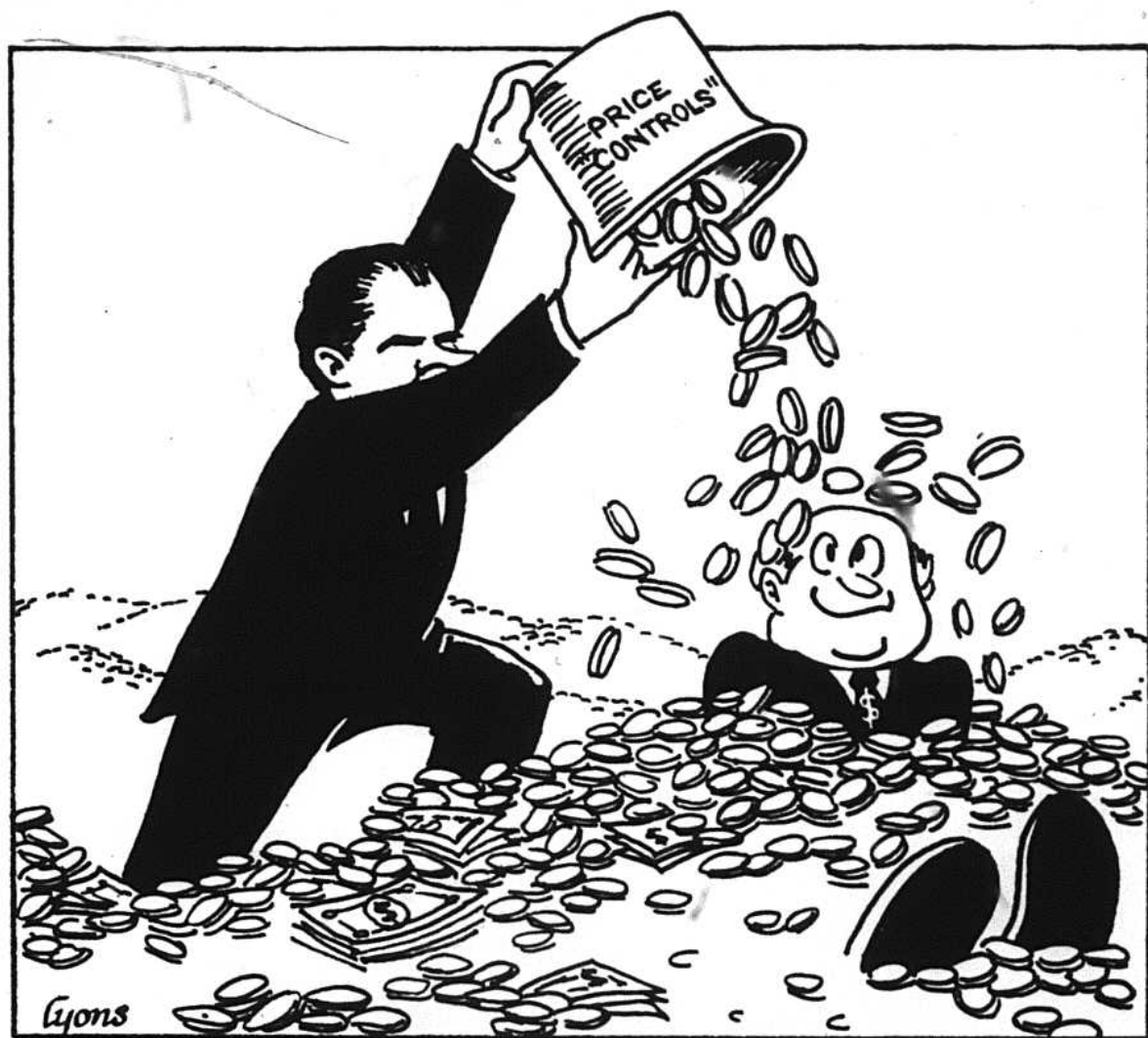


# WORKERS' POWER 80



## PHASE 4: INFLATION, PROFITS RUN AMOK

# WORKERS' POWER

Biweekly newspaper of the International Socialists

No. 80 August 1973 25¢

## Nixon Gang Planned Bugs, Break-ins, Bombs

### Behind Phase 4: Prices to Soar

In announcing his brand new economic program -- Phase IV -- Nixon had to admit that "confidence in our management of our fiscal affairs is low, at home and abroad." Phase IV is likely to do as much to restore confidence in the administration as have the Watergate hearings.

For the truth behind Phase IV, hard as it may be to believe is that the price controls are actually aimed at raising prices, not lowering them. Nixon's aim of protecting the mammoth profit rates, now soaring at record rates throughout American capitalism, is incompatible with any real price controls. At every critical point, price restraints will go by the boards.

This was most clear with regard to food prices where Nixon announced that "there is no way, with or without controls, to prevent a substantial rise of food prices." That means that the fantastic rise in food prices under Phase III, of 22.4% a year, is going to continue now and probably even get worse.

Food is only the most dramatic example of what has occurred to all prices under Nixon's various controls' programs. Actually, inflation has consistently gotten worse under each new phase. (See Table, page 11). In fact, inflation under Phase III was over twice as much as that during the 6 months prior to the entire controls program (4.2%)!! And they still have the nerve to call this price controls! Sure, prices are controlled . . . to go up.

Already, despite all this, businessmen are crying about

*(continued on page 11)*



The exploits of Richard Nixon, his top assistants, and their special 'Plumbers' unit have now exploded in headlines across the United States and around the world. Seldom have the methods and the morals of the American political system been as clearly revealed.

The real issues, however, remain clouded in "Constitutional" rhetoric and legal maneuvers. On the surface, the emerging struggle is one of conflicting Constitutional powers: Nixon's "separation of powers" doctrine against the right of Congress to investigate criminal activity inside the government.

This formal question will be fought out in the courts, where -- since he now controls the Supreme Court -- Nixon has every reason to hope for at least a favorable compromise.

Underneath, however, these conflicting forces share a common aim: preserving political stability and "social peace" in order to maintain the domestic and international strength of American capitalism. Each of these forces --

Nixon's apparatus on one side, the defenders of Congress on the other -- are afraid that the methods of the other could lead the whole system to disruption, disintegration or even collapse.

The last ten days of hearings held in July brought forward a whole new set of disclosures. The most important of these were:

- (1) The story of the payment of hundreds of thousands of dollars to the Watergate burglars;
- (2) The statement by John Ehrlichman, obviously speaking unofficially for Nixon's Administration, that the break-in to Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office was a legitimate and legal action;
- (3) Most incredibly, the revelation that Richard Nixon -- carrying the art of electronic snooping to its most absurd limit -- had bugged his own office!

For many, the biggest shock was Ehrlichman's bald defense of the Ellsberg break-in. For the first time, a White House official laid out openly the view that the powers of the President to "combat subversion," real or

*(Continued on page 13)*

## Sit-Down Strike Hits Chrysler p.3

# Editorial

## Kennedy & Wallace: The Spirit of '76

The spirit of '76 is abroad in the land. Already, trial balloons are being floated and political deals constructed aiming toward the next Presidential election in 1976. The most important of these to date was Ted Kennedy's visit to Alabama, where he spoke jointly with and in praise of Governor George Wallace. In his speech, Kennedy stressed his solidarity with Wallace in defense of "democracy" and the Constitution, which Nixon and the White House have trampled in the Watergate affair.

The spectacle of the "great liberal" Kennedy consorting with Wallace -- the leading symbol of racist "law and order," the advocate of violent suppression of anti-war, civil rights and student demonstrations, the governor of one of the most anti-labor states in the entire coun-

try -- is much more than another act of cynical opportunism on the part of an individual power-hungry politician. Kennedy's overture to Wallace is fully in keeping with the politics and aims of the Democratic Party.

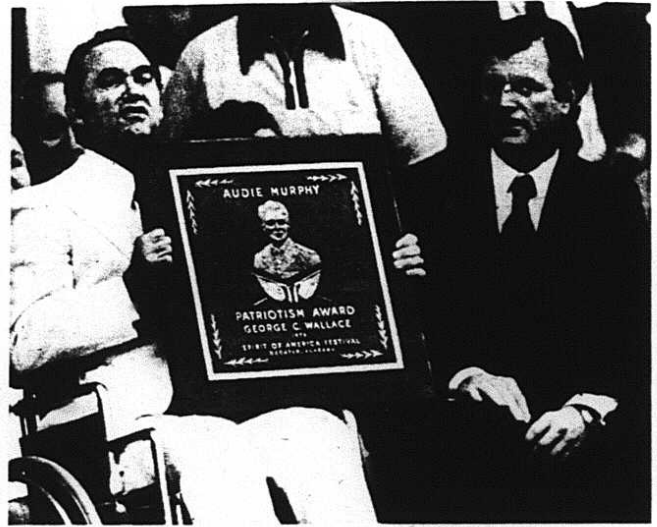
In fact, Kennedy's actions could be the prelude to Democratic strategy for 1976. After the dismal collapse of George McGovern's "reform" campaign -- followed by the Watergate scandal which has ripped apart Nixon's administration -- the Democrats would like nothing better than to construct a new "party unity" to put them back in power.

What is the program around which "unity" can be constructed? Kennedy's tack is to adopt Wallace's rhetoric about the "little man," high taxes, and bureaucratic government -- in an attempt to unify anti-

Nixon sentiment which Watergate again, the liberals who capture movements of protest and dissent ally with the right-wing forces in the Democratic Party -- betraying their supporters at the first opportunity.

Clearly, such a course threatens disastrous consequences for American working people -- especially black people who are the chief target of repression. Kennedy's speech is a clear message -- black people and other minorities, women, and

What is needed is a militant political force to oppose the Democrats, Republicans and Wallaceites -- an independent party of the American working class, based on the rank and file of organized labor.



Wallace with "patriotism award" and Ted Kennedy

workers will get even worse treatment than before inside the capitalist two-party establishment.

What is the alternative to this reactionary course? The main lesson to be learned is that the Democratic Party cannot be reformed in a progressive direction. Time and

Such a force would do what the liberals and moderates cannot: expose Ted Kennedy's turn to Wallace for the racist, anti-labor act that it is. The interests of labor and of all specially oppressed groups do not lie in unifying the Democratic Party, but in destroying it.



[Reprinted from The Newspaper]

## Workers' Power 80

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# SIT-DOWN STRIKE HITS CHRYSLER RACISM

David Shoemaker

July 24, 1973 saw the first big sit-down strike in 35 years hit Detroit like a bolt of lightning, lighting up the basic power relations in the auto industry for all to see. The result of this action was an undiluted victory for the Chrysler Corporation's workers at the mammoth Jefferson Assembly Plant.

The public image and self-image of company, union bureaucracy, state power, and press have been temporarily lifted, giving a brief, sharp look at the humble realities underneath. In contrast, the self-image and confidence of Detroit auto workers — doubtless others, too — has soared.

At 6 a.m. two black spot welders, Isaac Shorter and Larry Carter, scaled a 10 foot fenced power station and turned off the electricity. The assembly line stopped. With the aid and protection of a hundred idled workers, they locked the power enclosure with chains and wires and stayed inside.

They issued a demand for the immediate firing of Thomas Woolsey, a Superintendent who had turned life on the line into a hell of harassment, race-baiting and humiliation. They also demanded a written guarantee of no reprisals.

Woolsey didn't just harass people for the sake of production, he did it for fun. He tore out the chairs that people had built out of scrap in their work areas. He wrote people up for reading the paper while there were skips on the line. In the largely Black department, he was considered an ardent racist.

The company resisted their demands at first, threatening everything and calling in skilled tradesmen to "liberate" the electricity with welding torches; then the cops' Tac Squad; then the local union officials.

UAW International Rep Elwood Black came into the plant saying that he had a verbal commitment from management that Woolsey would be

fired and no discipline imposed. He urged the workers to accept this and go back to work.

When it turned out that this ambassador could not get a written guarantee of amnesty for the two leaders, nor produce an authoritative management representative to sign the agreement on the spot, he was chased from the plant by the other workers.

The cops were immobilized by the possibility of a blood bath in case they attacked and — worse, for them — the threat of the blood being theirs.

Although the Company had sent the day shift home, many workers hung around the plant. Also, in a misguided attempt to get the dollars rolling, Chrysler called in the afternoon shift.

Rather than resuming production, however, this swelled the ranks of defenders to nearly a thousand.

## UJC Spreads Word

The United Justice Caucus, a Local 7 rank and file caucus, quickly spread the news of what was happening to the other departments of the plant. Within hours, support was arriving from all over Detroit.

The International Socialists, the United National Caucus, the Motor City Labor League and other groups sent forces down to pass out leaflets and set up an informational picket line.

Two men inside the power station were thus backed up by a hundred guarding them, thousands close by, and potentially thousands more waiting in the wings.

*In this reporter's plant, 10 miles away the news was spreading by 11 a.m. — all the faster in Detroit's black ghetto, where Chrysler finds a large percentage of its workers.*

Jefferson Assembly Plant is only a couple of miles from Grosse Pointe, with an average income of nearly \$50,000; it is also only a couple of miles from the Detroit ghetto, with an average income one tenth of that.



Sit-down leaders Shorter (left) and Carter are carried from the Jefferson plant

At 7:30 p.m., the corporation capitulated when the plant manager personally signed a statement that Woolsey would be fired, with no reprisals. The cost to Chrysler was about 950 cars, or something over a million dollars, at the end of 13 hours.

Foremen are fired to save a few hundred dollars; clearly, Chrysler spent a million not for its foreman, but for its authority. It lost anyway.

## Revolt Against Speedup

Why did this happen? Top UAW officials tried to pass it off as a joke, as something unique. Solidarity House bureaucrats, looking to get their names in the papers, gave verbal support to the workers — after the workers had already won.

The liberal *Detroit Free Press* picked up on this with the editorial wisdom: "Everybody loses." The *Detroit News*, in its editorials, blasted management for giving in and demanded reprisals. The hope is raised that this was just a passing whimsey, spurred by a sadly negligent and backward management team.

Meanwhile, throughout the Chrysler complex, other workers were studying the action as they have studied few other events in ages.

Jokes abound about "the new grievance procedure." Everyone seems to be asking, "Where is the power station here?"

Why did a thousand workers rally behind Carter and Shorter? In the background we have Chrysler's years long, incredible profit drive.

Endless overtime, speedup, and crackdown on personal freedoms — all

coming to the crunch at the point of production. From a loss in '71, Chrysler has gone to \$220 million profit in '72 and is pushing \$400 million for '73 — all without significant new hiring.

Lynn Townsend, Chairman of the Board, stated the other day that Chrysler could not have produced a single additional automobile at its present capacity. Sales and profit records fell right and left while Detroit maintained a pool of actively job-seeking unemployed over 100,000.

Chrysler, like other corporations, has been running what they call in public a productivity drive, and in private reduction of unit labor costs — a conscious policy of sweating more from the backs of the same or fewer workers.

The tops of the UAW have written off a strike, giving the auto magnates a green light to turn the screws on wages, working conditions and principles. Why should the corporations seriously negotiate when the UAW leaders offer no threat?

In the face of this united front between capital and the union bureaucracy, Chrysler workers' struggle for a liveable situation had suffered a series of defeats over the past months. The Jefferson plant itself had gone through a wildcat action a few months before. The wildcat was defeated by the concerted efforts of the management, local union leadership and UAW International bureaucracy.

Isaac Shorter and Larry Carter saw

[Continued on page 11]



[Workers' Power photo by Kit Lyons]

Exclusive Workers' Power photo of ex-Supt Thomas Woolsey trying to take incriminating photographs of rank-and-file militancy during the spring wildcat at Jefferson.

# PHASE 4 CONTRACTS: WORKERS FACE NEW SELLOUTS

Bill Hastings



Every corporate head, every company director, every member of management must be overjoyed at the results of the 1973-74 bargaining round. Under Phase III, collective bargaining has produced one sellout and defeat after another.

Now, with Phase IV guidelines announced, it is fairly clear that without a major action by the rank and file, the second half of this bargaining round will be more of the same. But there are some hopeful signs.

The present employers' offensive against workers means there is a lot at stake in this bargaining round. Yet none of the major settlements so far have even come close to actually defending workers' standards of living and working conditions. (See box.)

The threat of stronger controls, together with the refusal of the labor leaders to make a fight against Nixon, has meant that the "guidelines" set in Phase III have been pretty much kept. As a result, workers have suffered.

Inflation has been rising at an incredibly rapid rate since before the imposition of controls in the fall of 1971. Worker real wages have not kept up with this rising inflation and more and more workers have been feeling the crunch.

While inflation has been going up at an average rate of over 21% a year and record profits are being recorded by major industries, wages have been rising at an average rate of 7.2% a year.

Inflation hits hardest at underpaid and poorly organized workers. Thus blacks and women workers, a high

percentage of whom are in unorganized and unskilled jobs, are the hardest hit by the inflation.

The meat boycott earlier this year, while not the best of tactics, was a testimony to the tremendous dissatisfaction everywhere with the direction the economy is going. Even those contracts which include cost-of-living clauses have failed to provide adequate protection.

Auto workers, for example, only received 7.7% for their cost of living clause while the actual cost of living went up 11.3%.

In the midst of all this inflation, most economists are predicting that the boom we are in will soon turn into a bust. And when that happens one of its effects will be an increase in unemployment. Already, in heavy industrial areas the rate of unemployment is high. Yet in this bargaining round there has been no decent fight over the question of job security.

In an attempt to improve their already super-high profits, the companies have launched a campaign for higher production. Spearheaded by the steel and auto companies, this productivity drive has meant, among other things, a severe attack on working conditions.

Speedup, long hours of forced overtime and unsafe conditions have been the result of policies that have raised productivity 4.9% in the last year. Rather than taking this on, the Steelworkers union, for example, has agreed to set up joint productivity committees with the companies on the local level. Fortunately, many locals have refused to implement it.

In order to carry out this general attack on workers, the corporations have had to do more than just rely on the government's intervention. Al-

ready there have been strong attacks on the union's power at the shop floor level.

Many of the contracts signed in the 1970-71 bargaining round contained set-backs for the power of stewards and for the right of the workers on the shop floor to actually wage the sort of fight necessary to defend themselves.

For example, the Communications Workers of America settled with the NY Telephone Company early in 1972 after a 7-month strike, with an agreement which included a weakening of the grievance procedure. That pattern has been continued in this round by I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers signing an agreement which permits a crucial step in local grievance procedures to be skipped over and the grievance sent to a special regional arbitration board.

Already the courts have attempted to break the rank and file movement by levying huge fines against rank and file leaders. Fines have been imposed in such strikes as: wildcats among

Teamsters and electrical workers in St. Louis, walkouts in auto plants in Detroit, the teachers' strike in Philadelphia, and others. This, combined with the threat of further government intervention, has been largely successful in dampening rank and file militancy.

Needed in this bargaining round was a strong response to all of this. An effort to stop productivity drives, to provide full employment through a shorter work week at no loss in pay, and full protection against inflation were called for. But none has been forthcoming.

The ranks have not seen any coherent strategy that demonstrates how that fight could be conducted. The labor bureaucracy has played a scandalous role of continual sell-out in this crucial period. Because most contracts are negotiated by the "experts" behind closed doors, the rank and file play little or no role in them.

The virtual surrender of the use of the strike in this contract round has meant that there has been no serious fight against the companies' offensive. The pace setter was Abel who in March signed a contract with the large steel corporations promising not to strike when the existing contract expires in 1974.

Some hopeful signs have developed. When the contracts between the United Rubber Workers and the major rubber companies were settled in April and May of this year, the ranks demonstrated their dissatisfaction militantly.

Walkouts took place at several Firestone and Goodyear plants when the first contract was signed with Goodyear. The major Goodyear local in Akron, Local 2, unanimously voted down the proposed settlement, but was defeated by votes in other locals. The ranks forced the union to call a national strike against Goodrich.

In the auto industry there has been a series of wildcat strikes in late June and July all over the country -- in and around Detroit, in Ohio and New Jersey -- over the issues of heat and firings. These too show that deep dissatisfaction and militancy certainly exists.

Still, the lack of an organized rank and file movement has permitted the round of sell-outs to take place. The recent growth of wildcat activity, and the continued failure of the labor bureaucracy to take action in the face of mounting inflation and deteriorating working conditions point increasingly to the need for an organized response.

Such organizations must attempt to take on Abel, Meany, Fitzsimmons and the rest of the union bureaucrats who stand in the way of a real fight against the employers' offensive.

Such a strategy, which uses fully the organized power of the ranks of labor, can succeed in defending the working class and, indeed, make gains.

industry	settled in	average wage increase/year	settlement
railroad	March	7.2%	10.8% over 18 months
steel	March	min 3%	min 3% a year
rubber	April/May	6.8%	20.5% over 3 years
electrical	June	7.2%	21.5% over 3 years
post office	June	6%	12% over 2 years
teamster	June	7.6%	21% over 33 months
auto			
telephone			
mines			

# Forced Sterilizations: Racist Atrocity

Kay Stacy

More than one-third of the welfare mothers who delivered babies this year in Aiken, South Carolina have been sterilized under a policy followed by Aiken County's only three obstetricians. The three obstetricians all routinely refuse to accept medicaid patients delivering their third child, unless the women agree to be sterilized following the delivery.

Forced sterilizations became a national issue in early June when two teen-aged sisters, one twelve and one fourteen, were involuntarily sterilized.

The operations were arranged by a Montgomery, Alabama family planning clinic funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity because "boys were hanging around the girls" and the clinic feared they would become pregnant.

A subsequent investigation by the Justice Department showed that nine other women had been involuntarily sterilized by the clinic in 1973. *Of the eleven women, all but one is black, seven are minors, and eight are listed as retarded.* The Aiken County scandal was uncovered as a result of these developments.

The controversy has been responded to by liberal Democratic politicians, led by Ted Kennedy, chairman of the Senate's Health Subcommittee, with a bill that would "control" but not eliminate dangerous medical experimentation. The bill would not have prevented the sterilizations of the two young black women that sparked the scandal.

The two women were not being experimented on. In fact, the ostensible reason they were sterilized is because the birth-control drug they had been receiving was finally declared illegal by the government because of its harmful effects on human health.

The bill is being opposed by the Nixon administration. Instead the Nixon administration is putting forward guidelines that would leave decisions on involuntary sterilizations up to committees of "professionals."

*That is, professionals like the three obstetricians in Aiken, South Carolina whose policy is not to accept welfare patients in their third pregnancy who will not agree to sterilization. Those three doctors, the only obstetricians in the county, admit their policy is based on their own particular social views.*

One of the three, a doctor who received \$60,826 in the last eighteen months for treating medicaid patients, said, "I feel that if I'm paying for them as a taxpayer, I want to put an end to their reproduction."

Eighteen of the 50 medicaid mothers who delivered at Aiken County Hospital in the first six months of 1973 were sterilized. *Of the 18, 17 are black, and 10 are under 25 years of age.*

Forced sterilizations have hardly been confined to the South, to what

is commonly considered the "more blatantly racist" section of the country. Northern social workers, health care workers and, of course black and poor women trapped in the vicious situation, have been aware for years that the withholding of welfare checks is a commonly used, but not commonly publicized, method of enforcing permanent birth control.

Many women have been sterilized without their prior knowledge, consultation or consent, and sometimes not even informed of their condition after the operation. Many women put off necessary surgery out of fear that when they wake from the anesthetic they will be unable to bear future children.

## Guinea Pigs

It is, indeed, a national scandal, but hardly one without precedent. Medical experimentation among poor people is traditionally an accepted form of scientific research. After all, the reasoning goes, the effects of new drugs and medical procedures has to be determined somehow. Someone has to be the guinea pig.

And so, poor white women in Appalachian coal-mining areas became part of the first test cases for oral birth control, containing doses of estrogen sometimes 500% higher than what is common today.

Hundreds of unknowing black men were left with untreated syphilis for decades, so the government could study the long-term effects of the disease on the human body.

A twelve-year old retarded child in Montgomery, Alabama was one of many black women receiving birth control injections of a drug now illegal because of its harmful effects.

Most of these programs are channeled through government agencies, and are condoned by both the state and the health care industry as the cheapest and most efficient way of determining the effect of medical innovations on human beings before being dispensed to the entire population.

This calculated viciousness and ruthless disregard for human health is part and parcel of a racist system which places profits and progress first, and human health and personal dignity last. In particular placed at the bottom of the list is the health and dignity of women, children, the elderly, blacks and other powerless minorities in America.

This development is a logical one in a society where social morals and standards are determined and enforced by types like the Aiken County obstetrician who raked off sixty thousand dollars in medicaid funds while callously sterilizing one-third of his welfare patients.

The quest for new life-saving medical techniques and drugs, especially safe and effective methods of birth control, is a crucial one. To subordinate the health of a single person to that quest, however, is criminal. In America today that criminal subordination is the norm, rather than the exception.

The history of the development of birth control methods is a particularly

revealing one, largely due to the traditional "not quite fully human" status of women.

As pointed out earlier, the brutality falls all the more heavily on women who are also disadvantaged minorities. In Puerto Rico the most frequently pushed and commonly used method of birth control is sterilization.

It is so widespread that a tubal ligation (the sterilization operation performed on women) is known simply as "la operation." Various estimates place the percentage of sterilized Puerto Rican women at between 25 and 40 percent of the child-bearing population.

Most of the operations are per-

formed under the auspices of, or in hospitals and clinics controlled by, US governmental agencies. The reason is simple. Tubal ligation neatly "disposes" of the problem once and for all - no matter that most women do not know the effects are permanent, or that when the procedure is an informed one many are so young they often can and do change their minds.

Under capitalism, racism, sexism, and a general disregard for human health and life are built into the structure of society. Like other institutionalized racist and sexist atrocities, "guinea pig" experimentation on poor people should be outlawed as both criminal and genocidal acts. ■



# Farm Workers Struggle At The Crossroads...

Marie Pielka



The Farmworkers' union hall in Delano is a peaceful, rustic looking structure in the middle of a seemingly abandoned stretch of dry farmland. Two details betray the intensity of the struggle around it. Part of the roof has been blown out by a bomb, and down the road eight police cars and a helicopter keep watch on it.

For the Central Valley of California is seized by a bitter confrontation and on the verge of a general strike in agriculture. Within a week over 2,000 farmworkers have gone to jail in violation of an injunction limiting pickets.

Striking unionists pack the jails of three central California counties, and the union estimates that 10,000 persons have defied the court orders so far.

Farmworker and other union officials charge that arrested pickets have been beaten and brutalized in the jails, including beatings with rubber hoses and clubs.

While the struggle against grower-Teamster sweetheart contracts in the Coachella Valley continues, the strike is spreading north through Farmworker strongholds in the San Joaquin Valley.

In Delano, where the UFW first established itself after five years of bitter strikes and a nationwide grape boycott, Farmworker contracts expire July 29. It is widely expected that Teamster officials will secure the contracts by their usual methods. As one farmworker described them, "If you don't sign your name you don't get your checks."

*"If we were to lose here," says Chavez, "it would be the end of a very large movement." By August, the strike should reach Salinas, center of organizing battles in lettuce since 1970.*

Faced with the possibility of losing everything it has fought for in the past eight years, the union has turned to mass civil disobedience to break the legal obstacles to its strike activities.

Restricted to one picket every 100 feet, no closer than 60 feet, and no bullhorns, Farmworkers go to the fields by the thousands to call out the scabs. When they are not arrested, it is only because there aren't paddy wagons enough to haul everybody away.

#### For Mass Action Strategy

The mass arrests signify a partial but important shift in UFW policies. Even after the conflict with the Teamsters came into the open, the union was still relying on the "boycott strategy": forcing the growers to recognize the UFW through consumer boycotts. Union leaders were telling farm workers to "hold tight" — that the boycott would win the strike.

The union was quick to fight injunctions limiting the use of the boycott, but slow to fight those injunctions which limited mass picketing and the use of sound equipment in the fields.

This was a part of the general strategy of relying on the support of liberal Democrats, college students, and

the church to bring "public pressure" on the growers to sign.

The boycott by itself has not been successful. The labor movement did not mobilize behind it, and the grower opposition is now both united and determined — with Teamster support.

The mass arrests are part of the beginning of building an active movement among farmworkers to focus the struggle in the fields. This struggle represents the real hope for the future of the farmworkers — but if it is to be successful, the union will have to face squarely several problems.

Most of the scabs are Mexicans who entered the country illegally. Chavez says he can't organize them, "because as soon as they cease to be scabs they get deported."

While the UFW has withdrawn its support of the Rodino Bill — legislation aimed at intensified repression against the so-called illegals — the Farmworkers are still for the deportation of "Mexicans without papers," and are unwilling to fight for their protection from racist immigration laws.

The "principle of non-violence at all times" had its use in building outside liberal support; it is dangerous excess baggage now, in defending mass action in the fields in the face of grower-Teamster goons.

The boycott will have to be seen as an important but auxiliary supporting activity to the strike, not as an end unto itself. Unfortunately, many of the official union boycott committees, long established in the cities and with the backing of the top UFW leadership, have become little bureaucratic shells which downplay, or even oppose, strike support activities.

Finally, the union may be shifting to an over-reliance on the AFL-CIO

or the "1.6" (as the \$1.6 million contribution pledged by the AFL-CIO is called). Increasingly, the UFW has tried to clamp down on any criticism of Meany and the AFL-CIO by farmworkers' supporters, in the hopes of getting further contributions.

#### Token Support

So far the UFW's desperate efforts have drawn only occasional support from the AFL-CIO. A rally in Delano on July 21 comprising labor, student, and religious groups, was the most visible support so far. It failed, however, to bring anywhere near the number that labor is capable of mobilizing.

The Contra Costa Labor Council endorsed the rally, but confined publicity to mailed notices. As a result the rally made a poor showing and contributed only \$520.

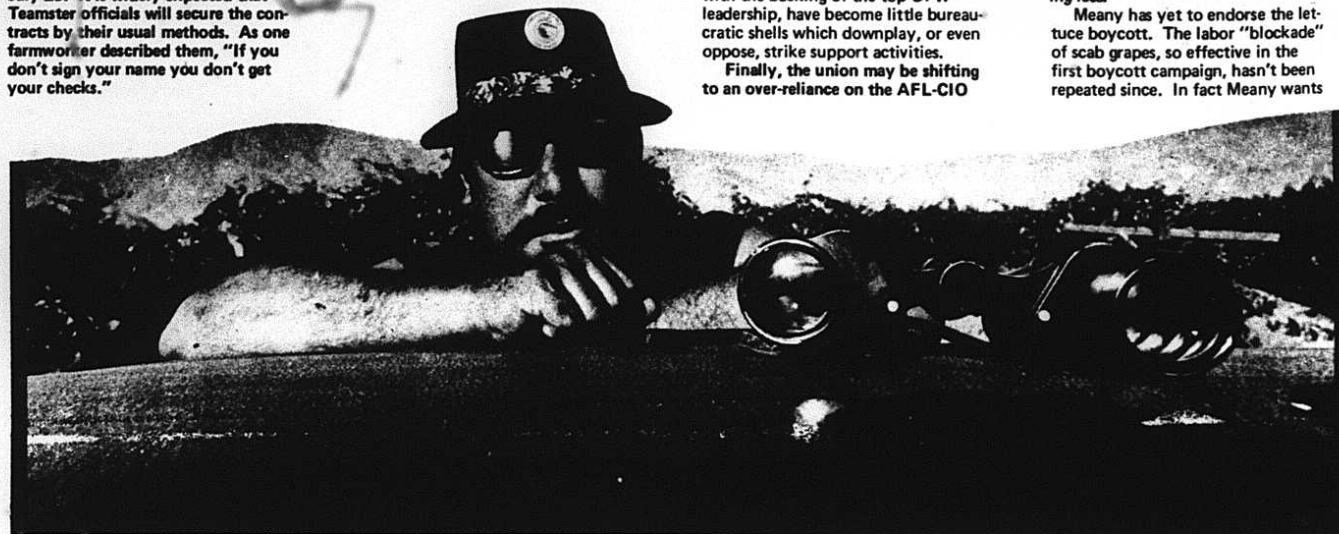
The Alameda County Labor Council (which includes Oakland and Berkeley) refused to endorse the demonstration at all. It denounced car caravans to the fields as "grandstand plays" and instead offered its "skilled, technical assistance" — two Council bureaucrats to help "organize."

Local AFL-CIO officials have shown great fear of antagonizing the Teamsters; this was not the first time the Farmworkers suffered from it.

The largest contingent, from the California Federation of Teachers, might have been much larger had the CFT devoted more than perfunctory efforts to organizing it.

*If the local AFL-CIO isn't doing much, the national Federation is doing less.*

Meany has yet to endorse the lettuce boycott. The labor "blockade" of scab grapes, so effective in the first boycott campaign, hasn't been repeated since. In fact Meany wants



Teamster goon keeps watchful eye on United Farmworkers picket line.

the UFW covered under the Wagner Act and the Taft-Hartley Act, which outlaws secondary boycotts.

Rumors abound that Meany is willing to make a deal with Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, to let the UFW represent grape workers but to give the IBT the lettuce fields. Such a deal would be a disaster for the UFW.

The AFL-CIO claims it will raise \$1.6 million for the UFW, but this is small potatoes compared to the huge sums the Teamsters and growers have put into smashing the UFW. \$1.6 million will not even cover small strike benefits for all UFW members. Most major unions go into strikes with funds in the tens of millions.

It goes without saying that the AFL-CIO has to mobilize mass support for the Farmworkers. It has not even tried.

The AFL-CIO's failure to organize the unorganized has meant that the Teamsters can herd the unorganized into sweetheart locals at will. One disastrous result of this policy became evident last week.



The Teamster-controlled cannery workers (mostly Chicano) were faced with a contract which offers few benefits for them, but would allow the Teamsters to strike canneries that handle Farmworker produce. The contract, now ratified, might be a death blow to the Farmworkers.

The UFW leadership, for its part, has failed to wage a real fight within the AFL-CIO. The union also lost an opportunity to take the Teamsters head-on while the cannery workers were still striking.

Chavez gave them verbal endorsement, but refused to send a letter of support - which would have enabled him to appeal to these workers to support the just cause of the Farmworkers.

He didn't want the Farmworkers, he said, to look as if they were trying to "destroy" the Teamsters. It wasn't a question of destroying, replied one Teamster, but of "making the Teamsters live up to the best parts of their own history."

The UFW leaders' refusal to go beyond the policies of the AFL-CIO makes it much more difficult for the Farmworkers to wage the all-out campaign needed to fight the Teamster bureaucrats' attack. These policies gravely endanger the Farmworkers' future.

Farmworkers desperately need support in the labor movement. The immediate small contributions of money and political support are still important to the farmworkers - but most important, strong rank and file support will help to prevent Meany from selling out the UFW and force more active support from AFL-CIO unions for the farmworkers' struggle. ■

# While Fitz Betrays IBT Ranks

Steve Carter

As Workers' Power goes to press, the mail ballot votes of 450,000 Teamsters covered by the proposed Master Freight Agreement in the trucking industry are being "counted" by Frank Fitzsimmons' henchmen. In the absence of any well-organized opposition in the Teamsters Union rank and file or in the IBT's officialdom, the chances of a rejection vote are slim. While rank and file sentiment is overwhelmingly disgusted with the agreement, Fitz has a well-oiled and well-paid machine that cannot be defeated by sentiment alone.

For the last three years, trucking industry workers have stayed a bit ahead of inflation and taxes. In 1970, nationwide rank and file action, coupled with an independent stance by the Chicago locals, produced a contract 50 percent above that "negotiated" by Fitzsimmons. However, the next three years look very different.

Even if inflation cools off substantially from its current pace, this year's agreement will mean a wage cut for the rank and file. A look at the specific provisions of the contract clearly demonstrates the effect of Fitz' "labor statesmanship."

Wages -- yearly increases of 35, 30,

30. This 5.6 percent increase is well below the current inflation rate.

"Cost of Living" -- the biggest joke in the contract -- the maximum of 11 cents for the last two years only provides cost of living "protection" for 1.1 percent a year.

Health and Welfare -- last year's benefits were cut by 11 percent due to inflation. The increases over the next three years will still not cover that cut. In 1976 benefits would still be behind those of '72 even if inflation stopped right now.

Pensions -- increases in the employers' contribution rate over three years of 7½ cents, 6½, and 6½ will also fail even to cover recent losses to inflation. In the Western Conference average pension payments stayed the same from 1969 through 1971 and then dropped in 1972. All the while inflation made the payments worth less and less.

In the rest of the country the pension fund is in deep trouble because of thievery, mismanagement, and underfunding. In 7 years unfunded liabilities have increased from \$781,000 to 2.2 billion. This means that more and more rank and filers will retire only to discover that they "do not qualify". To keep from going bankrupt, and being exposed, corrupt officials will cooperate more and more with employer efforts to lay off, fire, and otherwise get rid of "less productive" older workers.

Working Conditions -- despite a lot of precontract hullabaloo and a long list of safety proposals which Fitz took to the employers, absolutely nothing of any significance was won. Most importantly, the demand for air conditioning in cabs to reduce fatigue from heat, noise and fumes was rejected by the employers. Further, many workers will have to continue to work while ill since there is still no sick pay in the contract.

One dangerous "sleeper" in the contract is the formation of a "union-management" committee to "improve efficiency" in the industry. In other industries -- most notably steel -- this has been the employers' foot in the door for an attack on working conditions.

For years many rank and file Teamsters supported -- or at least tolerated -- Jimmy Hoffa's corruption and his growing dictatorship in the union because they felt he "delivered the goods." But Frank Fitzsimmons -- who now holds dictatorial powers which Hoffa took from the rank and file -- has made clear in both 1970 and 1973 that he feels no pressure to deliver to the rank and file. He plans to keep right on delivering to the employers and to the government wage-cut, speed-up, no-strike programs.

There are a lot of "maverick" local officials in the teamsters -- some in important locals like 108 in Los Angeles, 70 in Oakland, 407 in Cleveland and others. Many say that they are "rank and file." Yet in 1973, very few of them had the guts or the politics to stand up, speak out and organize to fight for a decent contract. Good rank and file union officials can play an important role in returning the Teamsters to the rank and file. But if they won't stand up and fight, they are worse than useless.

The 1970 wildcat showed the power of the rank and file. They showed that it is rank and file action and not cooperation with the employers which can defend and advance the living standards and working conditions.

The efforts by Teamsters United Rank and File (TURF) to consolidate that power into democratic rank and file organization showed that it is a tough job -- with a lot of ups and downs. But it's a job that must go on because the only alternative is to keep taking it on the chin. ■

## A Slice of History Dugan Wheeler

The latest Teamster raids on the United Farmworkers Union are no recent innovation of the Fitzsimmons regime. Einar Mohn, had of the Western Conference of Teamsters and responsible for implementing the union busting policy, learned his trade from former Teamster President Dave Beck, one of the most successful raiders in union history.

When the International Association of Machinists led 14,000 workers out against Boeing Seattle in April, 1948, Beck took it as an invitation to build his own dues base by attacking the other unions.

The strike was the first major walk-out under the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act passed with bi-partisan support in 1947. Boeing used their newly granted privilege of filing unfair labor practice charges against the union to tie up the strike in a legal battle.

Side by side with Boeing, the Teamsters went on a massive scab hiring drive, advertising among flood victims

and hiring students and casuals out of the Teamster hiring hall. Of the 5,000 scabs employed during the strike, 3,500 were recruited by the Teamsters. All Teamster members were instructed to cross the IAM picket lines.

The strike could have dealt the Taft-Hartley Act, and the attack on the labor movement it represented, a resounding blow. But the more important task of fighting government intervention had to be diverted into fighting the Teamster collusion with the company.

After 140 days, the strike ended in defeat for the workers, victory for Boeing. But it was also a defeat for Dave Beck -- his first since gaining control of the Teamsters and dominance of the Seattle labor movement.

The IAM remained at Boeing, winning a representation election in 1949. They lost their union shop and protection from post-war layoffs, the major issues of the strike. More impor-

tantly, the settlement was a set-back for the whole Seattle union movement.

On the other hand, Beck was defeated by Boeing workers determined to make their own decisions about which union represented them, and by his own angry Teamster rank and file.

What Beck thought was iron control of the Seattle locals turned out to be an illusion. A truck driver who refused to cross the IAM picket line was fired by his employer, on instructions from a union business agent. Over a thousand Seattle Teamsters came to the driver's defense, in a wide-spread petition campaign.

Unfortunately, Teamster resistance to the Boeing raids did not escalate into effective resistance against Beck's continued position as Teamster dictator. Beck went on to greater infamies and carried with him men like Einar Mohn, who now uses the lessons he learned from Beck in the Teamsters' war against the Farmworkers. ■



# Key Issues Facing AFT Convention

David  
Miller

The August convention of the American Federation of Teachers is faced with its biggest crisis in many years.

While inflation soars at an annual rate of 8 percent, teacher contracts throughout the country are averaging salary increases of about 4 percent this year. This is, in effect, a cut of about 4 percent in real wages for the average teacher.

Even the strongest teacher union in the country, New York City's UFT, settled for a 5 percent salary increase, plus speed-up in the form of increased class size and cuts in the number of teaching positions.

In Philadelphia, teachers got a 4 percent raise after a 50-day strike, and in Chicago teachers will get a mere 2.5 percent.

In contrast, most major industrial union contracts are coming in around 7 percent. Thus teacher wages are also declining relative to the wages of other workers. This is a new development; throughout the 1960's, teachers' wages rose more rapidly than the average industrial wage.

In the face of this collapse, the two major teacher unions are strangely silent.

In July, the million-member National Education Association (NEA) convention spent a week in deliberations without even mentioning the problem.

To date, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) has not acted much differently. AFT newspapers have reported these salary settlements as if they were great victories instead of defeats. As a result, the AFT nationally and locally have no strategy whatever for reversing teachers' rapidly falling wages and deteriorating working conditions.

The other major problem facing teachers today is unemployment. Currently, about 10 percent of all teachers are without jobs - about double the average for all industry.

This unemployment has three major causes. First is increased class size, paralleling the speed-up campaigns in industry. In New York, for example, half of all classes are over the maximum size allowed by the union contract.

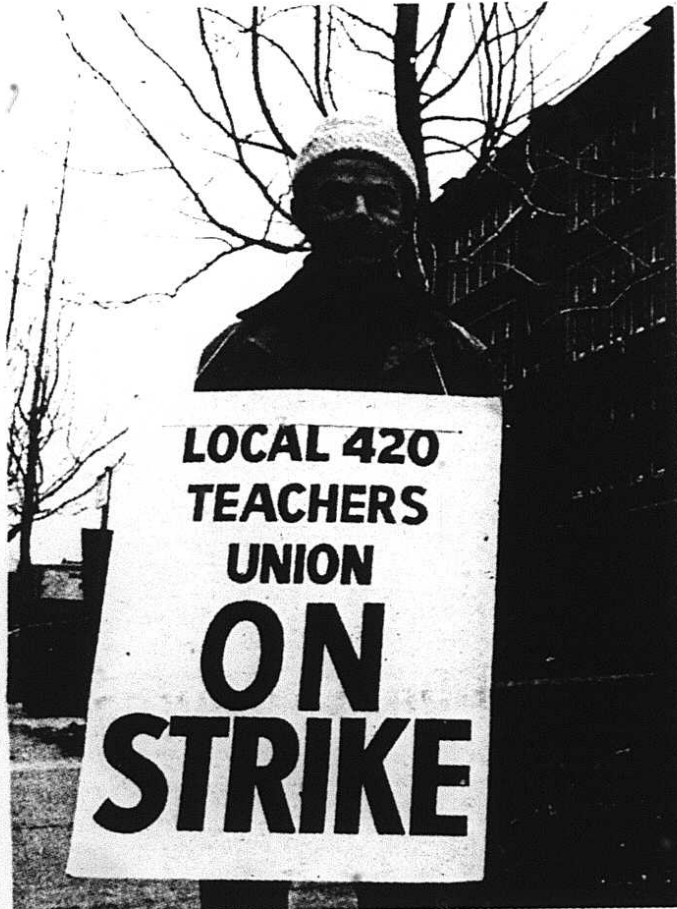
Second, Federal aid to the public schools for special programs has been reduced.

Finally, school enrollment is declining due to a decline in the birth rate.

The only response of the AFT to the unemployment problem has been to lobby Congress for legislation to restore cuts in Federal aid. This could save thousands of jobs for big city and metropolitan school districts. But so far the campaign has been a big bust.

But even if more Federal aid for schools were provided to hire teachers for special projects this does not begin to touch the question of teachers' salaries. On this score, even liberal "friend of labor" politicians freely express the view that they will not vote funds which will "only end up in teachers' pockets."

However, the only realistic source of money for education is the State and Federal government. Increased awareness of this has given rise to a



[The following article is reprinted from the June 1973 issue of Action Forum, a rank and file teachers' publication.]

The Westchester County Central Labor Council (New York) has established a committee to work for a New York Metropolitan area conference of union leaders and rank and file, aimed at drawing up a common program of action by unions on inflation.

This proposal was initiated by Tom Mullen, President of AFT Local 280 (New Rochelle) and Daniel Keenan, President Local 1103, Communication Workers of America.

According to Mullen, the action was in response to the fact that teachers' salaries rose this year, nationally, by only 4 percent (including increments), while inflation is currently soaring at an 8.5 percent rate.

"Congress," said Mullen, "is paralyzed, and not just by Watergate. Reliance upon Congress to curb infla-

tion will be as productive as reliance upon Congress to stop the war. So we had to do something. We hope our effort will be successful, and will spread, even to the point of encouraging the AFL-CIO to call a national Congress of Labor to produce a program and action on inflation."

"For a start," said Mullen, "we propose":

1. An end to government subsidies to corporations, particularly to the big agricultural corporations under which these "farmers" (like Senator Eastland) are paid millions of dollars not to grow food, while prices skyrocket.
2. A Cost-of-Living clause in every contract, with quarterly adjustment (and legislation guaranteeing the same for the millions of unorganized people, and retired living on pensions).
3. Organize all-out support to unions who fight to break the freeze on wages.

powerful sentiment among teachers for merger of the two teacher unions, the AFT and NEA. Such a merger would result immediately in a union of 1.5 million members with a potential for 3 million members.

Teacher pressure for the merger is so widespread that the reluctant NEA leadership has been forced to enter negotiations. The chief "obstacle" raised by NEA leadership is affiliations with the AFL-CIO.

In part this objection is a residue of the "professionalism" of NEA. In part it is a cover for anti-merger views.

Yet increasingly, a part of the resistance to AFL-CIO affiliation stems from a profound distaste for the reactionary positions of George Meany, President of AFL-CIO, and fear and resentment of the authoritarian, bureaucratic practice of Albert Shanker, the real leader of AFT. Even if merger of AFT and NEA were accomplished, there is abundant evidence that with the present leadership, merger would probably have little effect upon the ever-worsening teacher conditions.

In New York State, the merger has in fact already occurred. But the results have been extremely disappointing to most teachers. The merged organization was unable to increase state aid to the schools significantly despite a huge state budget surplus. Nor was it able to prevent the cuts in teacher pensions proposed by Governor Rockefeller, whom the teachers' unions had tacitly endorsed for election.

Clearly, a simple merger will not do the trick. Increased size does not always result in increased strength.

A winning strategy for a merged organization must include two features which, so far, both NEA and AFT leadership reject.

The first is to restore the union's policy of mass action. It was the great wave of massive teachers' strikes which were responsible for the vast growth of teacher unionism in the past ten years.

This policy must be escalated today, and aimed at the major source of money for schools: the state government, not the impoverished local school districts nor regressive property taxes. Reliance upon lobbying the politicians will be as ineffective today as it was a decade ago before teachers learned to strike.

A similar policy will have to be considered toward the Federal government if the funds needed for decent schools are to be provided.

Secondly, since state and federal governments are increasingly the key to the situation, teachers will have to stop depending on the two pro-business establishment parties.

Instead, AFT will have to take the lead in working for a political party which can deliver - a party which belongs to the working people of this country. AFT members must break their union from the Democratic Party and launch a movement for a labor party.

A merged teacher movement, based on these policies, for teachers' needs and on mass action to fight, is absolutely necessary if the current decline of teachers' working conditions and standard of living is to be reversed. ■

# Labor In Brief

Jim Woodward



## Steel: militants begin ousting pro-Abel local bureaucrats

The ax has fallen for a number of pro-Abel presidents of United Steel Workers local unions. Several locals in Ohio and California have voted out of office union officials who supported USW President I.W. Abel's no-strike deal with the steel companies. [For background information see *Workers' Power* No. 76.]

On the West Coast, the 5,000 member Local 2018 ousted incumbent President Ralph Edmond and replaced him with Ed Malone who campaigned on a program of opposition to the no-strike deal. Many other pro-Abel officers of the local were also defeated.

At Maywood, California's Local 1981 and at the Bethlehem Steel local in Vernon, California, opponents of the no-strike deal were elected over pro-Abel candidates.

In Youngstown, Ohio, leaders of the rank and file group RAFT (Rank and File Team) captured the top offices in the Brier Hill local of Youngstown Sheet and Tube. Elected were Ed Mann, John Barbero, and William Litch.

Incumbent, pro-Abel officers were also defeated in Warren, Ohio at Republic Steel and at the Copperweld local, and also in Lorain, Ohio at Local 1104, US Steel.

In Cleveland, the only local president re-elected was Eugene Shelton of the Jones & Laughlin local, who has opposed Abel.

These election results are significant primarily because they indicate what is the predominant sentiment among steel workers. Few of them are happy with Abel's no-strike deal, but at present they feel they have little way of dealing with it.

"Kicking out the bums" on the local level is a beginning. What this should lead towards is building a strong, nationwide rank and file group that can coordinate and lead the now-isolated struggles of steelworkers against the no-strike deal and the sellout Abel leadership.

## Flash: Scandal sheet bares secret of US economic woes.

Why are prices going up? What's the cause of unemployment? Why is the American economy in trouble?

The answers to these questions, for readers of *The National Tattler*, came sandwiched between a report on a scientific study which "proves" that prayer can cure illnesses and an expose of "The Men Behind the Liz-Burton Breakup." "Japan," says the *Tattler*, "is causing US Economic Depression."

The *Tattler*, which modestly bills itself as "The world's fastest growing family weekly," is only one of many scandal sheets which do their bit to prop up capitalism by peddling such racist trash. It is sold at supermarket

counters and newsstands in working class neighborhoods.

The *Tattler* gives several reasons why Japan is "wrecking the American economy and may eventually destroy it." First, cheap Japanese labor is causing layoffs of American workers because American industry can't compete successfully.

The *Tattler* allows as how some of this is the fault of American workers rather than the Japanese: "Too often American labor has been more interested in higher pay than in increased efficiency..."

Second, those "enterprising" Japanese are taking raw materials out of this country for their own use, thus driving up prices. A house, for example, will cost \$1,400 more now

will show that the protectionist solutions proposed by the *Tattler* would save no American jobs, nor do anything to solve the economic crisis.

The truth is that US capitalists are the biggest exploiters of foreign raw materials in the world. How would the *Tattler* like to do without Middle Eastern oil, South American rubber, or any of thousands of other imported raw materials?

US capitalists have kept the workers and peasants of non-industrialized nations in poverty through this process of importing raw materials cheaply and selling back finished products.

The *Tattler* now screams in horror that Japanese capitalists are in a position to apply a mild touch of the same medicine to the US exploiting class.

## Rank and File Notes

Wildcat strikes by United Mine Workers members cost mine operators 220,000 "man-days" of work during the first five months of this year, up from 195,000 days in the same period of 1972. One company, Eastern Associated Coal, has taken 72 strikes at its mines since January. The walkouts continue despite the efforts of UMW President Miller to curb them.

Also in the coal industry, Consolidation Coal Co. and one of its foremen have been found guilty by a Columbus, Ohio jury of criminal violations of the Federal Mine Health and Safety Act.

The charges stem from the death last year of a 22 year-old Vietnam veteran who had been working in the mines 12 days. The company had given him little training and ordered him to work alone in an unsafe area. This is the first time that the criminal sections of the Mine Safety Act have been applied to a coal company.

The Federal Power Commission has admitted that it approved plans for the construction of the liquid gas tank on Staten Island which exploded in February killing 40 workers without having seen the construction plans and specifications.

Hearings before a Congressional committee have revealed that the insulation materials used in the tank were highly flammable - had proper materials been required the disaster might not have occurred.

The number of teachers' strikes during 1972-73 was the second highest ever recorded, up 63 percent over the previous year. Of the 145 strikes during the last school year, 112 were called by the NEA, 23 by the AFT, and the remaining 10 by the merged AFT-NEA organization in New York State.

Union workers at the Crown Zellerbach plant in St. Louis have been blackmailed into giving up their lunch hour. The company threatened to close the factory unless the workers complied with their demand.

The Supreme Court has upheld the constitutionality of the Hatch Act, which prohibits federal employees from engaging in political activities. The attack on the law had been made by the letter carriers' union.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has complied with employer requests and issued regulations allowing the states to deny welfare benefits to strikers and their families. And in another attack on workers, the House of Representatives has passed a bill which would deny food stamps to anyone on strike.



Scientific Study Shows Prayer Can Help the Incurably Ill

-back page

# Japan Is Causing U.S. Economic Depression

... Jobs Go to Japan While Americans Go On Welfare

## The Men Behind the Liz-Burton Breakup



than it did last year. Why? "Because the Japanese bite out of our timber supply is causing a desperate lumber shortage."

Such explanations of the economic crisis get some response because they contain distorted elements of the truth. US capitalists are having a hard time competing with foreign capital, much of it Japanese. And foreign demand for lumber or wheat, for example, can force domestic prices up.

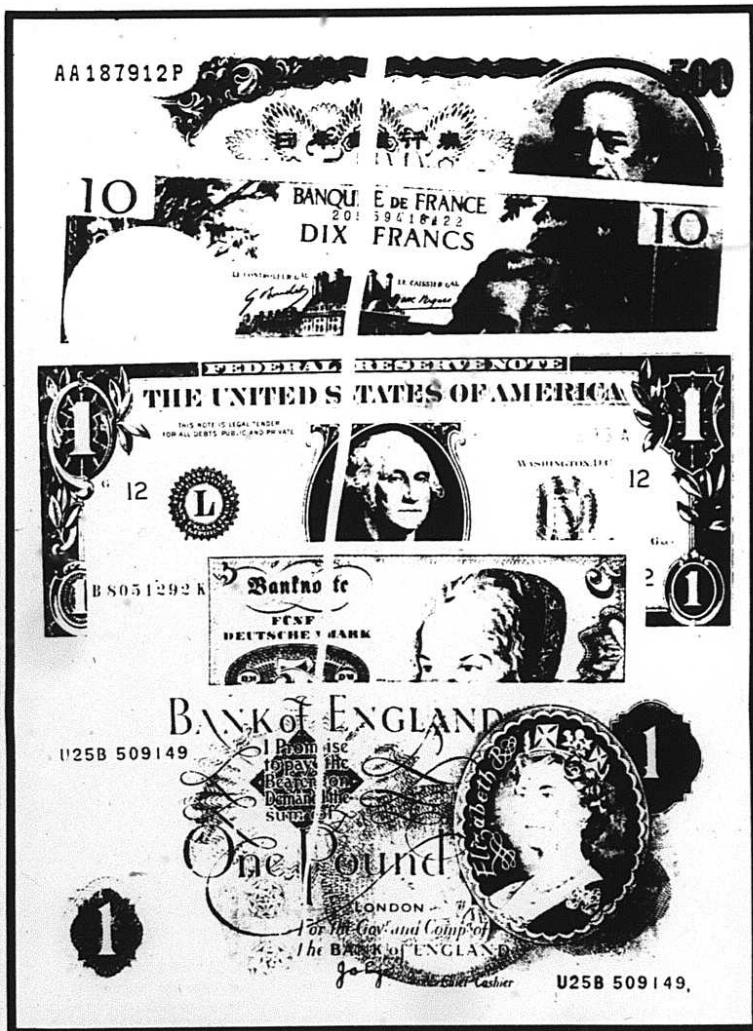
But these explanations are demagogic because they are incomplete and used to whip up racist and nationalist sentiments in an attempt to bind American workers to "their" capitalists. A simple glance at reality

Protectionist hysteria, if accepted by workers, can lead only to lower wages and deteriorating working conditions. The no-strike deal in the steel industry is one example.

That is why the capitalist class, through its mouthpieces such as the *Tattler* or through more "respectable" journals, constantly tries to blame the problems of the capitalist system on other workers - be they black, woman, Southerners, or Japanese.

For the American working class, however, the future lies in aligning itself not with the US capitalists against the Japanese, but with workers throughout the world against their common exploiters.

# THE DEEPENING CRISIS



Not so many years ago it was commonplace to hear that economic crises were a thing of the past. They belonged apparently to the ice age of capitalism and were no more to be expected today than glaciers and mammoths.

That point of view is not often voiced nowadays. Instead, there are reports of international currency crises, of the dramatic decline of the dollar, of tourists having to cut short their holidays because they suddenly find they cannot afford the fare home. And bankers and governments admit they can do little to prevent the recurrence of such crises.

Yet for most people it all seems rather remote. References in the press and on the television to "exchange rates", "Smithsonian parties", "Bretton Woods", "snakes in tunnels," leave them bewildered. It seems to have little to do with real life, with clocking in to work and

somehow keeping up with rising prices.

What is really happening? Are we about to be faced with a return to the 1930's, or are things basically the same as in the 1950's and 1960's?

To understand the problems which face capitalism internationally today, it is necessary to begin by looking briefly at the reasons why it could seem so successful 20 years ago.

In the years after the Second World War, capitalism grew as never before in its history. The periodic slumps that had been typical pre-war no longer took place.

Basically that was because of the massive sums which the major Western powers -- above all the USA -- spent on arms. An automatic market was provided for the output of much of industry. And it was a market that was more or less free from periodic fluctuations.

The war had completely devastated the Japanese and German economies and considerably dislocated the other European countries while leaving the

US economy in a position of unparalleled strength.

Europe and Japan were awed by the immense power and prosperity of the US. For their businessmen and governments, one of the main aims of economic policy was to get hold of as many US dollars as possible.

For many years it was taken for granted that dollars were as good as gold. With them businessmen could buy whatever they wanted and trade throughout the world was carried on in dollars -- except in the area of the old British empire, where the pound was regarded as an adequate, although not perfect, substitute.

So the massive strength of the US economy, based on arms spending, provided a framework in which the rest of Western capitalism could prosper.

But about 10 years ago things began to change. Other countries, particularly Japan, were able to grow more quickly and sell their goods more cheaply than the Americans.

In part this was because they spend much less on arms than the US. The US spent about 10 percent of its national income on arms, Britain about 6 percent, the French about 5 percent, the Japanese less than 1 percent.

The US, and to a lesser extent Britain, paid for the arms that provided a ready market for big business internationally, and the other states took advantage of the market.

As a result, Japan and Germany were able to invest a much greater proportion of their national income in new industry than did the US or Britain.

The Japanese economy grew three times as fast as the American in the 1950's and twice as fast in the 1960's. The German economy grew twice as fast as the American in the 1950's and about 50 percent faster in the late 1960's.

Goods produced in Japan and Europe began to eat into the American market, which the US firms had previously kept as their private preserve.

Yet the American government continued to spend massive sums of money abroad buying up foreign firms and maintaining troops throughout the world. Indeed, with the Vietnam War, their foreign spending shot upwards.

## International Poker Game

A point was reached where the US spent much more abroad than it earned there. The difference has been approaching a massive 10 billion dollars recently.

Some European politicians and financiers began to accuse the US of taking over European industry and paying by merely printing dollar bills. They suggested that the behavior of the US was hardly different to that of a man who signs checks to buy things when he has no money in the bank.

They demanded that the situation be remedied by forcing down the value of the dollar, until it corresponded to the real value of the wealth in the American economy.

But the US government hardly wants that. If the value of the dollar falls, then the cost of American big

business investing abroad will increase.

Some other governments feel compelled to back the US. They already own so many dollars that any fall of the dollar automatically cuts their own wealth.

So every international meeting to discuss the problem is more like a poker game than a rational debate. Each of the participants knows that the outcome can gain or lose his country hundreds of millions of pounds, and fights desperately for its interests to prevail.

But without some lasting agreement, the framework of international trade becomes more and more unstable. At any time the number of marks, francs, or yens that a dollar will buy can shoot up or down.

The instability is magnified by the fact that bankers and industrialists try to make a massive profit for themselves by predicting in advance how the currency rates will change. If they think, for instance, that the mark will rise, they will buy thousands of millions of marks, aiming to sell them at the higher value.

But in their scramble to get hold of marks, they themselves increase the demand for the mark and push up its price.

Many of the giant multi-national corporations are now larger than individual countries -- there are only 10 states in the world larger than the biggest multi-national company, General Motors.

So thousands of millions of dollars can flow from one country to another in a few hours and it is possible for the value of the dollar or the pound to rise or fall 3 or 4 percent in a single day.

## System of Chaos

The measures with which the American government has been trying to keep up the value of the dollar are bound to make the overall economic situation worse.

The US has threatened various physical measures to prevent the Japanese and the Europeans from selling their goods in US markets. If such measures are taken, it would disrupt the flow of world trade and increase the instability in the Japanese and European economies.

The repeated monetary crises show that the big business system internationally is beginning to meet serious problems. It will inevitably try to pass the burden of solving these on to the backs of workers.

It is a burden that should be rejected. The crisis arises because capitalism is by its very nature a chaotic system. It operates internationally, but is based on competing national groups of capitalists, each attached to a different national state and a different national currency.

The struggle of these rival capitalist groups is a struggle to see who can make the biggest profits at the expense of workers. And the anarchy it creates continually puts in danger the jobs and livelihoods of workers throughout the world. The danger will not be averted for once and all until those whose labor creates the wealth get together internationally to fight for the overthrow of the system.

# S OF INFLATION

Chris Harman

## Phase 4

Michael Stewart

[Continued from page 1]

their profits being squeezed. While technically the Phase 4 controls are stricter than under Phase 3, Dunlop, the head of the Cost of Living Council which will administer the prices, has announced that he will be lenient in applying the controls. That means if the corporations cry loud and long enough they will be able to do whatever they want with their prices.

The truth, of course, is that profits have shown the greatest increases of all under the controls. Prices rose 14 percent in 1971, 16 percent in 1972, and are expected to rise 20 percent in 1973.

The one thing that has been held down by the controls is wages. During 1972, wages rose only 5.7 percent (the guideline was 5.5 percent). This year, most unions have settled for around 6-7 percent, hardly much of an improvement given the rate of inflation.

While the Nixon administration seems to lurch from one economic program to another, one thing has guided all its actions -- the desire to keep wages down while maximizing profits. It would also like to keep prices down, but only if that doesn't conflict with its desire to maximize profits. While the price controls have been a failure in curbing inflation, they have been successful with regard to wages and profits.

The facts also give lie to the argument used by business and the government, that wages cause inflation. For while wages have been controlled, inflation has risen to its highest level in over 20 years!

Meanwhile, back at the AFL-CIO, Meany, Abel and their ilk continue to bleat about the need for equality of sacrifice. Leonard Woodcock even announced that he could "live with Phase 4". With his salary, workers could live with the inflation also.

The fact is that the inequality they all refer to was possible only with the cooperation of the bureaucrats. Their withdrawal from the pay board was just for show. Indeed, the contracts they have been negotiating have nowhere been superior to that won by Nixon's great friend Fitzsimmons for the Teamsters, and they often have been worse. All of them have in reality been negotiating *wage cuts* -- cuts in real wages -- for their members during the recent contract round. For the one thing that unites all the bureaucrats is their opposition to making any fight to defeat the controls and defend the interests of their rank and file. For them, the workers will have to continue to "sacrifice."

Clearly, we can't depend on the

labor officials to do anything to change this situation. The rank and file must organize to force the unions to fight. Right now this means making sure that any contract which doesn't provide, at the very minimum, adequate cost-of-living protection and sufficient wage increases to offset inflation is rejected.

The first major test of bargaining under Phase 4 is the contract between the United Auto Workers and the Big Three auto manufacturers. The productivity drive, in particular, must face a counter-attack by the auto workers. In order to get a decent contract, the ranks must mobilize to prepare for a strike and a rejection of the contract UAW President Woodcock will be proposing.

*This is the first step towards a fight for the workers' interests, for a substantial wage increase with full cost-of-living, for workers' control of production standards and working conditions, for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay and for an end to the discrimination against black and women workers.*

To fight for this requires overturning the policies of the union leaders. A movement for rank and file control of the contract fight, for real bargaining councils, and for open negotiations will be necessary as the first step towards building the on-going rank and file movement. ■



George Shultz explaining Phase IV

## Sit-Down

[Continued from page 3]

**this and decided to become a focus. These two workers could not shut down a plant of thousands -- they would be blown away in a trice.**

But they could and did lead a shutdown which can only be termed a sit-down strike, since the crucial body of workers stayed on in the plant to enforce the work stoppage.

*They won, most of all, because the workers supported them with direct mass action in the plant. Secondly, they won because the issue involved was racism in a mainly black plant, laid on top of the harassment and exploitation suffered by all auto workers.*

When black workers move against these conditions, their fight lights the road ahead for all of labor. The task ahead, at Jefferson and every other plant, is clear: to build out of these actions the mass rank and file organization, and the militant leadership, to carry the struggle to victory. ■



Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant

[Workers' Power photo by Kit Lyons]



Fun and Games at the Top: UAW's Leonard Woodcock and GM's George Morris get auto talks off to a fine, friendly start.

The Company and the Union, a recently published book written by Detroit Free Press labor reporter William Serrin, combines a critical account of the 69 day UAW-General Motors strike of 1970 with a general study of labor relations in the auto industry. The book presents a call for reforming the dismal conditions under which auto workers labor.

In this article we will review the politics of Serrin's strategy for the auto industry. Part II will draw upon some of the useful information from the book's report of the 1970 strike for a look at that strike and its lessons as we enter the 1973 auto contract negotiations.

*The Company and the Union*, while focused on the auto industry, in reality continues the debate about "blue collar blues." A recent study by the US Department of Health, Education and Welfare found unskilled auto workers the most dissatisfied occupational group in the country. The leading role auto workers have historically played in the American labor movement make the questions raised here important for all industrial workers.

Serrin is hostile to those in power in the UAW and the car companies, and exposes conditions in the industry from a viewpoint sympathetic to the workers. The solutions he proposes, however, demonstrate the limitations, the elitism and in the final analysis the bankruptcy of liberalism today.

His proposals echo a part of the ruling class which is concerned about the deterioration of factory conditions because they fear rising dissatisfaction in the plants will turn into a rank and file movement they cannot control.

#### Company - Union "Harmony"

The book's basic thesis is that the Big Three and the UAW collaborate to narrow the scope of collective bargaining to solely economic issues: that "both sides help inflate wages and the cost of fringe benefits and do little to improve work environments."

Serrin's solution is to replace the "narrow, unintellectual, unconcerned, unknowledgeable, profit seeking men" who run the companies with "sensi-

tive, humanistic men." These men would place workers on the Board of Directors and establish workers' councils "to allow those workers who wish it a voice in running their companies." Profit sharing could eliminate the need for negotiating higher wages.

As for the union leadership, it must tell the rank and file "that a large wage increase is unjustified . . . let us change the factory system rather than increase wages or take time off the job."

*Serrin's assertion that auto workers' wages are inflated is a lie, as he himself knows. Elsewhere he admits "many of the workers in the shop*

cent from the public sale of stock.

This increased wealth should rightfully serve to increase the living standards and make easier the lives of those who created it. To meet the needs of both the employed and the unemployed, the UAW should be fighting for a 30 hour week at a wage adequate to provide a family with at least a moderate living.

Serrin's proposal for workers' participation is deceptive because it appears to attack the powerlessness workers feel. But workers' control is not something which can be handed down by those presently in control.

the dictatorship of the factory and to change conditions they work under.

It is this self-activity of the workers which Serrin replaces with a fatal dependence on the structures at the top.

Building workers' power requires a fight to take over the union for the rank and file. The present union bureaucracy, whose collusion with the companies this book effectively shows, must be overthrown. It is a sorry sign of the author's elitism that he is *against this struggle for democracy in the UAW.*

Even as he shows the undemocratic nature of UAW bargaining (the elected bargaining committee for GM first found out about the strike settlement by reading the newspaper!), Serrin scores these elected representatives contemptuously as "unsophisticated, sometimes crude men . . . white socks . . . toothpicks in their mouths," and claims "a union any more democratic perhaps could not get a settlement."

#### Information, No Solutions

Because he views the industry from the top, black workers, who are at the bottom, play no role in Serrin's strategy. Yet blacks, 30 percent of the union but 60 to 70 percent and more in key plants in large cities, will play a crucial role in changing the UAW.

Confronted both by racism and by the hardest, dirtiest jobs, they are the most oppressed members of the UAW and the most militant. As the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in the late 1960's and the one day sit-down strike at Chrysler's Jefferson Assembly plant show, black workers struggling against their own oppression at the same time lead forward the struggle of all workers for a better life.

*It can only warm the heart of anyone who has ever worked chained to an assembly line to see the auto companies and the UAW leadership slammed. And we can thank Mr. Serrin for the useful information he reveals about what a sham the 1970 contract talks and strike were. But when it comes to basic solutions, this book does not speak for auto workers. Its program is to "involve workers" themselves - in maintaining the rotten system responsible for all their problems.*

[Next issue: *The Lessons of the 70 Strike.*]

## REVIEW: The Company, The Union, And the Auto Workers

Joe Fine

*are pressed to make ends meet . . . It takes two checks for a family to live comfortable in this day and age."*

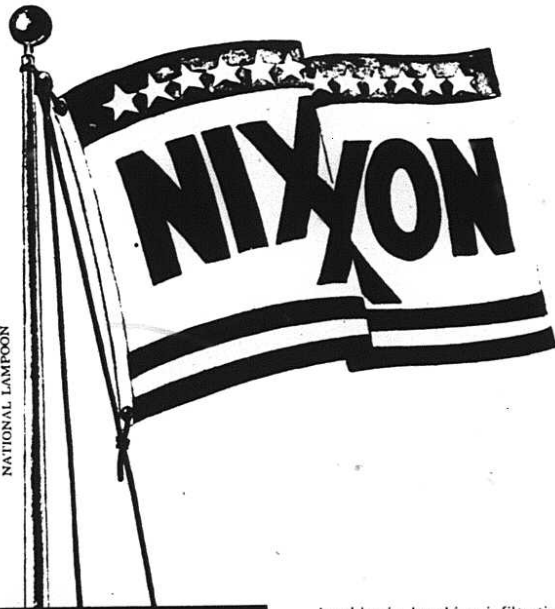
The government describes \$12,500 as the minimum wage for a moderate standard of living for an urban family of four. Assembly line workers would require an immediate raise of considerably more than a dollar an hour just to meet this standard at straight time.

In the last 25 years the combined worth of GM and Ford has grown from 2.2 billion to 17.7 billion dollars. Ninety-five percent of this 700 percent growth came out of the backs of GM and Ford workers, only 5 per-

Management, whether "narrow" or "wise and humanistic," is hired by banks and other wealth stockholders to maximize profits. It neither desires to relinquish its power, nor would it be allowed to.

More importantly, workers' power cannot reside on boards of directors. It cannot be exercised by a few people raised above the rest. It is created when workers reject the right of those above them, boards of directors and all, to run their lives - when they organize themselves in struggle to challenge the dictatorship of the factory and

# America is changing its name to Nixon



NATIONAL LAMPOON

## NIXON GANG

David Finkel

[Continued from page 1]

imaginary, take the place of all democratic rights and legal procedures.

This policy, however, is neither secret nor new. Methods similar to those of the Watergate "plumbers" have been in use for years -- bugging,

breaking in, bombing, infiltration and the like are standard government practice against radicals, black militants and anti-war organizations.

The most revealing aspect of Ehrlichman's statement, of course, was what he left *unsaid* -- and which none of the Senate investigators chose to take up in their questioning. *The defense of the Ellsberg break-in also constitutes Nixon's defense of the Watergate break-in itself.*

For several reasons, of course, this justification for Watergate will remain unofficial and implied, rather than openly stated. First of all, Nixon denies any knowledge or involvement in the Watergate affair.

Secondly, the use of his re-election campaign apparatus as an arm of the state, to be used against the opposition capitalist party, would be too much

for public opinion or the courts to swallow at this point.

What is clear, however, is that Nixon and the "Plumbers" themselves regard Watergate, the cover-up, the pay-offs, the perjury, and all the rest of it to be perfectly legitimate. The open, sneering contempt for democracy and civil rights expressed by Ehrlichman is hardly in conflict with the mentality of the Nixon regime itself.

The so-called "drama" of Watergate, especially the show of outrage by Congress, is not a new feature in American politics. Many of the same issues -- in particular, the right of the President to act as a law unto himself without control or restraint -- arose during the war in Southeast Asia, especially over the issue of mass American bombings which have not yet ended.

In Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, the United States carried out for years a policy of mass terror bombing, aimed at destroying masses of people who could not be won over politically or defeated in battle by the US.

This policy was carried out by small circles of generals, Pentagon officials, CIA operatives, and White House men. The Congress sometimes objected, but never really challenged or investigated, this policy -- because it *shared the basic imperialist aims which that policy was carried out to win.*

Watergate shows that the political morals and methods of imperialism have come home. In Vietnam and around the world, the US government has long practiced the art of protecting pro-US dictators, overthrowing unfriendly officials, and finally using direct military intervention where indirect means fail. Once again, these policies go unchallenged by the Congressional liberals and "friends of democracy," who share their basic aims.

*Watergate is partly the application of some of the methods of imperialism to domestic politics. The same mentality, the same techniques, and the same basic goals that underlie Nixon's foreign policy have come to the surface at home.*

The men recruited to the "Plumbers" unit, assigned to carry out the Watergate and other raids, typify this mentality. A CIA man, a small-time district attorney specializing in repression, Cuban refugees who support the overthrown order -- these figures, drawn to the state apparatus by the promise of money, power and protec-

tion were the ideal recruits to the Watergate project. Behind the scenes, thugs, however, stood the gatekeepers of the White House and the government itself.

It is this -- the uncontrolled operation of an extra-legal apparatus of political surveillance, espionage and repression -- which the Senate investigators fear. That is what they hope to bring under control.

Here again, however, the Congress supports the political aims which the "Plumbers" actions were supposed to accomplish: maintaining the political, economic and social stability which is coming unraveled in American society. As during the Vietnam War, the liberals differ with the tactics which Nixon uses -- especially when these tactics begin to be used against them. Above all, they fear that the rapid development of secret, centralized and uncontrolled government will only worsen the political destabilization.

The destabilization itself, however, is a fact. The Congress is no protection against the further erosion of democracy in American society.

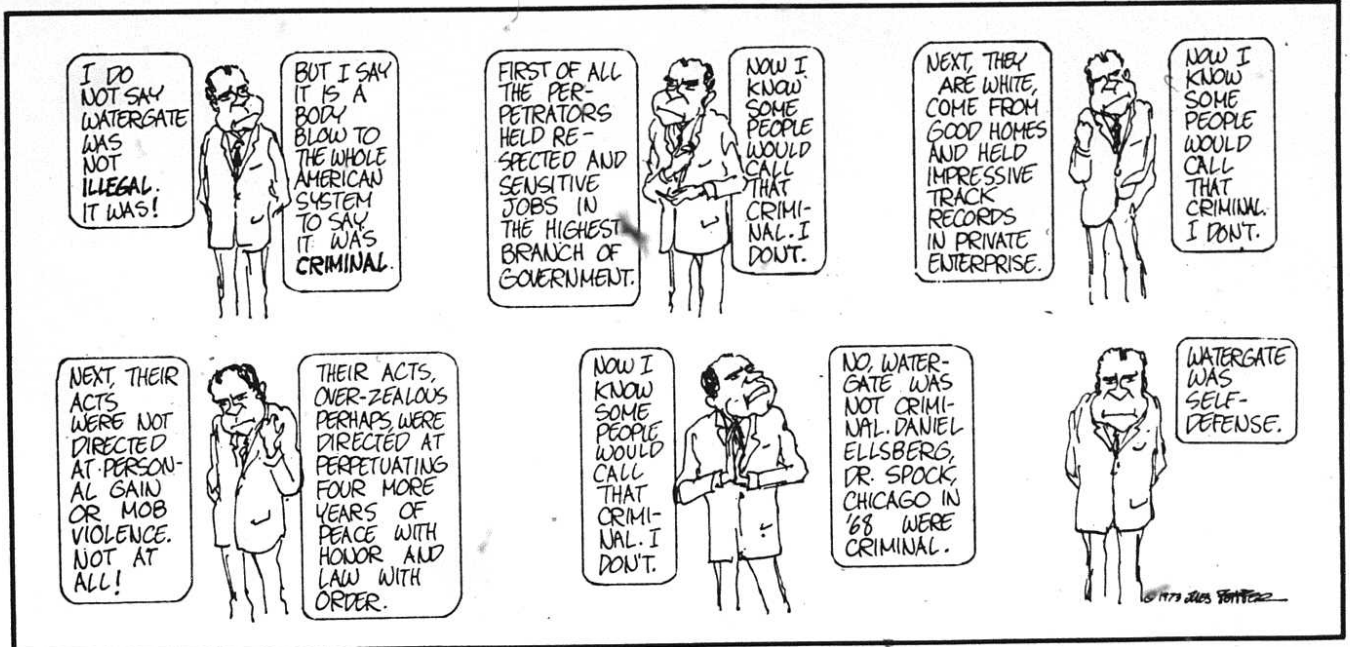
**Under capitalism -- whatever deals are constructed between Nixon and the Congress -- real power is further and further removed from the masses of people. Only when the masses intervene to overthrow bourgeois politics themselves will this corruption and growing despotism be ended.**

### Correction

My article "Union Women Meet in California" [Workers' Power No. 78], which reported the May 19-20 women's conference of the California state federation of the AFL-CIO, stated "After launching the conference, unfortunately, W.A.G.E. (Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality) let the initiative pass to state AFL-CIO leaders in organizing it. Consequently, over half the delegates were labor officials."

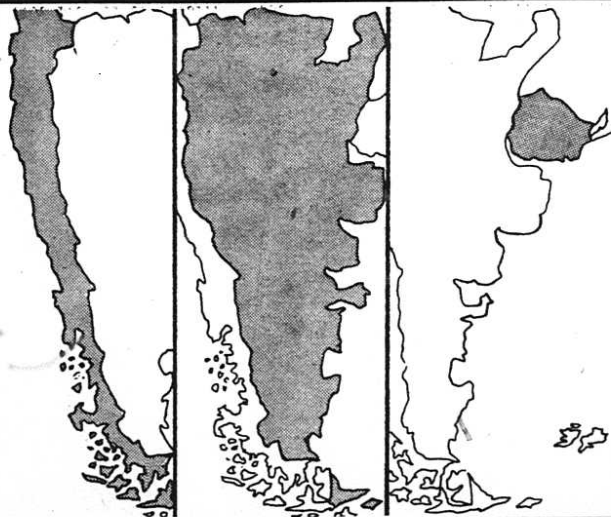
Since the publication of the article I have learned that this information is incorrect. Union W.A.G.E. played a major role in organizing the conference. In addition, the conference was attended by a sizeable number of women trade unionists at the shop steward level.

Marie Pielka



# REPRESSION, CLASS WAR EXPLODE IN LATIN AMERICA

Marilyn Danton



## Chile Nears Civil War

Today Chile teeters on the brink of civil war. Mass demonstrations, armed confrontations are regular occurrences in Santiago. The growth of the fascist Fatherland and Liberty Party, the recent thwarted army coup, and the strike of the El Teniente miners are all indications of the of the continuing crisis. The popular front government of Salvador Allende is rapidly losing its credibility as the polarization between left and right deepens. In every instance the government has moved to the right, betraying the Chilean workers.

*The question is rapidly becoming one of workers' revolution or fascism. What will the outcome mean for the workers' movement in other Latin American countries, such as Uruguay and Argentina, where the workers are beginning to flex their muscles and to demand their share of the shrinking wealth of the underdeveloped world?*

When Allende's Popular Unity Coalition took power in 1970, Chile entered a pre-revolutionary period. His class collaborationist government, while calling itself Marxist, was in fact an extension of the bourgeois Christian Democratic government of Eduardo Frei whom he replaced.

When the workers begin to search for alternatives, when they begin to lose their illusions about the "peaceful road to socialism," Allende's government will cease to serve any function for the bourgeoisie.

Inside Allende's ruling coalition, the right elements (the Communist Party, and the right wing of the Socialist Party) have consolidated their hold over the government. This was cemented following the March elec-

tions with the removal of the generals from the cabinet.

Far from being a victory for the working class, this removal signaled a continuing rightward drift. All posts were filled with the most conservative elements in the coalition.

The removal of the military from the government means political benefits for the right. The fascist and other extreme reactionary elements wanted the generals out of the cabinet.

The fascists understood well that having military officers in the government meant that when they attacked the Allende government, they would also be attacking the military men.

The military would then be less able to play the role of "impartial arbitrator."

The army now remains free to organize. The recent role of General Carlos Pratt in defeating the poorly organized coup by the extreme sectors of the military, thereby demonstrating his loyalty to the government, could lay the basis for his later consolidation of power.

The greater dangers lie with the fascist right which has taken the offen-

sive in recent months. The most significant organization involved is the Nationalist Front for Fatherland and Liberty formed two years ago.

In the past members of this small, but highly organized party, whose symbol is a stylized spider, have functioned as shock troops for the capitalists when workers occupied plants.

During the elections in March their activities included storming the headquarters of the left parties and using firearms to attack propaganda teams of these parties.

Following the election, the organization leaked its future plans to the press. Known as the Black Commands, these directives include plans for sabotage and physical and psychological terror:

*"Sustained campaigns involving psychological intimidation will be carried out, using slogans and propaganda aimed at UP (Popular Unity) militants, as well as rumors and scare stories aimed at UP women and their children; these will be furnished by SACO (System of Organized Civic Action, the coordinating body for this plan) ... Follow a policy of ill will."*

*Further, "In case of illegal takeover of the plants (by the workers), the owner will notify the coordination center in advance of all details and the names and addresses of the leaders, etc., and the appropriate protective mechanism will be provided ..."*

The only concrete response by the governing parties to the fascist offensive is a petition drive against civil war initiated by the Communist Party!

### Fading Illusions

What has been the response of the workers' movement to this growing threat and the government's do-nothing policy? That the workers and peasants still have illusions about the Popular Unity Coalition is clear.

That these illusions are being stripped away by the Coalition's lack of response to the right offensive is also clear. This process is an uneven one, but it is slowly developing.

Following the Bosses' Strike (the closing of shops by anti-government capitalists) last October, economic conditions worsened rapidly. Inflation, at close to 180 percent during 1972, has increased. Real wages have continued to drop.

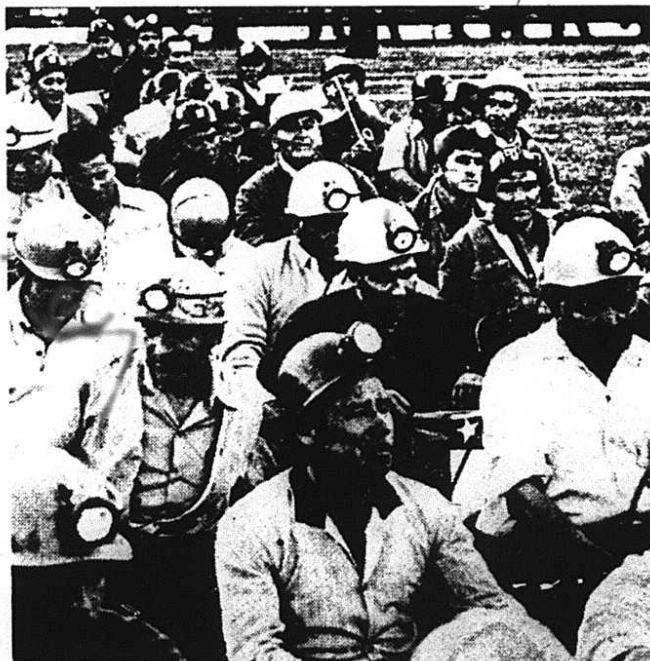
The general deterioration, caused by the economic boycott of Chile by imperialist powers and sabotage by local capitalists of the productive forces, have resulted in mammoth shortages in consumer goods, foods and an increase in black market operations.

In response to the growing demands of the workers, the government took a brief turn to the left in December and January.

This was exemplified most clearly in the strengthening and enlarging of the functions of the mass organization for policing prices and distributing consumer goods. In the past these boards had been little more than local watch-dog committees, but now the government called upon them to actually perform the role of distribution.

The result was that in the working class areas where these boards were strong, the basic necessities of life became available again. But much more significant, these organizations have begun to develop embryonic characteristics of independent workers' institutions. Today the government is attempting to curtail their activities, but to little avail.

At the same time, the rank and file workers have begun to develop other institutions of their own. The unions and the Chilean labor federation (CUT) controlled by the Communist Party,



Workers at Chile's El Teniente copper mine

have continually betrayed the working class.

*The new organizations developed by the workers are based upon geographical areas as opposed to industry. These cordones industriales or "industrial belts" have proved to be quite effective in mobilizing the rank and file in emergencies such as the Bosses Strike.*

At first the top leadership of the CUT refused to recognize the cordones, and the Communist Party called them "illegal."

Their growth and strength, however, forced the Communists to revise their position, while demanding that the organizations be subordinate to the CUT. This the cordones refused to do.

#### Resistance Growing

The biggest weakness of these organizations in the past has been that they were geared solely to crises, and were by and large either inactive or dominated by conservative sections of the movement at other times.

This is now beginning to change in the face of the right offensive. For example, in the case of another bosses' strike, the *Cordon Vicuna Mackena* in Santiago recently agreed that the workers would organize transportation, set up a people's store for the area operating out of the factory, see that the distribution of necessities reached the broadest layers of the masses, organize workers and peasant groups in the area to take over this distribution, re-organize and create more defense groups equipped to defend the plants seized by the workers from reactionary forces, and increase agitation and propaganda to those factories in the zone not yet affiliated with the Cordon in order to reach the masses of the rank and file.

The significance of these developments is twofold. The brief turn to the left by the government halted the developing turn to the right on the part of some sectors of the working class, and resulted in the modest electoral victory in March for the government.

Secondly, and much more important, these organizations, the distribution boards and the cordones, together with the role the workers played in the Bosses' Strike, have begun to give the working class a sense of its own power. This is especially significant in connection with the rightward march of the government and its hostility to the *El Teniente* miners which will serve to further strip away illusions that the workers have about Allende.

The recent two month strike at the nationalized *El Teniente* copper mine brought to the surface the crises that the government and the workers movement face. The strike, primarily over wage increases, was labeled "economist" by the Allende government, which claimed that the workers were

only concerned with their own problems.

The President and the Communist Party called the strikers "agents of fascism" and "traitors" to the government who are only aiding the right in its efforts to discredit the people's coalition.

The right was in fact able to take political advantage of the strike by calling for solidarity with the miners, and organizing support for the strike.

Divisions now exist in a once unified working class. But the blame for this rests squarely on the Allende government.

The strike is only the tip of the iceberg. Numbers of workers not under the control of the CUT have begun to mobilize around demands for higher wages.

As galloping inflation increases, the likelihood is for more "economist" strikes in defense of the workers' standard of living. The fact that the right could take advantage of a situation where the working class was fighting a defensive battle for its basic needs indicates the total bankruptcy of the Popular Unity government: a government resting on a parliament controlled by the capitalists, a judicial power where the same relationship exists, and an army that stands ready to "arbitrate" the situation while saving itself as the last line of defense of the capitalist system.

#### Needed: Revolutionary Leadership

The situation in Chile is reaching a crucial point. While the workers' movement has begun to develop its own institutions, these are still weak and embryonic in form.

Most importantly, there is no alternative leadership to the reformist government and other left groups like the Movement for the Revolutionary Left (MIR) that tailed the government in its condemnation of the miners' strike.

Revolutionary leadership and a revolutionary party must be developed. This development will most probably arise out of the embryonic workers' institutions.

*The workers movement must take up demands that can mobilize the workers and peasants around their own interests: that the government arm the workers and peasants in the face of the fascist threat, the bourgeois ministers be replaced by workers' representatives, the cordones and distributions boards be strengthened, and the landed estates be divided among the peasantry.*

Without the development of these institutions, without the development of a revolutionary party, the Chilean workers will face defeat and destruction.

This will have far reaching effects on the class struggle throughout Latin America, especially in the neighboring countries of Argentina and Uruguay where the working class is growing in strength and combativity.



Hector Campora (left) and Juan Peron at news conference

## Peron Rule: New Struggle

Argentina stands today at the beginning of a new period -- a period that could be decisive in deciding which class will rule the country. The massive resistance against the right wing military rule has borne fruit: the military dictatorship that lasted for seven years has turned over the reins of government to Juan Peron and his Justicialist Party.

Peron, as in his earlier period of rule (1945-1955), has the support of the working masses and their bosses, the capitalist class. But 1973 is not the same period as 1945.

The economic picture for Argentina is bleak, but what is more significant, deep divisions exist within the workers' movement as to the nature of Peron's new government.

Argentina is now entering a pre-revolutionary period in which the question is posed squarely: reform or revolution. Will the Argentine working class launch its own struggle for power, or will it be led to defeat by its Peronist leadership?

This situation in Argentina is approaching that of Chile. The outcome of one will profoundly affect the outcome of the other.

Why after eighteen years of exile was Peron allowed to return to Argentina? And what will this dramatic turn of events mean for the heightening class struggle and the growing workers' movement in Argentina? In order to understand why this major change is taking place, it is necessary to understand the past period of Argentine history.

The military dictatorship that came to power in 1966 viciously repressed the working class and other sectors of the population in the country in order to obtain "social peace."

The growing resistance to the rule of General Lanusse became massive in the rebellion at Cordoba in 1969.

This traditional center of working class militancy became a fundamental

test of strength, between the workers and students on one side and the military on the other.

A new phase of the struggle opened up with a series of explosive mobilizations in both the traditional centers of the workers' movement and in less radicalized areas.

The form was different (from hard fought workers' economic struggles to general strikes and movements bordering on being insurrections), but the content was the same: increasing determination to fight for the needs of the working class against the military dictatorship.

Left guerrilla groups developed carrying the struggle over into armed confrontations. Lanusse declared: "We are facing a different kind of enemy; the enemy wears no face comes out of the country itself... I think we are at war."

Social peace could no longer be maintained. The ruling class was forced to examine alternatives to the deteriorating situation. Out of several less attractive solutions, the one that stood out was a return to the semblance of bourgeois democracy with the reins held by one who could control the working class.

Who fit this role better than Juan Peron, the nationalist demagogue who 28 years previously had simultaneously managed to both assist the native capitalists in their struggle against imperialism and to effectively (for a while at least) pacify and then repress the working class.

Who better than the one individual who still holds -- despite his treacherous and devastating attack on the unions and workers during his earlier period -- the allegiance of the masses?

#### "Great National Agreement"

The way was paved -- and cemented -- through the Great National Agreement (GAN) between the Peronist leadership, the military and the bourgeoisie.

The main thrust of the agreement was that Peron's party would be allowed to participate in the elections and to take office if it would promise to reestablish social peace and implement the economic plan of the CGE -- the national employers' association.

This plan, also supported by the Peronist controlled labor federation (CGT) has the support of all sectors of the national bourgeoisie.

The plan includes agreement to bring European capital into Argentina's sagging economy, to protect local industry, and in general to do everything to reactivate the economy. In addition, the CGT leadership agreed to keep tight control over the unions.

Not only do the native bourgeoisie who traditionally have been strong opponents of American imperialism support this plan, but it also has won

[Continued on page 16]



Salvador Allende





[Continued from page 15]

the support of the traditional land-owning oligarchy whose strategic allies remain in Europe. It was this group that was violently opposed to Peron in the 1945-55 period.

If this were not enough, in May Peron began to muzzle the more militant leaders of his movement in order to strengthen the CGE-CGT grouping, and to go outside the movement to seek additional support from the main bourgeois party, the Radical Civic Union.

Based upon this agreement, Peron's right hand man, Hector J. Campora ran for the presidency and won a landslide victory. But the plan unfolded further: in early July announcement came that Campora was resigning in order to call for new elections in which *el lider* himself, Juan Peron, would run for the presidency in his own name.

Peron's running mate will be none other than his earlier enemy, Balbin, leader of the Radical Civic Union. The deal has been made: the stage is set for Peron's return to power.

### "Social Truce"

The popular response to this turn of events has been massive, but underneath this massive support for Peron lie extreme difficulties for the returning hero -- difficulties that are already becoming clear even before he officially takes office.

The Peronist movement is sharply divided. This became known to all when 2 million people massed to welcome the exiled leader.

During this demonstration, rival slogans were chanted: "For a Peronist Argentina"; "For a Socialist Argentina." Shortly afterward shooting broke out, killing several persons and wounding scores more.

Peron, forced to land at a military installation, called for unity in the hour of victory, but it fell on deaf ears.

The first splits in the Peronist movement became obvious among the various guerrilla groupings who have been carrying out raids, kidnappings of foreign businessmen for ransom and other terrorist activities. Of the five discernible ones, three are Peronist and have already brought a halt to their activities.

The other two, especially the People's Revolutionary Army (EFP), have continued their activities up to the present, despite attempts by Campora to stop this activity.

This prompted Peron from Madrid to issue statements attacking "Trotskyist provocateurs" and "extremists of all types" in early June. This is reminiscent of the 1945-55 Peron who virulently attacked anyone who gave lip service to Marxism, including the reformist Socialist and Communist Parties, as being foreign ideologies whose aim was to destroy Argentina's national independence.

In super-nationalist and personalist fashion, Peron stated that the only answer to Argentina's problems was Peronism! It is now clear that red-

betting and repression will be directed against any group or party that attacks Peron from the left.

The most significant development in Argentina however, has been the response of the working class to the election victory of the Peronist Party.

In the wake of the elections, massive demonstrations of workers took place, and in the public sector of the economy, which is quite large, workers proceeded to take over the institutions -- ostensibly in order to oust the Lanusse administrators, but occasionally in opposition to newly appointed Peronist administrators.

The public employees in San Luis have twice occupied the governor's house, state employees in Santa Fe have fought the military on the barricades, and the municipal workers in Buenos Aires have taken to the streets.

The response of the Peronists and the CGT bureaucracy in keeping with their call for a "social truce" has been to tell the workers to return to work -- to let the government take care of the problems.

While this has been mildly successful so far, the massive response of the working class will require more than pleas to put it in its place in the future.

Again, 1973 is not 1945. The economic situation internationally and in Argentina is very unfavorable for the type of economic success necessary for Peron to both satisfy his capitalist friends and masters, and pacify the working masses.

Stagnant for several decades, the Argentine economy is in trouble: skyrocketing inflation has produced a sharp drop in real wages leading to growing militancy on the part of the working class.

Although the world food shortage could help the Argentine economic situation (the main exports of Argentina are wheat and beef), it will not be enough. The inducements of large profits and quick returns needed to create a favorable climate for the needed investment of European capital is in direct opposition to the growing demands of the working class.

This time around Peron will be forced immediately to make great demands on the working class, to raise the rate of exploitation -- to increase production in relation to wages -- in order to try to get the Argentine economy back on its feet. It will not be possible -- as it was in 1945 -- to grant major concessions to the workers.

The situation is explosive. Peron and his bourgeois allies are sitting atop a powder keg of potential workers' power. Although ideologically different (nationalist as opposed to Marxist rhetoric), the nationalist Peronist government will play the same role for Argentina as the popular front "Marxist" Allende government does for Chile.

But the test of this is at hand. The working masses will find out soon enough whose interests Peron represents. Peron could represent the last illusion of the working class.

Already massive demonstrations in which workers participated have forced the Campora government to release upwards of 500 political prisoners.

The struggles of the workers' movement will increase despite their Peronist illusions. But the working class must begin to act independently of the Peronist bureaucracy and popular leaders. This has been implicit in action, it must become explicit in organization.

The workers' movement must develop its own institutions and program that can begin to lead the fight for the needs of the working class and thereby expose Peron to the masses for what he is -- the hand-picked savior of the bourgeoisie for the capitalist system. ■

## General Strike Ends In Uruguay

The Uruguayan army, which has virtually ruled the country for the past few months, has taken complete control in a coup.

The resistance to the takeover was led by the working class, which -- without real preparation or leadership -- carried out a heroic two-week general strike.

Two successive governments had been unable to defeat the urban guerrilla movement, the Tupamaros, and were unwilling to do anything to deal with Uruguay's worsening economic situation.

The army was given a free hand in its anti-guerrilla campaign and gradually extended its control over wide areas of the country's life.

The army has shown great caution and has concealed the extent of its rule. Uruguay, like Chile, has a fairly long tradition of parliamentary rule, and many officers feared they would arouse too much opposition if they were seen to act unconstitutionally.

Even this latest coup, which closed parliament and local government councils and put Uruguay under the rule of the military-dominated Council of National Security, was, on the face of it, carried out by the president.

"National security" was used as a smokescreen. A politician belonging to the reformist Broad Front was accused of being the civilian leader of the Tupamaros, and parliament was accused of offering him protection.

The coup shows the inability of the political parties to solve Uruguay's growing problems. For most of the present century, Uruguay has enjoyed high earnings from its beef and grain economy, and the urban population

had something approaching a welfare state.

But after 1945, the country went into slow decline, as meat and grain prices did not keep pace with the growth of the main towns.

By the mid-60's many Uruguayans were impatient with the two main parties, neither of which was seriously prepared to tackle the problems of inflation, unemployment and urban poverty.

So the traditional left and the trade unions gained in strength, and the Tupamaros found widespread support once they started their guerrilla actions in the late 1950's.

The army was successful against the Tupamaros, at least in part, because the guerrillas were unable to create a mass movement of workers around them even though they had many sympathisers.

Most army officers are not tied to the financial and political interests that control the main political parties, so can consider major reforms to avert revolution. This undercut the Tupamaros' support.

The political bankruptcy of the Tupamaros -- who tried to substitute guerrilla activity for the actions of the workers -- is shown by the fact that *only* the workers were able to respond to the coup.

### Continue The Struggle

Fraudulent elections in 1971 made it easier for the army to extend its campaign against the Tupamaros, which became increasingly effective.

But the government's unwillingness to undertake any reforms threatened to undermine the army's campaign in the long run, and Congressional opposition to the army's growing power annoyed the more ambitious officers.

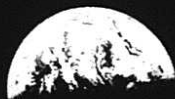
Having seen through the weakness of all political machines in Uruguay, the army reduced the president to puppet status last February, and has now forced the dissolution of parliament.

Which way the army will go politically is still an open question. Of the two main wings of the army, one favors a "nationalist" military dictatorship, as in Peru, and the other a pro-American military dictatorship as in Brazil.

Faced with these alternatives, the only hope for Uruguayan workers is to build the struggle which the general strike began -- to paralyze the dictatorship and bring it down. ■



# international report



## Repression of socialists, republicans in Ireland and England

Attacks on socialists and republicans in Ireland and England have increased in recent weeks, while the British government goes ahead with its plans for a new lackey parliament - its "solution" to the problems British imperialism has created. The new parliament is to be led by the so-called "moderates" - the Social Democratic and Labor Party and Faulkner's Unionists (who introduced internment in 1971). The only thing these parties have in common is their interest in helping Britain crush the IRA - to once again make Ireland a safe place for business to make a profit.

Celia Holt, member of the British International Socialists, was arrested in England and taken off to Derry where she was delivered into the hands of the fascist Royal Ulster Constabulary (Northern Ireland police). While living as a student in Derry last year, Holt was a supporter of the Official Republican Movement. In England, she has been working on the Belfast 10 Committee (to defend the rights of republicans held in London jails).

The police have accused her of obtaining a tape recorder by "fraudulent means." But this type of charge has been used before in an attempt to disrupt political activities by shipping republicans back to Northern Ireland where they can be detained under the Special Powers Act.

August 9 marks the second anniversary of the introduction of internment in Northern Ireland, and arrests and detentions continue despite Whitelaw's claim that internment has ended. Two leaders of the Peoples Democracy, Michael Farrell and Tony Canavan, received 8 and 6 months jail sentences because they went ahead with a demonstration last February that the British Army had banned.

Six women are now being detained without charge in Armagh Pri-

son. They have been tortured, beaten and denied the political prisoner status given to male detainees in Long Kesh and the Crumlin prison. This means the women must work in prison and are limited in the political literature and visits they can receive.

Meanwhile the government of the Irish Republic is bending over backwards rounding up republicans to extradite to Northern Ireland into the hands of the British Army. The foreign minister in the South recently boasted that arrests in the Republic of people wanted for political offenses in the North had soared since his party came to power. (A coalition of Fine Gael and the Labor Party won the national elections in February.)

Traditionally the Republic has been a place of refuge for all those escaping the injustice and harassment of the RUC and the British Army in the North. Britain has been putting considerable pressure on the Irish government to close this area to republicans. Usually the Irish government complies simply by interning and prosecuting republicans. This year it has gone a step further by attempting to process extradition orders against Róisín McLaughlin, Michael Ellis, and Rita O'Hare.

Perhaps the most outrageous case is that of Rita O'Hare, mother of 3. Seriously wounded by a British soldier, she is being charged with murder. At the last minute the government backed down from extraditing O'Hare, but the government can move at any time against these republicans.

It is no accident that the American government is heavily involved in attempting to crush the Irish movement in this country. The American, British and Irish governments share the need to crush any struggle which threatens the stability of business and the ability of British and American investors to make profits.

The American government realizes that any struggle for freedom is a threat to its power and domination over the world. If the workers in other countries, such as Ireland or Puerto Rico, succeeded in gaining control over

er their own societies, workers in America could be inspired to fight for the same thing in this country. Irish and Puerto Rican support groups in the US are seen by the government as part of this threat to its own security.

Those who aid in the attack on these movements are well rewarded by the American government. G. Gordon Liddy received his first promotion as a result of the conviction of an innocent person in connection with the capture of an IRA arms shipment in New York. After that achievement, Liddy received bigger assignments in service to his country - all the way up to Watergate.



## Lutte Ouvriere protests French attacks on revolutionary left

[The following speech was presented by a representative of the French revolutionary group Lutte Ouvriere, at a protest rally in London against the government's ban of the Ligue Communiste. The LS was banned by the Pompidou regime after clashes between its members and a fascist group.]

"I am here to speak on behalf of Lutte Ouvriere to bring the support of our group to our comrades of the Ligue Communiste.

This isn't in fact the first time that the revolutionary movement has been under attack in France. After the May '68 events the government banned 12 revolutionary groups, including ourselves and the Ligue Communiste.

Since that time a lot of revolutionary militants have been harassed in various ways:

By being held for 24 hours in police stations while "their identity was checked,"

By being fined for selling a paper or distributing a leaflet in a public place,

By being arrested and condemned to several weeks or even months in jail for having allegedly "resisted" the police.

Militant workers have been sacked from their factories because of their political ideas - often with the complicity of trade union officials.

Last year Pierre Overney, a Maoist worker who had been fired from the Renault car factory, was shot dead by a company cop while he was leafletting at the factory gate. Many other examples could be given of this repression.

This is the background which led to the banning of the Ligue Communiste. But this time the government seems to have struck a heavier blow at the revolutionary left.

There are two reasons for this. The first is that the government had to satisfy the middle classes - the people who traditionally vote for the Gaullist majority.

These people are disturbed about the agitation going on in the country,

and many of them have started blaming the government for being passive in face of the "agitators."

Secondly there is some resentment among the police. These are the people who have to do the dirty work, they know that people are very hostile to them and they feel they're not backed up enough by the government.

The alleged impartiality of the government in deciding to ban at the same time both the Ligue and the fascist group Ordre Nouveau is purely illusory.

Ordre Nouveau has been banned but it was the Ligue's headquarters which were smashed up by the police. It's the Ligue leader, Alain Krivine, who's in jail on a charge of assaulting the police and who risks a five-year prison sentence.

Ordre Nouveau has been banned, but it's revolutionary militants who are being searched and raided. This is no surprise.

Fascist groups have always enjoyed the help and sympathy of many members of the state apparatus, in the police and the government.

We can't so far tell whether the banning of the Ligue is the first step towards an intensified attack on the whole revolutionary movement and thus on the whole of the working-class movement.

In this regard it is quite a positive step that for the first time in France, all the traditional left parties and the trade unions have protested against a government attack on a revolutionary group.

They held a protest meeting last week in Paris. Unfortunately, no member of any revolutionary group was allowed to speak - not even a representative of the Ligue!

This really shows the double-dealing of these traditional left organizations. This is especially true of the Communist Party which on the one hand was obliged to protest but on the other was really quite pleased to see one of its left rivals banned.

We as revolutionaries not only demand the lifting of the ban on the Ligue and the freeing of Krivine and Pierre Rousset, who is held on an arms charge, but we also have to carry on the fight against repression and put pressure on the traditional left parties and on the unions.

The campaign is only just beginning." ■



British International Socialists march in London against internment

# The Split in the I.S.

On July 7 and 8, the National Committee of the International Socialists (IS) convened for a special meeting to discuss the faction fight which had developed inside the organization.

After discussion, the NC adopted a motion which stated that a fundamental and irreconcilable split had occurred in the IS, and that the minority tendency - a highly sectarian group which had formed several months earlier under the name "Revolutionary Tendency" - was a thoroughly disloyal tendency aiming at the destruction of the political work and internal life of the IS. On this basis the "Revolutionary Tendency" (RT) was expelled from membership in the IS.

The basic ideas of the International Socialists are contained in our "Workers' Power" statement which can be found on page 19 of this issue of *Workers' Power*. These are the ideas of revolutionary democratic socialism from below. The "Revolutionary Tendency" gave up these ideas, saying that the IS is a reformist organization which has "crossed the class line."

We did not carry out this split lightly, without serious consideration given to the consequences. Like every split in the revolutionary movement, this split represents in some ways a defeat for us and for the movement.

Given the crucial need for a mass revolutionary party capable of leading the working class, the many splits, splintering the socialist movement into many competing sects, only seems to lead away from that goal.

These splits seem to indicate that the revolutionaries are capable only of sectarian squabbling among themselves, and not of leading the working class. They seem to maintain the isolation of the revolutionary movement from the advanced workers.

Nevertheless, splits are inevitable and desirable when the only alternative is the abandonment of political principles, when common activity in building a revolutionary organization becomes impossible.

The IS is a revolutionary organization committed to the struggle for full workers' democracy - that is, socialism - in opposition to both capitalist and Stalinist class rule. We also fight for democracy inside the labor movement, against the trade union bureaucracy, and within the revolutionary movement as well.

In accordance with this viewpoint, the IS is an internally democratic organization which guarantees the right of members to organize for their political views inside the organization and to form political tendencies based on these views.

These democratic rights are safeguards, both of full discussion and of unity in action inside the IS and in its external work.

In the recent faction fight, the split was inevitable once it became clear that - because the split over political principles was complete and irreversible - both political debate and common activity had been effectively dissolved.

The "Revolutionary Tendency" was not a group with stable politics or with a clear program. On some of the most fundamental issues which divide the revolutionary movement - for example, the nature of the bureaucratic class regimes in the so-called

"Communist" countries - the RT explicitly takes no position. In the American labor movement, it did not put forward a clear perspective for the IS or guide to action.

The political method of the RT is a sectarian caricature of Marxism, which the RT leadership attempts to wrap in the mantle of Trotskyism.

In fact, the RT, although it claimed to be the first "genuine Trotskyist" group to come along in over 30 years, represents only a variant of the bankrupt, self-isolating sterile sectarian groups which claim to represent Trotskyism in the US today.

The RT argued that the way to raise the level of consciousness of the working class, to prepare it for the struggle for socialism, is to raise the "full transitional (revolutionary) program" in every reform movement, trade union and shop floor struggle as the basis for participation by socialists in the struggle.

When this program is rejected by the workers, these sectarians then propose to offer "critical support" to the struggle.

This means, for the RT, that the primary task of socialists in these struggles is to explain "propagandistically" that any program, except the revolutionary program itself, will eventually lead to sellouts and betrayals.

The result of this policy, if carried out, would be that socialists would be unable to raise consciousness and win workers to revolutionary politics by applying them to the strategy and tactics of the class struggle.

Instead, we would be reduced to the role of spectators and commentators. This is exactly the role which socialists must break out of, in order to overcome the isolation of our ideas from the labor movement.

The same sectarian method led the RT to a sharp retreat from the commitment of revolutionary socialists to building the independent struggles of specially oppressed groups and minorities in society - in particular, to Black Liberation and Women's Liberation struggles. This retreat by the RT was wrapped in the same rhetoric as their other positions - calling for raising the "full working class program" in these struggles.

More and more openly, however, the real content of this rhetoric exposed itself as hostility and fear of such actions as the Black ghetto rebellions, Black caucuses in the unions, working women's struggles for equality, and special demands of oppressed groups in general whenever such actions are carried out under any other name than a fully revolutionary leadership.

These positions, although the RT has not yet taken them to their full conclusions, can only lead in a completely reactionary direction.

While the split has cost the IS a substantial number of members, the political work of the organization has remained intact and will be expanded in the coming period.

Following the National Convention of the IS, which will be held as scheduled over the Labor Day weekend, the IS will move to deepen and solidify its work in the labor movement, in particular our participation in building rank and file opposition caucuses in the major unions, especially in the industrial Midwest.

Long before the expulsion actually took place, the IS had in fact split into two separate organizations. Immediately after the RT was officially formed in April, its leaders announced to their membership that the RT was "a form transitional between a caucus and a faction which is preparing to formally become an independent organization."

The expulsion, when it occurred,

merely made official what had already been established in fact, and brought an end to an intolerable situation.

Unwilling to accept the consequences of their new ideas, the RT leadership sought to place on us the responsibility for the split, by attempting to provoke expulsions over violations of discipline.

In several branches, serious provocations were created by the RT which threatened the integrity of the IS. We preferred, instead, to make clear the political basis of the split: the development of fundamental and irreconcilable differences which - no matter the outcome of any vote - made unity impossible.

Ideologically, the RT explained its break from the politics and program of the IS by denouncing "Shachtmanism" - that is, the Third Camp socialist tradition and history of the IS as a political tendency - as "liquidationist," "adaptationist," and reformist.

Our tendency in the revolutionary movement, which represents the continuation of the politics of the revolutionary communist workers' movement in the modern era of capitalist and Stalinist imperialist decay, is based on the view that the struggle for power in the world is a conflict of three basic class forces.

These class forces are the capitalist bourgeoisie, the bureaucratic collectivist ruling class of the "Communist" world, and the working class. The IS and its predecessor organizations have contended that the working class, in order to struggle for socialism, must organize itself independently of the two exploiting classes and their imperialist war camps. This viewpoint is what is called the "third camp."

The leadership of the RT ridiculed this view, but put forward no alternative of their own. In place of a theory or a world outlook, they announced that they had broken with the "Shachtmanism" of the IS and turned to "genuine Trotskyism." In practice, however, their only political critique of the "adaptationism" of the IS was our perspective of building movements, caucuses and struggles broader than ourselves.

In fact, the politics of the RT are not a return to the politics of Trotsky, but a complete abandonment of Trotsky's revolutionary strategy. The orientation of the RT, of merely countering our "full program" to ongoing struggles, was continuously denounced by both Lenin and Trotsky as sectarian precisely because it ignores the current level of struggle and consciousness of the working class.

The reason for this was Lenin and Trotsky's understanding that revolutionary demands put forward by revolutionary organizations only had real meaning to the mass of the working class in the course of fighting for them; that it is through struggle that consciousness develops.

At the Third Congress of the Comintern, the Theses on Tactics stated: "Every objection to the putting forward of such partial demands, every charge of reformism on this account, is an emanation of the same inability to grasp the essential conditions of revolutionary action as was expressed in the hostility of some Communist groups to participation in the trade unions or to making use of parliament."

"It is not a question (only) of proclaiming the final goal to the proletariat, but of intensifying the practical struggle which is the only way of leading the proletariat to the struggle for the final goal."

Far from later rejecting this methodology, Trotsky extended it in his Transitional Program of 1938. Time and again he points out that transitional demands derive their im-

portance as vehicles for mass struggle.

Indeed, the very concept of transitional demands is bound up with the struggle of the working class. For in essence, transitional demands represent various aspects of the workers' state, but formulated as fighting slogans directed against the capitalists.

In discussing the transitional program, Trotsky pointed out that "[transitional demands create] a bridge to the mentality of the workers and then a material bridge to the socialist revolution. The whole question is how to mobilize the masses for struggle." (Writings, 1938, 39, p. 44)

Again, with regard to the revolution in Spain, Trotsky argued that "We must not let ourselves be guided by doctrinaire abstractions but by the state of consciousness of the masses and the way they react to various partial successes. Simply counterposing the slogan of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' or 'workers and peasants republic' to the present regime is entirely inadequate because these slogans do not move the masses." (Trotsky on the Spanish Revolution, Pathfinder Press, p. 144).

The political clarity reached during this fight on many of the basic issues underlying our perspectives has resulted in an increasing confidence among the IS membership in the politics of the organization.

Hence the ability of our members to function in external work, in a disciplined fashion, to fight for our ideas and build the IS, is greater today than before.

We are confident that it is our politics which are capable of providing leadership for today's struggle, of building a broad rank and file opposition movement in the unions, and which will lead to the successful establishment of a revolutionary party in the US.

Indeed, throughout the world, whether in France, Britain, Japan or Quebec, revolutionaries are finding success in establishing themselves as real workers organizations precisely in so far as they are active leaders in today's struggles. This is what separates the revolutionary organizations from the sectarian phrasemongers.

We still have a long way to go. The task of transforming the IS from an organization based in the student movement to one based in the working class is still in its initial stages. The pace of that transformation, and above all the tempo of development of the class struggle itself, has been slower than many of us expected.

But we reject any get rich quick schemes based on substitutes for political principle and for active participation in the movement.

The continuing steps the IS is taking toward developing as a serious cadre organization better equip us to continue our task. We have no doubts that we will eventually be successful. We urge all who share our goal of workers' power - revolutionary socialism - to consider joining us in building the IS and fighting to win support to its politics.

[Additional documents on the split in the IS are available from the IS National Office, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203. Two documents in particular, representing the views of both factions, will be sent to anyone interested. They are "National Report," by Sy Landy, which represents the views of the RT, and "The Crisis in the IS and the Road Forward," written by the IS majority. Please enclose \$.25 to cover postage costs.]

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

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

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

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

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

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