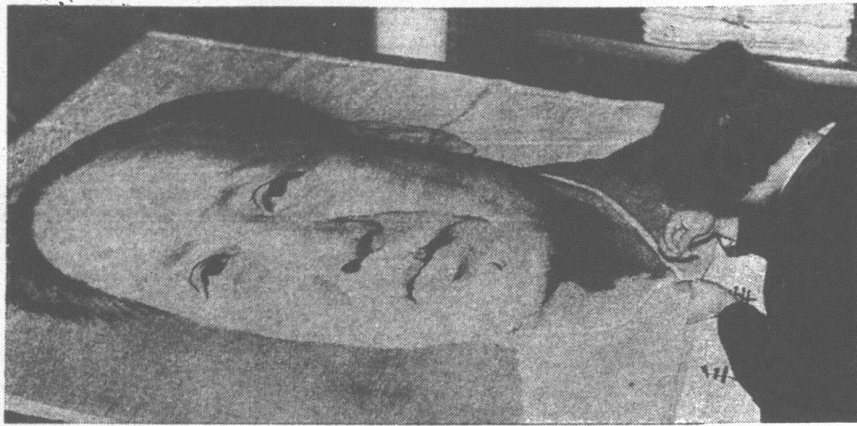
The new stage in U.S.-Chinese relations reveals anew the reactionary nature of Maoism. Mao Tse-tung's current of Stalinist thought made its reputation among radicals all around the world because of its uncompromising rejection of "peaceful coexistence." In the Chinese polemics against Russian "revisionism," again and again it was hammered home that the United States was the chief imperialist power in the world and that to attempt "peaceful coexistence," as the Russians were doing, was to betray the cause of revolution.

To radicals everywhere, this seemed to mean two things: opposition to the United States, and also, a revolutionary policy everywhere, as opposed to the Russian policy of supporting capitalist governments friendly to Russia. The two are in fact connected: to oppose

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Drawing by Bernard Partridge, © Punch, 1971



Finishing a silk portrait of Chairman Mao in a mill in Hangchow.

Paolo Koch/Rapho Guillimette

the U.S. but support friendly capitalist governments would simply mean constructing a rival power bloc, not fighting for revolution against all class societies.

To many, China's policies seemed consistent with the ideology of Maoism. In Latin America, "Chinese-oriented" wings of the Communist movement, with the approval of the Chinese Communist Party, split from the "Russian-oriented" parties proclaiming a revolutionary outlook. This, however, served the main purpose of gaining recruits within the Communist movements, and undermining Russia's influence — and with it, Russia's strength in its attempt to blackball China inside the world Communist movement.

Closer to home, China's policy has always been one of supporting friendly capitalist governments, that is, governments not aligned with the United States. The chief example has been the Chinese-backed policy of Indonesia's Communists, who participated in President Sukharno's government until a military coup destroyed both Sukharno and the Communists in 1965-6. For years China has allied with Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, on the basis of Sihanouk's staying outside the U.S. alliance system, and without a trace of revolutionary criticism of this semi-feudal regime. When the U.S. backed a coup which overthrew Sihanouk, China sheltered the ousted Prince and equipped an army to restore his regime — still without any attempt to build a political force in Cambodia which could fight

both for independence from U.S. domination and for a social revolution.

(In fact, however, if Sihanouk were restored to power and the situation in Vietnam were favorable, the Cambodian Communists would probably try to impose a collectivist regime from above,

however, China has followed its policies to their logical conclusion by supporting the military dictatorship in West Pakistan in its suppression of the independence movement in East Pakistan.

The motives are clear: the two states are allied, and also the independence

Women And The Chinese Revolution

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in opposition to any attempt to mobilize the Cambodian workers to fight as a class for democratic power.)

China's support of Cambodia can be rationalized as support for self-determination against a U.S. puppet regime. Likewise, China's good relations with the repressive military regime in Burma, and other cases, can be explained on the basis that these states are "non-aligned" in the East-West rivalry. Recently,

movement was supported by India, China's rival. All that was missing from this tale of political expediency was the slightest trace of any socialist or even democratic principle.

Now China has indicated its willingness to reach at least a limited peace with the United States. The chief ideological opponent of "peaceful coexistence" has in fact embraced exactly that policy. The chief political lesson of this reversal is that the willingness to

build an alliance of states opposed to one imperialist bloc, sacrificing revolutionary aims, sooner or later means the willingness to conclude peace with the rival bloc on an imperialist basis.

An example which will grow in prominence is the fate of Taiwan. Any U.S.-Chinese settlement must cover the question of China's representation in the United Nations — which involves the question of Taiwan. The U.S. has recently released a report calling for a "two Chinas" policy — that is, the Communist regime would be seated in the UN as "the Chinese People's Republic," and Chiang Kai-shek's regime would be seated as "the Republic of China." Whether China will accept this is not yet clear.

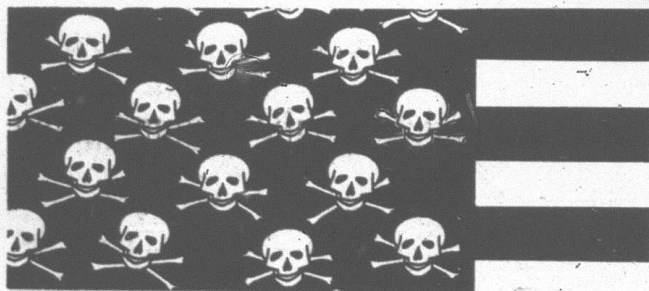
What is clear is that neither side is interested in the only democratic solution — letting the people of Taiwan decide who shall represent them and what regime they will live under. To do so would be to risk the Taiwanese deciding to remain independent.

China will not allow this because it insists Taiwan is part of China (real socialists, however, support the right of secession for any people which chooses it — not the imperialist right to rule a people because history or a treaty puts them inside your borders). Since China is probably not willing to go to war to forcibly incorporate Taiwan — even though rhetorically China insists on its right to do so — the question will probably remain unsettled.

The United States in turn might support a referendum, but only if it were reasonably sure that Chiang's political police could control the voting and maintain control afterwards — in other words, a referendum as a rosy democratic device for denying Taiwan to the Communists, but not a referendum in which the Taiwanese were actually free to decide for the Communist regime, the present regime, or a new democratic regime.

Thus, whatever settlement is reached on Taiwan will be reached over the heads of the people of Taiwan — on an imperialist basis on both sides.

This underscores the basic attitude of revolutionary socialists to efforts at imperialist peace. In the United States, the table tennis episode has led to an outpouring of hope for peace among the people. For example, on April 26 a 27-year-old Michigan housewife sent a complete table-tennis set to the U.S. and North Vietnamese negotiators in Paris, as a symbolic gesture. Liberal newspapers have made the most of the table-tennis episode to bolster their own support for withdrawal from Vietnam.



Who Are You, Uncle Sam?

Ann Cohen

Dear Uncle Sam,

Who are you to say who lives or dies,
Have you no pity for the one who cries?
Who are you to send my brother to fight,
Maybe he doesn't feel this war is right.
Have you no feelings for those who come back with no arms,
Do you feel that now they can't do you any harm?
Who are you Uncle Sam,
Who are you?

[Ann Cohen is thirteen and is an opponent of the war in Vietnam.]

We have always opposed, far more consistently than the Maoists, any "peaceful coexistence" by the world's peoples with reactionary regimes or imperialist occupiers. The Vietnam war must be ended by a complete American withdrawal from Southeast Asia, and the efforts of liberals to jockey for a deal which would maintain American influence must be exposed and fought.

This is on the basis that the war is over the issue of self-determination for Vietnam. It is otherwise with the rivalry between the United States and China. This is a rivalry between two power blocs, each jockeying for a favorable position to corner the commercial and diplomatic alignments of the area — in other words, an imperialist rivalry, one fought out above the heads of the people even when (as in Cambodia) one side must back a popular cause in order to maintain its own position.

If the two powers make a deal, this also is on an imperialist basis — on the basis of letting each other alone while each concentrates on more important rivals.

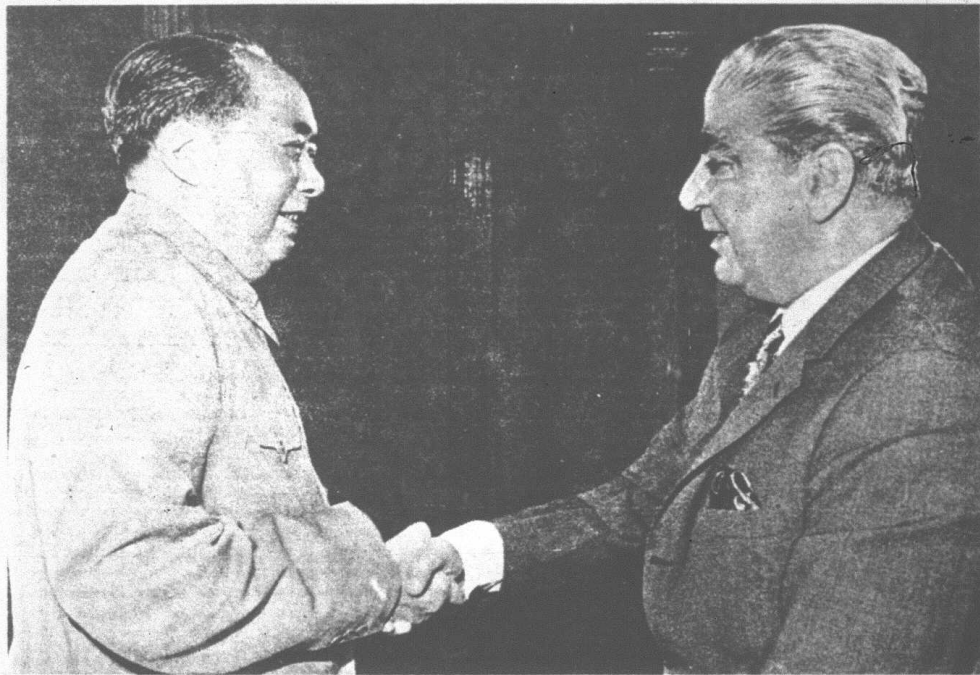
In this rivalry no real socialist or even a self-respecting democrat can support one side against the other — rather, we support the struggles of the peoples of Southeast Asia for self-determination, and beyond that, the struggle for socialism whether conducted against a capitalist regime or against the bureaucratic so-called "Communist" regimes.

Popular Struggle

This does not mean we oppose the "thaw" — to do so would be to favor a continuation of the conflict. We welcome the thaw — although not on the basis that it will bring peace or democracy; the imperialist struggle to dominate the peoples and markets of Asia will continue, though with different alignments and in different forms. A thaw, however, can mean a loosening, in which the ordinary people of each country feel less under the shadow of the rival imperialisms and begin to dare to assert their rights and needs.

In this way, the first loosening in the Cold War after Stalin's death led to the workers' revolts in Eastern Europe from 1953-1957, and the Test Ban Treaty and general settlement between the U.S. and Russia after 1963 produced an atmosphere leading to the new movements for justice among American students and black people from 1964 until now.

The fear of war or the fact of cold war is always the strongest damper on people's urge to struggle for their needs. If the U.S. and China now reduce or settle their rivalry, this will not reduce but will enhance the possibilities for popular struggles in both regimes. ■



MAO GREETES PAKISTANI DICTATOR YAHYA

Massacre In East Bengal

Every day press and television bring more gruesome details of the putting down of East Bengal by the Pakistani army. What is taking place is not so much a military operation as a large-scale massacre. But more than mere moral indignation is needed when faced with such situations. We have to learn what lies behind such events.

The revolt of East Bengal is not an accident. For years Pakistan has been ruled by authoritarian governments based upon the army and representing the interests of big capitalists, landlords and bureaucrats from the Punjab.

These groups have been backed in their position of dominance by continual military "aid" — both from the western powers and from China. An army has been built up that has dominated the whole country, robbing the people of Bengal, in particular, of the wealth they produce.

In the elections in December all sections of the Bengali population showed that they wanted to end such exploitation. But they did so by voting for the middle-class party, the Awami League, whose leaders wanted to end domination by the Punjab but were not keen on organizing really massive resistance that might easily have escaped from their control.

They organized passive demonstrations but did nothing to prepare for armed resistance. Meanwhile, Yahya Khan was more serious. While talking to the League, he prepared his troops.

Few examples could make more clear the need in the so-called backward countries, as well as in the advanced countries, for genuine working-class based revolutionary parties, if the struggle against exploitation is to be effectively carried through.

There is a second important lesson

to be drawn from what is taking place in Pakistan. For years many socialists have accepted the idea that the rulers of China have stood for world revolution. Yet while the people of Bengal fight for their lives against oppression, the Chinese Communist leaders have sent messages of support to Yahya Khan.

Insurgents are being shot down by troops who flew into Bengal via Chinese airfields, often armed with Chinese weapons.

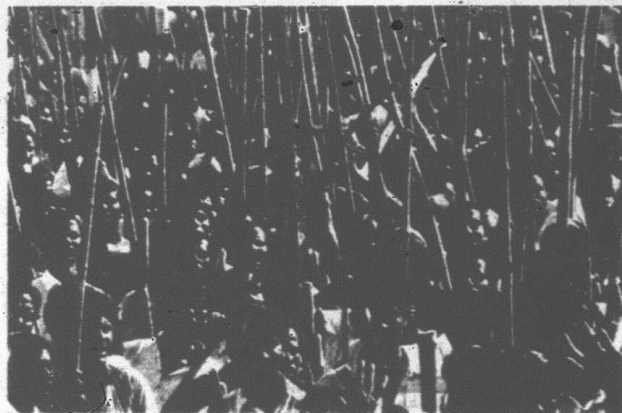
The fact is that the commitment of Mao to world revolution has never been more than verbal. His army freed China from domination by Chiang Kai-Shek and other puppets of the U.S. But this did not mean that the workers ruled China. Industrial workers played no role at all in the Chinese revolution. A new bureaucracy came to power, based upon former middle class elements that

wanted to build up industry under their own control.

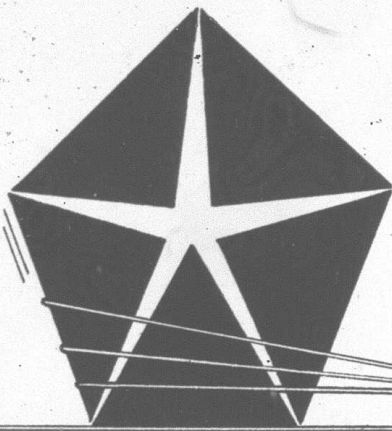
Mao's foreign policy has reflected this concern. Vague generalities about revolution in far-off countries have been the order of the day. But so also have dirty compromises and agreements with reactionary regimes nearer at hand — with Sukharno in Indonesia and with the military clique in Pakistan.

Socialists everywhere have to learn that it is only by basing themselves on the needs of workers' struggle against exploitation on an international scale that real progress can be made. Identification with particular bureaucratic regimes, however fine their words, only impedes the development of such a movement and leads to disaster. ■

[Reprinted from Socialist Worker, the British International Socialist weekly, April 24, 1971.]



EAST PAKISTANIS DEMONSTRATE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN Dacca



Further, the *Voice* holds up Johnson's action as model to be followed by all. During the GM strike last autumn, the *Voice* ran a cartoon showing a worker shooting the company and union negotiators, with the caption, "The Only Way - The James Johnson Way." In an issue printed as the trial began, the *Voice* ran a poem which ended, "James Johnson needs a Thompson" (machine gun).

Organize

This approach confuses the need to defend Johnson with the need to find a way to fight the industrial hell in the plants of Chrysler and other auto companies. For individuals to kill company or union representatives - even the top representatives, much less foremen and other workers - will not build a force capable of fighting back. In fact, in taking this line during the auto strike, the *Voice* lost the chance to present to auto workers - in contrast to the unimaginative leadership of Woodcock and the UAW - a program around which the ranks could organize for a real fight.

Taking this line during the trial only compromises Johnson's defense - the newspapers have publicized the poem in the *Voice*, and will make every effort to connect the defense with advocacy of terrorism - a strategy which cannot win and which is particularly unappealing when directed against foremen and fellow workers.

Instead, the *Voice*, and the League's organizers in the plants, should be working to build rank and file organizations and publicizing a program of fighting around working conditions in the plants. Demands for the union to act on these issues should be supplemented by organizing job actions, independently of the union if necessary. The tactics should not be individual killing, but mass action, including work stoppages and sit-down strikes, supplemented by public demonstrations and other political action.

Much of this is contained in the League's official program. The League is the organization with the biggest base among Detroit's black auto workers, and has the best chance of building a real mass movement among them. Such a program, moreover, could win many allies among white workers, overcoming race prejudice.

It will be tragic if the correct defense of Johnson as a victim of the exploitation in the plants leads the League to destroy its own popularity by attempting to organize around terrorism.

On the other hand, if this obstacle is overcome, the exposure of conditions in the plants could put Chrysler on the defensive and make James Johnson's trial one of the significant political trials of this year.

Free Johnson, Try Chrysler

James Coleman

James Johnson went on trial for triple murder in Detroit April 26. Johnson is a black auto worker. Until last summer he worked in Chrysler's Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle Plant. After a series of disciplinary actions by company representatives, coinciding with a car accident and other troubles, Johnson was given a disciplinary layoff on July 15. He left the plant and returned with a carbine, swearing he would kill his general foreman. The foreman had disappeared. Two department foremen and a jobsetter tried to disarm Johnson. He shot and killed all three, then surrendered to police.

This much is disputed by no one. Why then is Johnson hailed as a hero by the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, one of whose leaders, lawyer Kenneth Cockrel, is Johnson's defense attorney?

Insane Conditions

Cockrel will base the defense on a technical plea backed up by a political exposure. Technically, he will argue that Johnson was temporarily insane when he committed the murders. Politically, he will argue that the exploitation and murderous working conditions in the Eldon plant drove Johnson crazy.

The Eldon plant has safety conditions even worse than those in most other Detroit auto plants; jitney trucks without

brakes or lights, blocked aisles, oil covering the work floor, poor ventilation - all are common. The United Auto Workers local has never made a fight over these conditions. On the contrary, when a wildcat strike occurred last spring over the firing of a worker who argued with his foreman, the local officers, backed up by International representatives, brought their pressure to bear to end the strike without any gains.

The totalitarian discipline imposed by Chrysler at Eldon is typical of auto plants. James Johnson, after being involved in a major auto accident, was ordered back to work by the company doctor against the recommendation of his own doctor. Subsequently, coming back from vacation, he was fired without vacation pay - then reinstated, but forced to work without a time card. Then he was bumped from his job as a conveyor loader to working the brake oven, with only a mild protest from his union steward.

This mistreatment, Cockrel will argue in the trial, came on top of his efforts to provide for himself and relatives in a bad job market with limited education. Cockrel, according to newspaper reports, will try to expose the unsafe working conditions, the company discipline, and the lack of union defense, in the trial.

In turn, the prosecuting attorney has conferred with Chrysler officials

and has stated he is ready to give the company position on the complaints Cockrel will raise. Thus the prosecuting attorney - an official of the State of Michigan - will not only charge Johnson with murder, but also seek to defend Chrysler from responsibility. In other words, he will act not as a spokesman for the state's citizens; but as a representative of Chrysler.

James Johnson should be set free. He is not likely to kill again. On the contrary: as he learns to consciously analyze the exploitation which exists in the plants, he is likely to direct his justified anger against the corporations and against the union misrepresentation which provides no effective defense for workers.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers - the black opposition group which seeks to mobilize workers against the companies and the union leadership in several Detroit plants - has rightly come to Johnson's defense. However, the League's newspaper, *The Inner City Voice*, goes beyond the lines of Cockrel's defense.

The *Voice* not only defends Johnson, it hails him as a hero. It calls the three dead men "obnoxious perpetrators of industrial barbarism" - yet two were only foremen, that is, small fry, and the third was a worker. The *Voice* description should better be applied to the corporation heads.

candidates and toward forming a workers' party.

We can make no certain predictions. But to view historically the last fifty years is to realize that the working-class movements in the advanced industrial countries are emerging from an era of massive defeats, and once again taking the offensive. This allows us the confidence that we are on the verge of a new era of struggle, in which the most far-seeing militants in the factories as well as the most clear-sighted among the students will relearn the words of the *Internationale*: "The international working class shall free the human race."



MAY 1

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

trol of production; whether the labor movement will continue to avoid politics, or whether the political nature of problems like inflation, the war, and the cities will force union leaders or rank and file into political action; whether political action will still mean supporting "good" Democrats, or whether there will be steps toward fielding labor



Hard Times In Fun City

Jim Gregory



On Tuesday, April 27, 15,000 New York City municipal workers rallied at City Hall to protest Mayor Lindsay's threat to lay off up to 90,000 city employees. When Lindsay tried to speak, he was met with shouts of "Lay Off Lindsay," and left after barely getting a word in over the workers' jeers.

Lindsay claims that the city must fire thousands of its workers unless the New York State legislature restores funds it cut from the city and gives Lindsay the right to raise city taxes by \$880 million. If these funds are not forthcoming, then the mayor says that he will eliminate 20,000 public school teachers, thousands of sanitation workers, hospital workers, and so on down through every group of workers vital to the city's existence. Tuition would be imposed at the City University, and the open admissions program there would be ended.

The response of the unions representing city employees was to call the rally at City Hall, which was followed by a bus caravan to the state capitol in Albany and another rally there. Following the Albany rally, several union leaders met with Gov. Nelson Rockefeller to ask for restoration of state funds to the city.

Critical Situation

The rallies were a good beginning, but what followed was less promising. Victor Gotbaum, head of District 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) was one of the union officials who spoke to Rockefeller. The *New York Times* quoted Gotbaum as saying "We're not coming here as antagonists. The situation is too critical." Gotbaum added that the rally had been called in part to support Lindsay's demand for additional taxing power.

Gotbaum is right about one thing. The situation is critical. But rank-and-file workers made it clear that they came to City Hall and to Albany as antagonists, and that they wanted no part of either Lindsay or Rockefeller.

Rockefeller and Lindsay are engaged in a cynical political game in which the workers will be sure losers if they rely on either of these politicians. Rockefeller recently stated that the city would

have to follow his example (i.e., his lay off of 8,250 state employees) and tighten its belt.

There's only one way that municipal workers can deal with logic like that — by throwing back the flat statement that they will allow no layoffs at all. To back this up there must be working unity of all New York's municipal employees unions — specifically, they must make clear now that if one group of municipal workers is laid off, all city workers will go on strike.

The demonstration showed tremendous militancy and solidarity among the ranks. Not for perhaps a quarter of a century has New York seen anything close to it in terms of size and spirit. And it signifies that the workers themselves are ready and willing to take any steps necessary to stop the layoffs.

When a State Senator speaking at the rally called for a citywide strike of municipal employees, the response was a chant of "strike, strike!"

But union officials like Gotbaum, who doesn't consider himself an antagonist of Rockefeller's, cannot be counted on to take necessary steps, like calling a city-wide walkout as soon as the

firings take effect. Rank-and-file workers must organize for themselves and demand of their union leaders that it be carried out.

The absolute necessity of municipal employees to the city's life can best be demonstrated by a glimpse of what the layoffs would mean. This could be dramatized by a one-day work stoppage of all city workers. Again, this is something which will occur only through rank-and-file organizing pressure from below on their union heads. Neither Gotbaum, nor Albert Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers, nor for that matter any other union leader, has so much as mentioned it.

Another important fight must be waged against Lindsay's scheme, supported by both Gotbaum and Shanker, to increase taxes by nearly a billion dollars annually. Taxes in New York are already so high that hundreds of thousands have left for the suburbs, leaving working and unemployed people to shoulder the burden.

With inflation and unemployment at the current level, new taxes would be intolerable. They would serve to create tremendous hostility to municipal

employees on the part of other working people in the city.

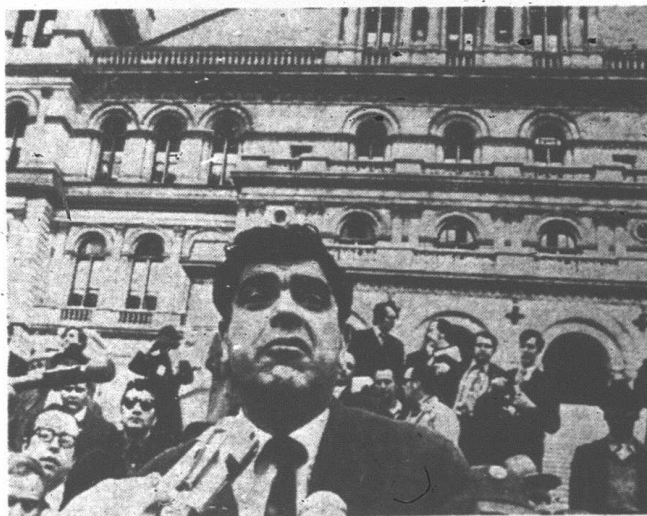
New taxes would pit worker against worker and divert attention from alternative sources of the needed funds. It is the money presently being wasted on the war in Vietnam which could and should be used for beginning the massive task of rebuilding the cities of this country. Since union leaders, even those like Gotbaum who are on record as being against the war, won't take up this demand, it must be raised from below by the ranks: end the war now and use the money to provide more education, better transit systems, decent health care, adequate housing, and jobs for all.

Tax the Corporations

If taxes are to be raised, they must be taxes on corporations, not working people, who are already overtaxed in any case. Corporations have fled from city to city and to tax havens in the suburbs to avoid taxes, leaving behind unemployed workers to carry their share of the load. This situation cannot be tolerated. What must be fought for is nationally administered, uniform corporate taxes with the money to be used locally. This will eliminate the tax havens and make the wealthy companies pay their due.

Across the country, cities are going bankrupt and are laying off their employees. Unemployment and inflation continue, and taxes on working people mount. Workers cannot rely on the Democratic and Republican parties to fight for rechanneling war spending and taxing corporate profits. As the crisis of municipal employees in New York illustrates, where the Republican legislature is for eliminating jobs and the Democrats are for higher taxes, when push comes to shove they just represent different ways of taking workers' paychecks — one way directly, the other indirectly.

The necessary changes can only be fought for effectively when working people form their own political party. Rank-and-file municipal workers should put their union officials, like Gotbaum who supported Lindsay for mayor, on the spot and demand that they now build such a labor party.



Victor Gotbaum



UFWOC In San Diego

Dan La Botz

For over a month, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has been on strike against the Egger-Ghio Ranch in San Diego County, California. The future of farm labor in the county depends upon the outcome of the strike.

On March 26, Robert Egger, co-owner and manager of the ranch, fired twelve farm workers for wearing UFWOC buttons. By the end of the day, 78 men were on strike. Three days later, they were joined by all the women workers on the ranch, bringing the total numbers of strikers to 102 (out of a workforce of 116).

The workers are virtually all green-carders, Mexican nationals working in the United States who return daily to homes in Tijuana. The ranch owners tried to recruit scabs as soon as the strike began, but with little initial success — striking workers were able to convince their fellow workers that the strike was in the interest of all farm workers. One whole field of lettuce went to seed because there were no workers to harvest the crop.

Finally, the growers were able to bring in a full work crew of scabs. Between twenty and thirty are workers who live in housing owned by Egger and Ghio which is located right on the farm. The workers living in these houses have always been the objects of a special oppression; they have, for example, been called out in the middle of the night to wash tomatoes in the rain.

One can imagine the kind of pressure which can be put on the workers by a man who is at once patron (boss) and landlord. A rent-a-cop has been hired by the boss to keep the striking workers from coming on the patron's property and talking with the scabs; the cop also is a Chicano.

The picketing strikers, some with bullhorns, shout at the workers in the fields, urging them to come out; they chant "Salganse! Huelganse! Leave the fields, strike. Don't be afraid. The Union is a good for all the workers." The striking workers also wander up and down the rows of tomatoes and beans following the workers in the fields as they move, singing songs of protest, songs of union solidarity, and traditional songs of the Mexican revolution.

The striking workers had been paid only \$1.65 an hour — and they were making no demands for a raise in wages; they were simply asking that the 12

workers fired for wearing the UFWOC button and now the 60 odd other workers, be returned to their jobs. The scabs are reportedly being paid \$2.00 an hour by the patron in order to break the strike.

It is against the law for green cards to cross the border to work at an establishment struck by a certified strike — but it will take immigration authorities some time to take action to stop the scabs.

On April 1, UFWOC filed a show-cause action in the name of the 12 fired workers. Among its demands were protection for all the workers against arbitrary firings, reinstatement of the 12, pay for the days lost by each worker, and \$10,000 damages for each. Since then, 64 others have been fired for strike activity, and similar show-cause actions have been initiated on their behalf as well.

A temporary restraining order was granted, barring the ranchers from firing any more UFWOC members. But on April 9, restraining orders were served on about 60 UFWOC members, limiting pickets to 20 at a time (nevertheless, mass picketing has continued daily).

The Egger-Ghio strike is one of the first large UFWOC actions in San Diego county, where scores of large and small tomato, lettuce and bean farms are likely to become the scene of such struggles; 500 farms in the San Diego area are slated to become the targets of unionization drives.

Many of the growers are threatening to sell their lands to building contractors, who will subdivide them for housing or industrial developments. According to Fred Hinrichs, executive secretary of the county Farm Bureau, "The growers will do away with the farm-labor problem altogether by simply doing away with the job."

Community Support

The strike is of particular importance in that it is the first time such an action has taken place so close to a large city (San Diego is one of California's largest, and growing rapidly). Support for the strike throughout San Diego county and city has been very good; various sections of the Chicano and student communities have assisted the workers.

The Mechas (Chicano student organization) on campuses throughout the county, even as far north as the University of California campus in La Jolla,

some 35 miles from the fields, have organized Huelga (strike) committees. The Chicano Association endorsed the strike and made a contribution to the strike fund. A local group, *Las Mujeres* (The Women), is also assisting. Contacts are also being made with members of Movement for a Democratic Military (MDM) and the Concerned Officers' Movement (COM), the International Socialists, and other groups.

Student supporters from Southwestern College in Chula Vista (the area's junior college), and from San Diego State College, along with other supporters of the strike and the farm workers, organized a demonstration at the fields of 400 people last week. All the various organizations are presently organizing people for the picket lines and collecting food and money for the farm workers and their families. (It takes around \$200 a day to feed the workers and their families on the barest essentials.)

Viva la Huelga

Pressure is being placed on Southwestern College by Egger and Ghio, one of the school district's larger tax payers, to stop using the school as an organizational base and distribution center for food. The Company has tried to put pressure on the College Board and on the president to squelch student support — so far unsuccessfully.

In addition, the company is one of the largest titers among the communicants of the Catholic diocese, and sympathetic priests and councils in the church are under pressure from church authorities not to show too much sympathy for the workers; consequently the farm workers have not been able to use certain church buildings for meetings, or organizational centers, and the church's role has been one of conciliation.

Now entering their second month, spirit among the strikers is good; every morning between 5:30 and 6:00 workers and students assemble at the fields and begin picketing which lasts all day. Groups stand around guitarists singing the songs of their home states in Mexico. The cheers go up: *Viva la raza. Que viva! Viva la causa. Que viva! Bajo los esquiñoles. Bajol! Viva la huelga. Que viva!*

Boeing Makes A Profit

"Boeing is in real trouble." "1970 was a horrible year for us at Boeing." — How many times have you heard these statements in the last few months? "Boeing today announced another massive layoff due to declining orders for its commercial jets." "Gee, they must be in bad shape to have to lay off all those workers. Do you think the company will fail and go out of business?" — Does this sound familiar, too? Maybe it was a surprise, then, to pick up the paper and read that "Boeing profits made a nice recovery in

CEY

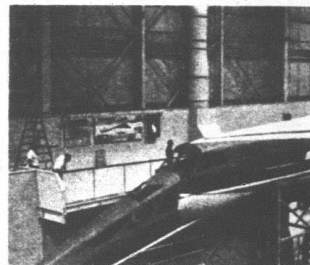
The rulers of all the great powers have been lining up to smash the rebellion in Ceylon. While Britain's Tory government has been supplying the army with U.S. helicopters, the Russians have sent MiGs, complete with air crews to bomb the insurgents.

The Indian government has loaned manned helicopters and, not to be outdone, Yahya Khan of Pakistan has allowed some of his crews to take time off from hunting the people of Bengal to do the same in Ceylon. The Chinese government, which has been sending Yahya repeated messages of support, has tacitly endorsed his actions.

America's rulers, who pioneered the most modern means of mass murder in Vietnam, have been only too eager to help the Ceylonese army. The British government also has rushed to cooperate.

So, too, have the Russians — no doubt seeing Mrs. Bandaranaike's experience as akin to their own in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.

The Ceylonese government responsible for the murder includes people who claim to be "socialists." For instance, according to the *Morning Star*, "Mr. Pieter Keuneman, a Communist and Minister of Housing" is a member of the new committee set up "for re-



1970 from their low level in 1969." Profits? — That's right — profits. The Boeing annual report shows that after tax profits for 1970 were \$22 million, compared with a \$14 million loss in 1969.

This 1970 figure is still below the \$83 million in profits they reaped in both 1967 and 1968, but still, it makes one wonder. How can a company that is in such bad shape make a profit? Perhaps one should ask, whether a profit-making company is really in bad shape?

Let's examine the first question of how Boeing made a profit. The answer is pretty obvious. They laid off about 50,000 workers, which meant fewer salaries and lower costs. Then add in a record-breaking sales year (\$3.6 billion) plus \$17 million worth of tax credits, and presto — you have profits.

The company is safe for a while. Too bad about those 50,000 workers, but then a company has to make money to stay in business, doesn't it? And whenever Boeing wants any of them back, they don't have to worry — they'll be waiting right there in the unemployment lines, at no charge to the company.

Is the company really saved? Only

LON

construction of the country" in the wake of the rebellion.

Other members of the government claimed until some years ago to be Trotskyists and revolutionary socialists. But then they came out, like the Communist Party, with the "theory" that it was possible to get socialism via the "parliamentary road."

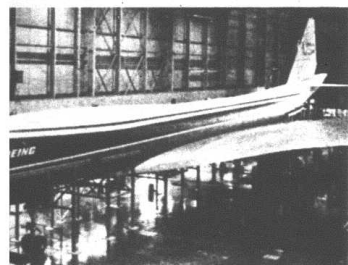
The people of Ceylon are now learning what this really means.

Politicians whose dedication to parliamentary methods stops them fighting big business are instead compelled to attack those who elected them. The so-called parliamentary road always turns into its opposite. Ordinary workers and peasants pay the price.

Another bitter lesson is being learnt. As in the Nigerian civil war and in the Jordan massacre of last summer, the rulers of Russia are prepared to work alongside the western powers to ensure foreign domination.

The message of Ceylon is that an end to exploitation and oppression requires the smashing of imperialism, east and west. ■

[Reprinted from Socialist Worker, the British International Socialist weekly, April 24, 1977.]



time will answer that question. It appears that they have scaled down their operations to a point where they can get by for a while. The cancellation of the SST was a blow, but again, most felt by the 7000 more workers laid off.

Thus the pattern is clear. When a company runs into difficulties, the owners must throw workers out onto the street to avoid absorbing losses. Their profits must be maximized. If this means the misery and degradation of unemployment for thousands of workers, well, that's the system.

The unfairness of this system becomes more apparent when you search for causes behind the difficulties at Boeing. While many excuses are offered, such as the declining demand for air travel, and Boeing's not getting its "fair share" of the war machine trade, they obscure the most important point.

It was not the workers' fault that Boeing go into trouble. Yet it is the workers who suffer the consequences. The decisions that affect the lives of those still working and those laid off, as well as others in the community, are made by the owners and not by the workers.

People wonder why Boeing hasn't



Chairs were hurled back and forth during near-riot at taxi union meeting

Goodbye Harry!

David Katz

Harry van Arsdale, New York City's number one labor bureaucrat, is in trouble — at least in one of his fiefdoms.

Van Arsdale, in addition to presiding over the New York City Central Labor Council, directly controls Local 3 of the Electrical Workers, and the New York City Taxi Drivers Union.

The men and women of the Taxi Drivers Union have decided they've had enough. A 50 per cent fare increase

and a new contract (allowed by Van Arsdale to go into effect, although not yet ratified by the union membership; see *Workers' Power*, nos. 27 and 28) have had the effect of markedly reducing the drivers' income and introducing job insecurity by allowing the fleet owners to replace "unproductive" drivers with new ones at a lower commission.

Rank and file anger about the fare increase and the new contract has been added to past resentment over van Arsdale's undemocratic dictatorship over the union (a lawsuit has recently forced him to agree to new union elections, because of gross irregularities in the last ones).

As the April 14th semi-annual union meeting convened, unmelodious strains

of "Good-Bye Harry" echoed throughout the hall. From the outset van Arsdale was met by a united opposition of practically all the drivers.

The first battle broke out when van Arsdale attempted to lock the doors and start the meeting fifteen minutes early. We won after making it clear that no meeting would begin until everyone was inside.

The second battle was over the agenda. Van Arsdale, dragging his feet all the way, was forced to include the "contract" as the first item. Then it was necessary to force some meaningful discussion of the contract. This was difficult, because van Arsdale has a very loud voice and is given to long monologues on side issues, such as the improved death benefits in the new contract.

During the meeting, rank and filers were able to get the microphone only twice. The second time, when the union member who had the mike repeatedly pressed van Arsdale to answer a specific question, the member's mike was disconnected. As he tried to use van Arsdale's mike, he was shoved off the stage, bringing the podium with him.

The meeting exploded into total chaos and anger, as the ranks hurled dozens of chairs and other objects at van Arsdale and the other bureaucrats on the stage, releasing years of pent-up frustrations. Van Arsdale made a strategic retreat, and the meeting was over.

These events point up both our current strengths and our weaknesses. On the positive side, we are united like never before — there is almost total opposition to van Arsdale, and his goon squads can not now be effective against the militants.

At the same time, while we were able to prevent van Arsdale from ramming through a bad contract, and while we demonstrated our opposition to him, we were unable to do much else. The reason, as most everyone realizes, is because we are not well organized.

In the last few months, the beginnings of some rank and file organizations have appeared. However, they are still very small and weak. They must be strengthened, expanded to other garages, and linked up with each other.

When we're organized, our union meetings (and our strikes) will end in victory — not in chaos. ■

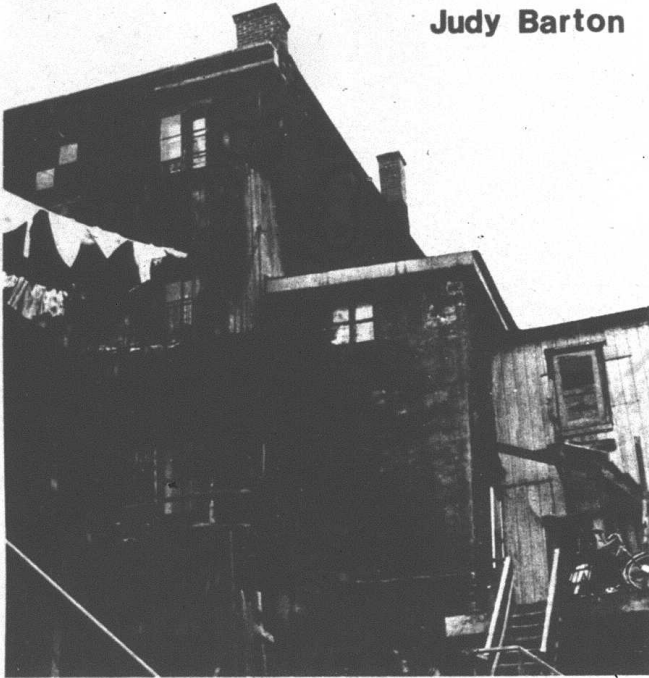
[David Katz is an angry member of Local 3036, New York City Taxi Drivers Union, and a member of the New York branch of the International Socialists.]



Taxicabs at Grand Central Terminal as the fares rose and the patronage fell off

The High Cost of Housing

Judy Barton



America faces a grave housing crisis: on this everyone agrees. There is less agreement, however, on the reasons for the shortage of housing, which will become worse in the next decade, and for the substandard conditions in which millions of people live. The two reasons most often cited are: the high cost of construction labor, and the high interest rates which make builders' loans and mortgages exorbitantly expensive.

The high cost of labor is a myth popular among politicians, who are using it as the opening wedge in an all-out attack on workers' living standards. But in fact, the high hourly wages of construction workers are deceptive, since they have work only part of the year. The average yearly income of a construction worker is \$8500, well below even the government-proclaimed standard for a moderate income for a family of four.

Moreover, labor costs make up only a small portion of the costs of housing: only 18 per cent in 1964. Labor is a declining part of the total cost, partly because of gains in productivity, mostly because other costs, such as building materials, have risen much faster. But even the combined cost of materials and on-site labor accounts for only half the cost of a house. Even if construction workers' wages were lowered considerably, the price of housing would continue to soar.

Interest Rates

High interest rates, which make it difficult to finance new construction or get a mortgage, are a real problem in housing. Interest rates on FHA and VA mortgages went up from 7.5 to 8.5 per cent in January 1970, pricing new homes out of the reach of many families.

In addition, banks are demanding big-ger down payments and shorter periods to pay out the mortgages. They are also using the notorious "point" system, which is a way of evading usury laws by requiring an extra initial payment for the "privilege" of borrowing money.

Despite the high interest rate on mortgages, even higher interest can be earned on other forms of loans, so banks are reluctant to loan out much money in mortgages. These high interest rates benefit the big banks and big corporations, while squeezing out would-be homeowners and small businessmen (in fact, housing construction is beginning to be taken over by corporate giants).

Let us weep too much about high interest rates, however, remember that the whole mortgage question affects mostly middle class families buying homes. The apartment-dwelling urban poor, and the rural poor — who are, ironically, too poor to qualify for loan assistance — have never benefited from FHA or VA programs. In fact, FHA mortgages have subsidized the rise of lily-white middle class suburbs, while leaving the problems of urban ghettos untouched. High interest rates, then, are not the crucial factor in the housing crisis as it affects millions of Americans.

The real reason for the housing crisis is the anarchy of the capitalist system.

This anarchy manifests itself, first of all, in the problem of sky-rocketing land costs. Land prices have risen 300 per cent since 1950 — much more in metropolitan areas, where the cost of land has risen as much as 10-25 per cent in the last year alone. These increases do not represent the addition of any real wealth to the economy,

but are simply the profits of land speculation.

By buying up land and leaving it to lie idle, speculators make fantastic profits while millions live in slums and shacks. Clearly, private, unrestricted ownership of land is incompatible with the use of land in the essential interests of all.

Not only private land ownership, but also the domination of housing construction by private entrepreneurs, is responsible for the housing crisis. Private enterprise, which builds, sells, and leases housing for a profit, has proved itself unable to supply the needed amount of housing at a price people can pay.

Since capitalists always wish to maximize their profits, they refuse to build residential housing (since they can get higher rents in office buildings; this is a particular problem now in New York City). Or they abandon housing to let it deteriorate, writing it off on their taxes as a business loss, when it no longer shows a high enough profit.

Technology and Progress

The irrationality of capitalism — its failure to satisfy human needs — manifests itself also in its inability to make use of technological advances. The biggest technological advance in housing is industrialized or prefabricated housing — units constructed in factories and merely put together on the building site. Mobile homes are built this way and are consequently the cheapest form of housing available.

Although it is now technologically feasible to build low cost pre-fab housing, it can't be done by private enterprise. As with the automobile, a mass market is necessary to make mass production of housing profitable, which means that entire towns would have to be built of pre-fab units.

Only the government can purchase enough housing to justify industrial production. In other words, a mass program of public housing is necessary to take advantage of the opportunities opened up by new technology.

There is another reason that pre-fab housing will never be built in a system of private enterprise. To build a pre-fab "new town" requires a type of social planning which is anathema to the competitive capitalist system.

Not only houses, but also sewers, parks, schools, stores, hospitals and public mass transportation must be provided. Moreover, industry must be located in the area to provide a base of taxes and jobs.

Despite an occasional successful venture like the "new town" of Columbia, Maryland (still only a fraction completed), private enterprise is not interested

in supplying all these often unprofitable services. Private entrepreneurs are also unable to undertake the kind of large-scale, long-range planning necessary to build a viable community, rather than to show a quick profit.

But it is unlikely that the government will undertake the construction of new towns. The record of both Democratic and Republican administrations reveals that they have been more interested in tearing down housing to make the poor less visible than in constructing new low-cost houses. Under "urban renewal," 400,000 dwellings have so far been destroyed, and only 11,000 units of public housing built.

The government is reluctant to enter the construction field because it means competition with private interests who profit from the housing squeeze which jacks up the prices of homes and rent. Moreover, even if the construction of new towns were to take instead the form of the vast boondoggle of subsidies to private interests, another problem would arise: segregation.

Black groups would fight against the reduplication of the lily-white suburb pattern in the new towns, but whites who are fleeing the cities do not want to live in areas integrated in terms of either race or class. Nor is the government anxious to create integrated communities.

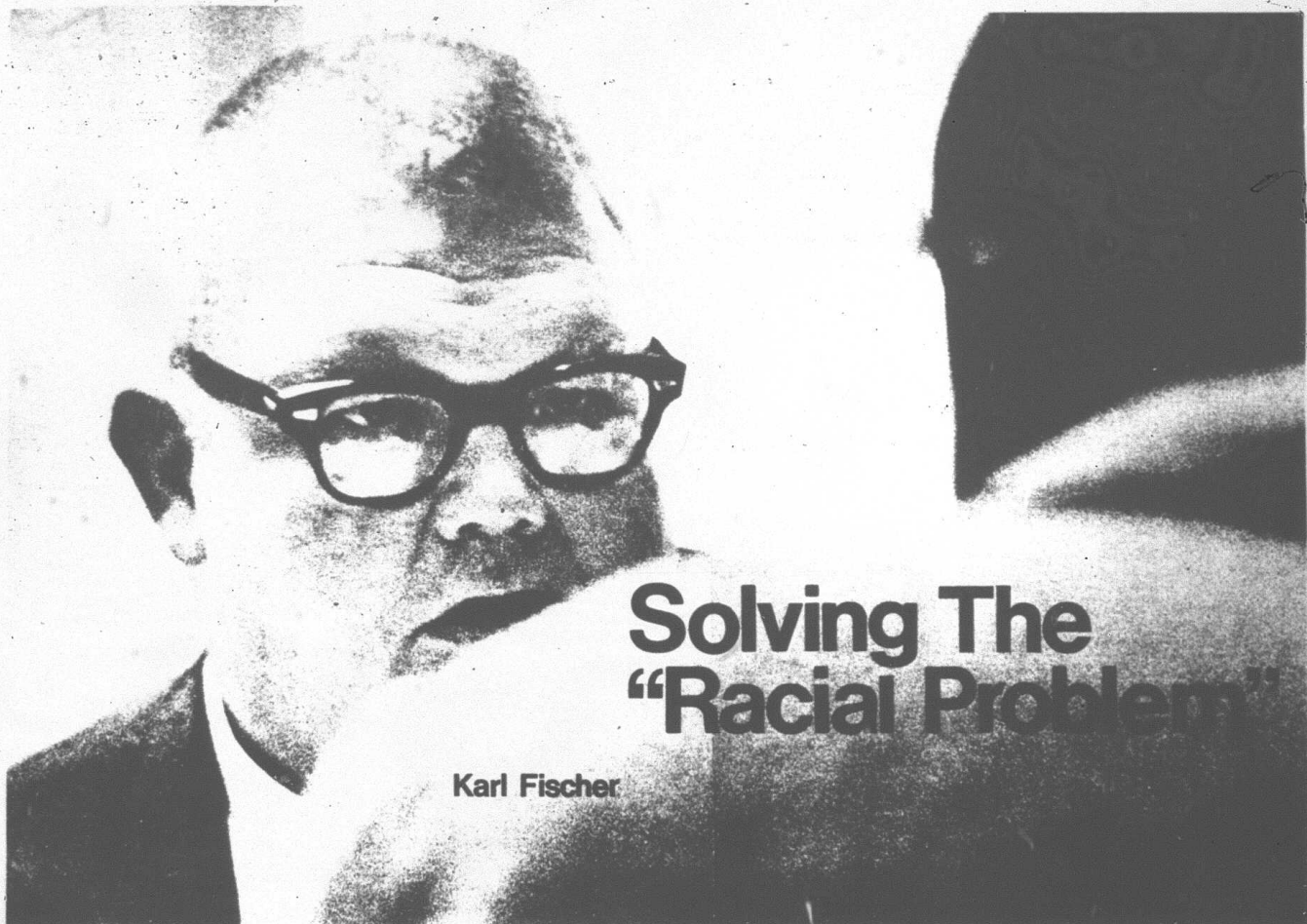
For both economic and political reasons, therefore, we are not likely to see a government dominated by private interests initiate a real solution to the housing shortage — public ownership of land and housing, public construction and operation of integrated new towns.

Renewal from Below

Failing government action, however, the people are beginning to impose their own solution. In New York City, squatting in abandoned or newly constructed buildings is becoming common — a practice of some years standing in the slums of England and Ireland. Fed up with rats and roaches, people are beginning to question the sanctity of private property.

Squatting is a direct-action activity that develops out of a growing sense of desperation. It can gain publicity for the plight of the poor and help them organize at the grass-roots level. It is obviously limited, however, and must be a step toward greater political organization and understanding. Even if squatters were to occupy all existing vacant housing, there is not enough to go around. Only a massive program to build new housing can begin to solve the problem, and squatting should be seen as the beginning of building a movement capable of struggling for that.





Solving The "Racial Problem"

Karl Fischer

As spring made its usual late appearance this year in Michigan, the educational system in the Detroit area was hit by several student protests and disruptions which underlined the severe crisis of public education in America today. These disruptions were a sign that the hopes of numerous conservative and liberal commentators that political ferment among students is dying out are false hopes indeed.

Oakland County Community College was built to service the needs of the largely white and middle-class population of Detroit's northwestern suburbs. In fact, the school was originally chartered to accept students only from Oakland County — i.e., outside Detroit.

However, pressure from the Federal government forced the administration to include a token amount of black students in the school. Last year, about 350 blacks — out of a total enrollment of nearly 5000 — were recruited from Detroit high schools to attend OCC by means of a federal subsidy.

From the start, the black students received a welcome which was somewhat less than open-armed. The vast majority of the student body is suburban-white. Moreover, the school is located in the town of Farmington:

Farmington

Farmington is not really a suburb of Detroit in the social sense of the term, but rather an old farming village which has been swallowed up by the vast expansion of the suburbs in the last decade. The local folks are mainly white Southerners who moved north in the twenties, could not adjust to life and work in the urban center of Detroit, and so moved out to Farmington to at-

tempt to recreate the atmosphere of the rural south from which they had come.

With the exception of a few timid liberals on the Farmington Human Relations Council, the local citizenry viewed the importation of black students into OCC as some sort of invasion.

Moreover, the school itself was completely unprepared for the addition of black students. The white students, having come from a suburban background, were without any experience at all in relating to black people on any permanent and equal basis. Unlike other schools, where pressure from black students and others has forced changes in curriculum, course content, etc., to begin to deal with the real role of black people in the history and social life of America, OCC had remained essentially untouched.

The result was that the new black students entered a totally alien culture; a school which failed to reflect their existence as a people, a community which subjected them to all sorts of harassment from cops and local citizens.

So, not surprisingly, the black students at OCC organized to try to improve the situation. Over a period of six months, they negotiated with school administrators for the addition of black history and black culture courses, for the adoption of newer textbooks in several social science courses which attempted to deal with the role of black people in American social life, and for several other demands.

The administrators — who had to be forced to accept the black students in the first place — were not exactly overjoyed by the demands. The negotiations proved fruitless.

In mid-March, a meeting was scheduled between twenty black students and several administrators to discuss the issue of textbooks. The meeting had been cancelled three times previously by the administrators. This time they simply failed to show up.

The black students waited about two hours, then left — in an understandably unpleasant mood. They entered the cafeteria to discuss their next move. An argument between a white student and a black student began which turned into a fight; and the black students went on a twenty-minute rampage through the cafeteria, venting their pent-up frustrations.

This sole act of violence provided the administration, the cops, and the newspapers with the ammunition they needed to attack the black students.

The cops had not been prepared for the trouble on the first day, so the black students were able to split without punishment. The next day, however, they were ready. When 100 black students attempted to sit in at an administrator's office to press their demands, they were violently dispersed by Farmington cops. Any black student on campus was fair game to be stopped, frisked, and roughed up.

At one point, the cops put up a roadblock across the entrance to the school parking lot, and systematically stopped any car containing blacks. Anyone who objected to such treatment was roughed over and in some cases arrested on some spurious charge.

Over the next three days, black students boycotted classes and twice held sit-ins to back up their demands. Twenty people in total were arrested during the week. Finally, four days

after the original incident, someone — the black students claim it was a provocateur, the administration an "outside agitator" — placed a pipe bomb in a biology lab, which caused \$5000 worth of damage although no injuries.

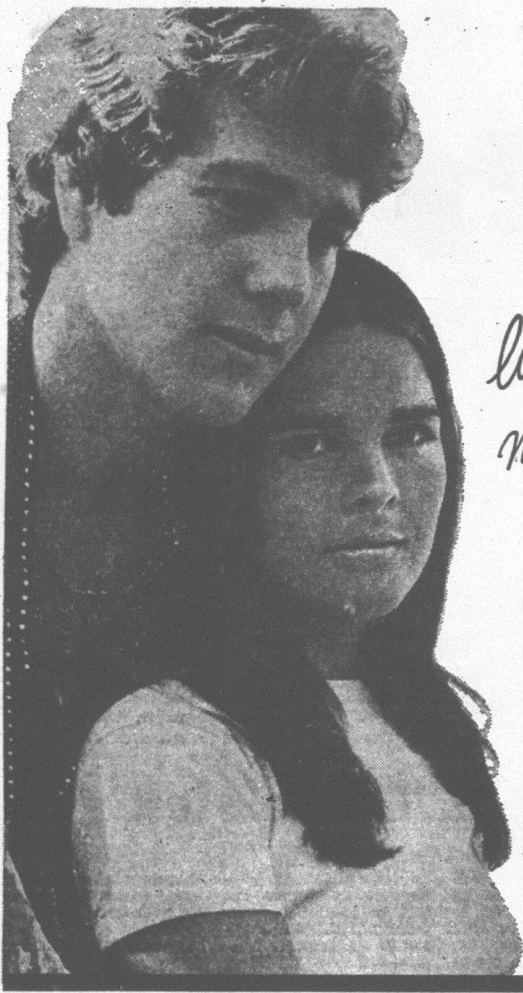
The bombing seemed to shock both sides away from the brink; the administration withdrew the cops, the black students ended the boycott. At this writing, the black students' demands remain unfulfilled.

Indictment

The real importance of the events at Oakland Community College goes beyond the specific demands that the black students were raising. What happened at OCC is an indictment of the traditional liberal solution to the educational crisis — that is, physical integration of otherwise unchanged white schools.

This "solution" is based on the belief that the mainstream culture of middle-class America is the best of all possible worlds, and that if black students are merely exposed to this paradise of goodies at some length, they will come out just like good little upward-mobile white boys and girls, and — presto! — no more "racial problem."

What this approach fails to grasp — besides its arrogant presumption of white cultural superiority — is that black people have developed their own culture, with its own values, goals and needs. Decent education for black people means education based on those values, those needs, those objectives. Any real solution to the educational crisis — or to that particular aspect of the crisis, at any rate — must involve schools which recognize that fact. ■



*Love means
never having
to say
you're sorry -*

TWO REVIEWS:

Women In The Movies

Love Story

Jessie Avery

Romance is in the air, they say. On January 11 *Time* magazine ran a cover picture of Ali McGraw, heroine of the tear-jerking movie, *Love Story*. The picture was captioned "Return to Romance," and its accompanying article tried to establish *Love Story* as a sign of the times. "...unwilling to rely on institutions or revolution, the U.S. has fallen back on pure feeling," gushed *Time*.

It can't be denied that *Love Story* has been successful. The novel (if it can be called a novel) is at the top of the best seller list and Hollywood is agog at the millions the movie is making. How to account for this?

Love Story's plot is extremely simple, not to mention simple-minded: Har-

vard heir to millions, Oliver Barrett IV, meets Radcliffe senior-of-Italian-descent, Jennifer Cavillieri. After some initial sparring (a hint of taming of the shrew never hurt a good romance), Ollie and Jennie are in love. Marriage inevitably follows, involving a breach between Oliver IV and Oliver III, who doesn't approve of Jenny's class background. The young lovers spend three heart-rending years of poverty putting Oliver through Harvard Law School. (Incidentally, they do so without having to sell Oliver's obviously expensive antique sports car.)

Ollie graduates with honors and becomes a bright young lawyer with a lovely wife, a large salary, and a luxury apartment on E. 63rd Street in New York. Jenny quits working, of course.

In the midst of all this bliss, tragedy strikes, just as the Barretts are getting ready to have a baby. Jenny, obviously too good for this world and having nothing else to do, develops leukemia and dies, just like that.

To the end she is self sacrificing. She had originally given up without a murmur a music scholarship to Paris, maintaining that it meant nothing to her compared to Oliver. Now dying, her only

worry is the effect her death will have on the men in her life. And after her death her saintly influence engineers a reconciliation between Oliver and his father. At this point there is really almost nobody in the theatre with dry eyes.

One of the worst things about *Love Story* is that it is totally unreal. Its problems are essentially phony. How many people are sons of millionaires, or even make it to Harvard or Radcliffe? How many manage to have an ideal romance for four years in what appears to be almost complete isolation from the world and other people. Try it sometime.

The movie has a very strong resemblance to the Hollywood movies of the Depression. Hollywood specialized in getting people to cry over bogus troubles in movies when their own troubles became unbearable, rather than struggling directly to put an end to these troubles. Today, when we're again in a period of economic hardship and rebellion, the ruling class would like very much for people to swallow the idea that "love is all you need," that personal, not political, solutions to social problems are the answer.

Beyond a general plea for political

passivity, *Love Story* also represents a specific attack on Women's Liberation. "Romance" here has no connotations of adventurousness, of taking risks, of non-conformity. It is domestic rather than passionate, sending women back to the home rather than towards any expanded role in life.

It is no surprise to see Ali McGraw modelling maternity clothes in *Madie's Home Journal*, no surprise to see *Time* quoting another actress as saying "I guess at heart I'm a pure romantic." I believe a woman's place is in the home." Stores like Saks Fifth Avenue advertise ruffy home lounging dresses "as full of yesteryear romance as anything you'll find today." Tricia Nixon models frilly maxis.

There is always an attempt to send women back to the home at times when jobs are scarce, to convince them that their roles are passive and supportive rather than active and creative. *Love Story*, however, is far from being a sign of the times. All those soppy Depression movies came out during the greatest period of labor action in this country. *Love Story* comes at a time of great unrest among women. Women must turn this unrest into a movement too strong to be affected by any "return to romance."

Diary

Louise Mitchell

Love Story ends when beautiful, talented young Radcliffe graduate Jennifer Barrett dies tragically, and her up-and-coming lawyer-husband Oliver is left alone in New York City with only memories, and dreams of what might have been.

But what if Jennifer Barrett hadn't died? What if, instead, she and Oliver had produced the child they seemed to long for? (And, presumably, at least one more.) There's every reason to believe that the make-believe romance of *Love Story*, the book or movie, could have turned into the all-too-real novel and movie, *Diary of a Mad Housewife*.

In *Diary of a Mad Housewife* we have Jennifer Barrett at 36 - her name is Tina Balsler, and her talent was painting rather than music; she went to Smith instead of Radcliffe (sister schools); her husband Jonathon, like Oliver Barrett the IV, was a Harvard undergraduate; just to be a bit different, he went to Yale rather than Harvard for Law School, but both roads lead, in the end, to similar places - bright, ambitious lawyers for big New York corporate-type law firms.

Tina has two lovely girls - and her life is sheer hell. She has no identity of her own, and small wonder. Jonathon, an exaggeration of a very real type, says early in the film "my wife is a reflection of me." His ambitions to Do Good thwarted, he has turned into a culture snob, and makes incredible demands on Tina while constantly deflating her ego. "Your mother," he tells his young daughters to be witty, "graduated summa cum laude from Smith but she can't do a four minute egg. Isn't that funny, girls?"

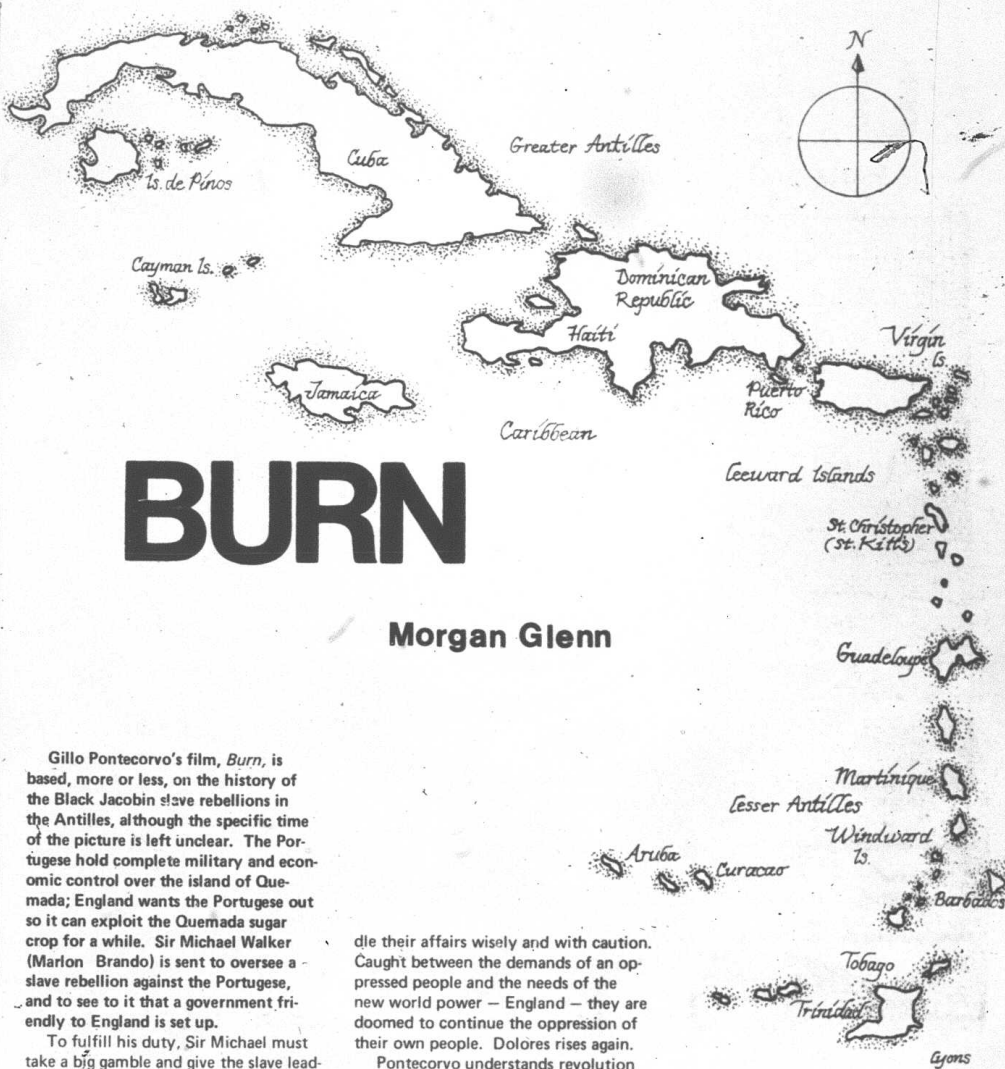
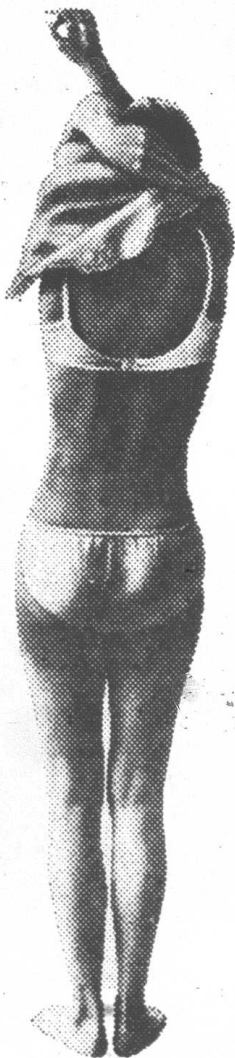
In a frantic attempt to find some escape she Takes A Lover. He is of the familiar breed who are all warm and soft until you start to care. Then they withdraw, to another, taking part of you with them. This lover, talented George

the writer, uses the exit line "I think we should cool it for a while."

The movie is fantastic in making you feel the torture that is Tina's life. The book doesn't do so well, though it's cheaper at 95¢, but it does tell you why the hell she married Jonathon in the first place. That is, she once loved him, they loved the same things, and he could have been more like Öliiver Barrett than the creature he is in his mid-30's. In the movie you can't figure out how Tina Balsler got into such a mess. In the book you find out her analyst pushed and prodded her to "liberate her Feminine Drives."

Diary of a Mad Housewife is a fine women's liberation film, as long as you see it that way. The very end shows Tina, wide-eyed, listening to a group-therapy bunch tell her she has no problems, compared to so many. It's true that she has material comforts many women lack, and those comforts are not unimportant. It's probably one reason why a divorce doesn't seem so attractive to her. But Tina Balsler has seen that her problems can't be solved through getting better maids, or fancier clothes.

She has no identity and she knows what's wrong; she is tortured and tongue-lashed, and overwinded. Instead of a group therapy session, perhaps she will find her way to the women's liberation movement, where she can join with less well-off sisters in fighting for the emancipation of us all. Or is that too corny? I always preferred happy endings. ■



BURN

Morgan Glenn

Gillo Pontecorvo's film, *Burn*, is based, more or less, on the history of the Black Jacobin slave rebellions in the Antilles, although the specific time of the picture is left unclear. The Portuguese hold complete military and economic control over the island of Quemada; England wants the Portuguese out so it can exploit the Quemada sugar crop for a while. Sir Michael Walker (Marlon Brando) is sent to oversee a slave rebellion against the Portuguese, and to see to it that a government friendly to England is set up.

To fulfill his duty, Sir Michael must take a big gamble and give the slave leader, Jose Dolores, the feeling he is fighting for ideals and not England. This altogether necessary tactic backfires, and ten years later Dolores rises again, this time to overthrow the English and win a true independence for his country. Sir Michael is dredged out of the slums of London and sent back to destroy Dolores and salvage the totally inept pro-British government.

That's the story. Pontecorvo is aware of the political nuances in his subject, and develops them well. First, he knows how to spell imperialism. When the Portuguese are overthrown, and the governor is killed, Brando makes the fate that awaits Dolores should he go on to seize power brutally clear. "How will you survive without England?" he asks. Who will feed your people, buy your sugar, teach in your schools?"

Jose must either give in to his new masters or return to the Portuguese. Having to survive in the world market, Dolores is in fact helpless. There are no other revolutions on other islands, the working class in England is not yet politically awakened — Dolores is alone.

Seeing that he is out of his league, he surrenders — but not gracefully. "We have no choice. We will accept your government. But be careful, for we will always be here, on the plantations." He and his men give up their guns and go back to cutting cane. Sir Michael goes home and goes to seed in Whitehall.

But Teddy Sanchez and company, the homegrown slavemasters, can't han-

dle their affairs wisely and with caution. Caught between the demands of an oppressed people and the needs of the new world power — England — they are doomed to continue the oppression of their own people. Dolores rises again.

Pontecorvo understands revolution as an international problem. With international power in the hands of states basically concerned with exploiting all other countries, freedom from foreign exploitation is impossible in one of the exploited countries: revolution must spread or die.

Sir Michael knows this well. As long as Jose Dolores' new army can be stopped before its "example" spreads to the other islands, it poses no real threat. If it makes an impact beyond Quemada, however, there might be no hope for defeating it: He makes that point explicitly in a scene with a member of the Sanchez government, as background for a brutal, all-destructive war against the slaves in the course of which much of the island is burned.

In fact, such revolts, in the early nineteenth century, were doomed to be crushed or to decay in neo-colonialism — capitalism had not yet developed enough for the working class in advanced countries to take power and rescue these revolts from isolation. But the same is no longer true today — and Pontecorvo is, in essence, making a political statement about revolution in today's world.

There is another contemporary conclusion to be drawn from Dolores' experiences. Just as Dolores found that England offered him aid against the Portuguese only to take their place as his exploiters, so must any struggle for self-determination today be doomed if it turns to one imperialist power for help against another.

Independence from and opposition to both imperialist camps, East and West, is a prerequisite to genuine liberation. As the people of Czechoslovakia and Poland, East Bengal and Ceylon have learned recently, Russia and China are no more partisans of liberating than the United States.

The quality of the picture as a political parable for our times is obvious in the watching of it. Sir Michael as a character has absolute, unwavering ruling-class consciousness. He is given one job and one job only — win for England. He knows what that means, and not only does his job but lets everybody in the audience know what victory means in this situation.

In a sense, *Burn* is as much a commentary on the war in Vietnam, about the reality of U.S. imperialism today, as it is a historical drama about British colonialism.

The film has one major flaw, however. There is not a single woman of any importance in *Burn*. Early on there is a lengthy scene with Brando and the wife of the executed rebel slave — she doesn't say a word. Her part is clearly defiant — no white man is going to get a word out of her about anything. Once she disappears into her hovel, though, women pass out of the picture altogether. What was the role of women in these revolts? If none — if their men denied them a role — this deserves comment. ■

Urban Guerrillas

R.F. Kampfer



Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla, Carlos Marighella, Tricontinental, 1969.

Not all street-fighting is urban guerrilla warfare. At Stalingrad there were two regular armies who happened to be fighting over a city. In 1916 in Dublin, the urban rising was intended as the signal for a nation-wide rebellion. The Warsaw Ghetto partisans waged a desperate struggle against extermination. The people of Budapest in 1956 were spontaneously defending themselves against a foreign invader.

In all of these actions, the forms of urban guerrilla warfare were used, but the contents were very different. Urban guerrilla warfare as a strategy is based on the idea that the city contains the valuable and vulnerable centers of a regime's political and economic strength; and that the regime can be paralyzed by a long campaign of harassing attacks upon these centers.

Such tactics were developed by the citizens of occupied cities, for resistance against the troops and institutions of the occupying armies — as in Paris and Copenhagen during World War II. But attempts were now being made to use these methods internally, as a road to social revolution. At present it is being tried most energetically in Uruguay and Brazil, but the idea is catching on in many other countries, including the United States.

What Next?

The Marighella pamphlet is essentially a technical manual, but it serves well to illustrate both the strengths and weaknesses of the city partisan. Certainly the city is a place where heavy blows can be struck against the ruling class.

Here is the corporate wealth of the nation, factories, banks, offices, transportation centers, all concentrated in a limited area that nevertheless offers in-

numerable hiding places for the assailant. Here are the leading men of the economy, the government and the military forced into close contact with the public, any member of whom may be a kidnapper or assassin. Here are the police headquarters, the courts, the government buildings; sitting targets.

The police are at least partially tied to the defensive. They must spread their forces to guard every possible objective, every bank, every bureaucrat. The guerrillas are free to choose their point of attack and concentrate their forces against it.

The police are also limited in the weapons they can use on city streets. They can't call in artillery or air strikes or they'd only be doing the guerrillas job for them. For the same reason, they cannot paralyze the working population in order to track down the revolutionaries. There is no point in having a dictatorship unless it can be run at a profit.

It is true that a well-organized urban guerrilla movement, through such tactics as bombing, sniping, kidnapping and bank robbery, might make it impossible for an unpopular government to function; possibly force it to abdicate. The big question is: what comes next?

Socialists believe that the revolutionary movement is equivalent to the revolutionary state in embryo. From the program and actions of an organization fighting for power it is possible to predict what life will be like if and when it wins, and whether or not we should support it. The political and organizational recommendations of Marighella raise serious doubts about the type of state his movement could create.

First let us consider Marighella's concepts of organization. The biggest problem for all guerrilla movements is to prevent infiltration and destruction by enemy agents. There are two main methods by which this is done, the tight and the loose systems of organization.

The "tight" guerrilla movement is

highly centralized and controlled. A great part of its energy is devoted to preserving secrecy and security. The members spend as much time spying on each other as they do fighting the enemy. Such a movement may be able to maintain its security for a long time, but once the slightest chink is made in its armor, the whole network is exposed.

The "loose" organization, on the other hand, operates on the premise that people cannot tell what they do not know. Instead of a centralized structure, we have any number of small bands, picking their own targets and operating independently of each other. It is easier for the enemy to penetrate or capture a single unit, but he is unable from this to come any closer to the rest of the movement.

Marighella has opted for the loose organization. He recommends that urban guerrillas operate in "firing groups" of no more than four or five people each. Two or more groups may cooperate against a specific objective, but "any firing group can decide to assault a bank, to kidnap or to execute an agent of the dictatorship, a figure identified with the reaction, or a North American spy, and can carry out any kind of propaganda or war of nerves against the enemy without the need to consult the general command."

The "general command" incidentally, is referred to several times by Marighella, but without any hint at all as to how it can possibly provide any coordination, services, or political leadership for such a diffuse movement; especially since "any single urban guerrilla who wants to establish a firing group and begin action can do so and thus become a part of the organization."

This type of organization has a low efficiency quotient since each firing group must handle its own supply service, ordinance, communications and propaganda network, medical system, etc. The political consequences, how-

ever, are much more serious.

A movement whose members are unable to communicate among each other cannot democratically form an ideology. Either the political line must be handed down from the "general command," or each firing group must decide on its own just what it is fighting for.

Marighella states that the guerrillas must be "indoctrinated and disciplined with a long-range strategic and tactical vision consistent with the application of Marxist theory, of Leninism and of Castro-Guevara developments." In practice the entrance qualification seems to be the willingness to carry on an armed struggle against the Brazilian dictatorship; since he says that guerrillas may be workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, or... priests. Should such a movement gain state power we could only expect a second, guerrilla war to decide just who won the revolution.

It is highly significant that Marighella regards the working class as just another part of the classless guerrilla organization. "The urban guerrilla worker," he says, "participates in the struggle by constructing arms, sabotaging and preparing saboteurs and dynamites, and personally participating in actions involving hand arms, or organizing strikes and partial paralysis with the characteristics of mass violence in factories, workshops, and other work centers."

Judging from the fact that he can write: "A strike is successful when it is organized through the action of a small group, if it is carefully prepared in secret and by the most clandestine methods," it appears that he neither knew nor cared very much what the working class is really like.

In the last analysis, urban guerrilla warfare as a strategy for social revolution boils down to just another form of terrorism — the idea that a small group of heroes can bring down the state without a mass movement. Like other terrorists, and in common with elitists and authoritarians of different stripes, the urban guerrilla views the mass of the people as sheep to be manipulated.

The urban guerrilla tells people not to struggle, that everything will be handled by the "real revolutionaries" — who, if they were actually to achieve their goals, would continue to substitute themselves for the masses; if the working class isn't good enough to make a revolution, then it can't be trusted to democratically rule society.

Socialists who see the proletariat as the keystone both of the revolution and the new society must remain highly skeptical of a Marighella-type movement. To tear down a dictatorship is one thing; to build a socialist democracy a harder and more important job.

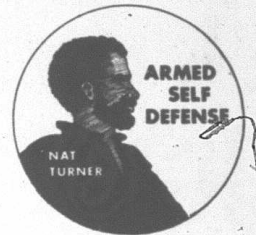
Marighella, incidentally, was killed in an ambush five months after finishing the *Minimanual*. ■



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Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PA BELL IS A RICH WHITE MAN

Anne Goldfarb
Emma Bronson

Pa Bell is coming under attack from all directions. With contracts due to expire soon across the country, and local strikes breaking out periodically, the telephone company now finds itself picketed by women's liberation groups, attacked for poor service by angry consumer organizations, and opposed in its petitions for rate increases even by the Federal Government.

In particular, attacks have been focusing on Bell's discriminatory practices against blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women. The telephone company is the largest private employer in the country, and it has now also earned the distinction of being the company which discriminates the most; well over 1,000 complaints against it have been filed with the Federal Government's Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

Except in large cities, Bell refuses to hire blacks and Spanish people for anything but janitorial jobs. Where it has broken its whites-only rule, it segregates black and other Third World employees into the lowest-paying jobs with little or no advancement, such as frameman, operator, or building services. Bell even maintains racially segregated bathrooms in some states.

Sex Segregation

Moreover, a majority of Bell's employees are women, but a rigid system of sex segregation has prevented all but a handful from getting supervisory or craft jobs. Lorena Weeks, a Georgia operator, spent five years fighting Southern Bell in court before she won the craft job seniority should have given her automatically.

Pay scales reflect Bell's contempt for its women employees. Top pay for operators in New York is \$117 per week — one dollar less than the starting pay for craftsmen, who earn a top of \$193 plus overtime. Starting wages for operators and commercial workers are so low many are eligible for supplementary welfare.

Bell's discrimination is so blatant that the EEOC has filed a number of suits against its proposals for rate increases. They accuse Bell of racial and sexual discrimination in hiring and upgrading, illegally classifying work into "men's" and "women's jobs," paying women less than men for the same work, and maintaining separate seniority lists and retirement plans for men and women.

In spite of this damning case, the commissions responsible for setting rate increases have ignored the EEOC's demands, and since the EEOC has no power to enforce its rulings, telephone workers cannot look to it as a solution to their problems. Going to court to sue the Bell system is no better answer, for the company is so powerful that it can simply ignore court orders, as it has in the past.

There is only one way that Bell's racist and sexist practices can be stopped and that is by the action of telephone workers themselves. Only telephone workers have the power to force Bell to change, because only they are able to shut down the system if their demands are not met.

Waging this fight will require a tremendous amount of organization and initiative on the part of the ranks, because the unions which represent tele-

phone workers have almost as bad a record as Bell itself. The Communication Workers of America, largest of the many unions in telephone, has a majority of women members, but its executive board is 100 per cent white men.

The CWA has ignored Bell's discriminatory practices, done little to support grievances filed about racist or sexist practices, and made only feeble attempts to organize women where they are not already in the CWA. In New York, the CWA has made peace with the Telephone Traffic Union and the United Telephone Workers, company unions "representing" operators and commercial workers. During a recent strike by craftsmen, the CWA made no effort to win operators' support, and the TTU threatened operators with immediate firing if they respected the picket lines.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, second largest, representing many telephone workers in Illinois, New Jersey, and New England, is no better. Although more militant sounding, it is an old-line craft union which puts the interests of its members in construction first, and also opposes the entry of blacks into construction jobs.

Pressure From Below

The unions are already under pressure from the ranks to make good in the upcoming contract negotiations, because of the poor wages and bad working conditions throughout the system. But unless more pressure is applied, they will ignore Bell's discrimination again.

In a few cities, rank and filers are starting to do the kind of organizing

needed. In New York, for one, women in traffic and commercial are forming a Rank and File Committee for the CWA, which is beginning to organize women to demand entry into the CWA with certain demands being met.

Groups such as this, composed of women, or of blacks, Chicanos, or Puerto Ricans, must be formed in other locals as well, to win support from other workers and make the fight against discrimination a major part of the negotiations. Their demands should include:

Preferential hiring and promotion to all-white or all-male jobs of women, blacks, and Spanish workers; all jobs open to telephone workers first, on the general basis of seniority, before new workers are hired; an end to the Absence Control Plan; childcare centers for all employees paid for by the company and controlled by the workers; equal pay for women and men — the same pay for traffic, commercial, and plant jobs at 50 per cent more than the current highest wages; and guaranteed jobs after paid maternity leave. These must be a part of every contract negotiated with the Bell system this year.

Women's liberation and black liberation groups in the community can be important allies in this fight. For example, the National Organization for Women (NOW), whose lawyers won the Weeks case, has already announced a national campaign against further rate increases, and has begun nation-wide picketing of telephone offices.

Unfortunately, the NOW campaign isn't addressed to the problems of most women who work at telephone, since its goal is to win more jobs for women as supervisors and executives. When operators at one New York office spoke to NOW women, they discovered that NOW wasn't at all interested in fighting for higher wages or a better union.

Other groups, however, are being formed which will assist operators and commercial workers in their fight to form decent unions and win better job conditions and wages. The Seattle women's liberation group, which includes a few telephone workers, publishes a newsletter called *Traffic Jam* for women at telephone, with news about Bell and about women's liberation campaigns such as abortion law repeal. Women in New York City recently formed the Working Women's Committee, which will provide help and coordination for rank and file women at Bell and other workplaces in the city.

Groups such as these, and similar groups in the black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican movement, can give assistance and support to telephone workers by handing out leaflets, publicizing their struggles to other workers around the city, and organizing demonstrations (as the New York WWC did at a recent rate increase hearing). If efforts such as these grow and are successful, the anger of telephone workers and of the public can be joined into a powerful attack — capable of finally teaching Pa Bell who's boss. ■

