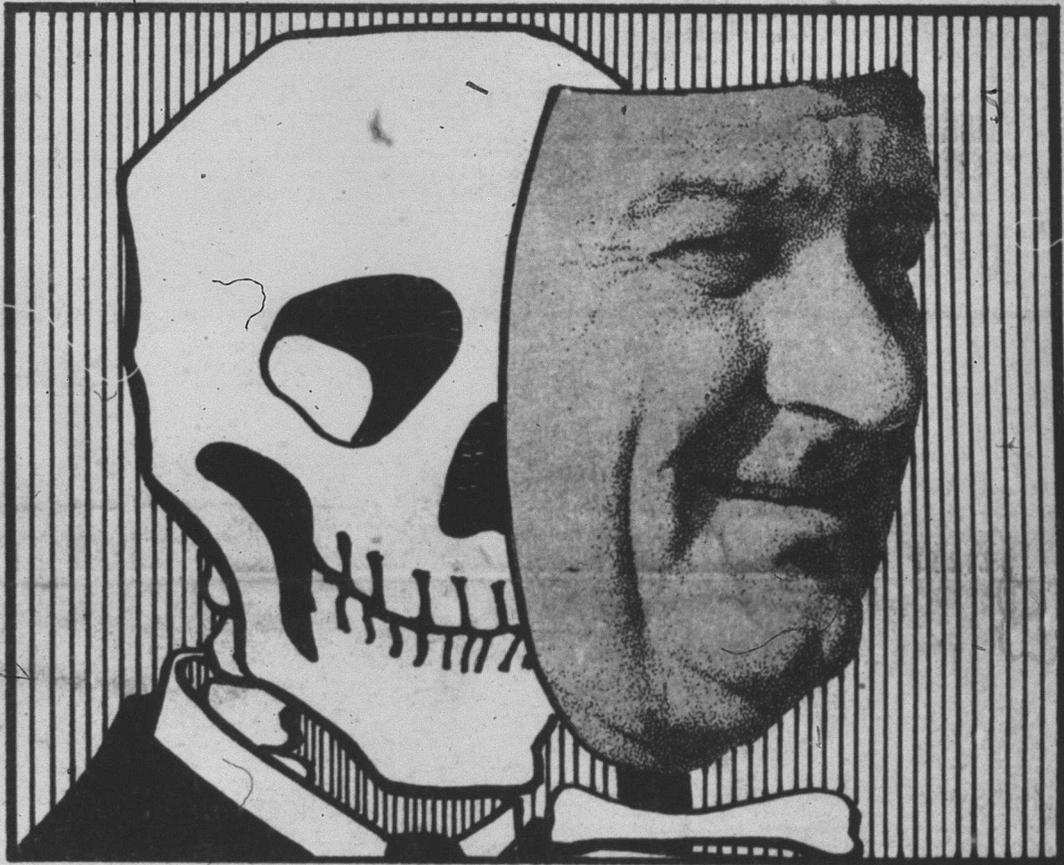


Workers' Power

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INDIAN LAND STOLEN AGAIN

Ron Flaherty

A raiding party of heavily armed U.S. marshalls stormed onto Alcatraz Island one day last month and forcibly removed the 15 Native Americans (Indians) living there. Everyone, including children, was frisked for arms — none were found except for two hunting knives, both in their sheaths.

The raid brought to an end a remarkable two-year occupation of the island, begun in November 1969 when 80 Indians invaded and took it over. They claimed ownership of the land, based on an 1868 treaty allowing the Sioux the right to take possession of unused Federal land. Thereafter, Alcatraz became an international symbol of the liberation struggle of Native Americans.

The Federal government soon showed that its respect for Indian treaties has not changed in a hundred years. First it blockaded the island, in an attempt to

starve the Indians out. Their supporters managed, however, to regularly run the blockade, and it was eventually abandoned.

In May, 1970, the government-proposed turning Alcatraz into a National Park. While making this fine humanitarian proposal, they turned off the Alcatraz water supply.

On June 1, 1970, a fire broke out on Alcatraz, and there was no water to put it out. The government blamed the Indians for the fire and the damage, although they offered no explanation of why the Indians should want to burn-down the island they had made their home.

Throughout the rest of 1970 and part of 1971 very little of note happened on Alcatraz. Plagued by dwindling numbers, and by lack of electricity and water, a small but determined group of Indians simply sat it out, waiting for the govern-

ment to give in. The occupation was no longer newsworthy, and few people paid any attention to Alcatraz until the Feds raided it last month.

The Indians scornfully rejected sensational newspaper stories about squalorous conditions on the island. Said one: "Take the newsmen to all the poverty pockets throughout the country. Conditions are the same in poor areas and ghettos." Commented another: "The only problem the Indians have is that it's a white-dominated country. The only failure of Alcatraz was the failure of white America to act on it."

Three days after the federal raid, a group of Indians in an auto caravan moved in before dawn to occupy an abandoned Nike base in the hills near Berkeley. (On the same day, 50 Indians occupied an abandoned missile base on

the shores of Lake Michigan.)

In nearby Richmond, federal, city, and county authorities squabbled for several days over who was to do the dirty work of ejecting the Indians from the base; Finally a combined army of county sheriffs, city police, and Army MP's moved in on June 17 to remove them, wearing riot masks and carrying three-foot clubs.

Police chief Lourn Phelps told his men that if the Indians weren't evicted immediately, "Berkeley militants might become interested" and join the struggle.

Meanwhile, authorities in San Francisco announced that a number of dogs captured in the raid on Alcatraz would be killed by July 3, if they weren't claimed. Even a dog's life isn't worth much, if it comes from Alcatraz. On the island, strict security provisions are in effect — Alcatraz is a prison again. ■

Coast Guard boats circling the island,
Navy helicopters hovering like vultures,
military American melting pot
with Liberty and Justice, they say,

creatures of wonder are the children
as they run across the concrete fields,
young eaglets of an Indian tomorrow
children of all tribes, here on Alcatraz.

Government officials squirming,
red-eared at the sounds of a sucking
child,
Alcatraz mother who must be there
for the words of her child's tomorrow.

Boatload of new arrivals,
Navajo, Sious, Hoopa, Pomo,
spirit, heart, eyes and feet
testing the grounds of unity.

San Francisco so close to us,
vertical fabrications erase the rounded
hills,

bright lights and sounds and smells of
decay,
drift to this turtle island.

Sunday sailboats clustered close,
snapping sails and wind and voices,
Tim studies this scene of white gaiety
and says, "Once, it was our people
out there."

A warship pushes swiftly by,
a jet screams in mechanical rage;
when dugout and birchbark canoes glide,
rage is not the call of snow birds.

Steel bridges all around this Bay,
connecting land in bumper to bump-
er pain,
dreams on Alcatraz are of a different
bridge,
fashioned of sunlight and soft voices.

[Reprinted from *Indians of All Tribes*
Alcatraz Newsletter, vol. 1: 2, Feb., 1970]

Alcatraz Visions Coyote 2



The French revolutionary organisation Lutte Ouvriere held a Whitsun fete attended by more than 10,000 socialists and militants. Picture shows the stall arranged by the British International Socialists with books, pamphlets and a montage from copies of *Socialist Worker*.

Workers' Power 38

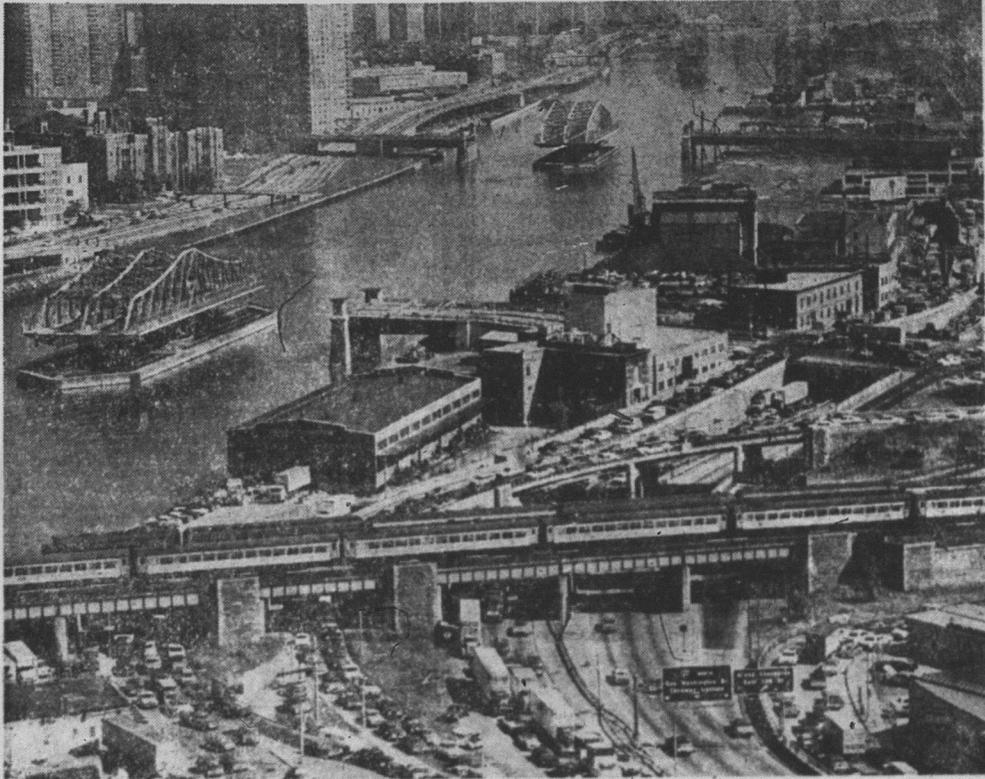
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N.Y. Troubled: No Bridge Over Water

Arthur Rymer

New York City's municipal workers went on strike for two days June 7 and 8, blocking most auto traffic into the city — but then agreed to a settlement that provided no immediate or guaranteed satisfaction of their demands.

The strike issue was the pension plan that had been negotiated by the City and District Council 37 of AFSCME (American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees), which bargains for 120,000 city workers. The plan had to be approved by the New York State Legislature, but it turned out to be one of the casualties of a legislative session that saw municipal services and jobs cut back sharply, welfare allotments reduced by over 10 percent, further restrictions on collective bargaining built into the state's Taylor Law, and taxes on working people and the poor raised (New York City residents must now pay a 7 percent sales tax).

The settlement that D.C. 37's head Victor Gotbaum accepted is to resubmit the pension plan to next year's legislature for approval. Failing that, some unspecified equivalent will be renegotiated with the city. Meanwhile, more than 2,000 D.C. 37 members have already retired on the basis of the promised pension, and are now getting only two-thirds of what they expected when they gave up their jobs.

Tremendous Strength

What the strike did accomplish was to demonstrate once again the strength and importance of working people in our society. After the bridge operators

of Teamsters Local 237 went out on the first day of the strike, leaving all but one of New York's 29 movable bridges closed to traffic, the city complained in court that "no supervisory personnel have sufficient training and/or experience to safely operate the bridges in question."

Mayor Lindsay denounced the strikers and threatened to call out the National Guard, but it was clear that the Guard would be of no more use than the supervisors. Finally, the U.S. Army engineers managed to get some of the bridges working, but by then the sewage workers, incinerator crews, and Parks Department employees were also out.

A number of observers were struck by the comparison between the New York City strike and the May Day demonstrations against the war.

The municipal workers were able to paralyze traffic coming into the city, whereas the demonstrators, who attempted to do the same thing, were swept away by the District of Columbia police and illegally arrested by the thousands. "What happened to them but not to the New York City strikers," wrote a *New York Times* columnist, "represents the kind of inverted values that young people especially find it hardest to accept."

But it is not a question of values. Lindsay and Governor Rockefeller have no more regard for striking workers than Nixon has for anti-war demonstrators. It is the vital role of workers that counts. If Lindsay had tried to arrest thousands of city workers, he would not have opened one bridge to traffic; but he would have made sure that everything

else in the city would be shut down.

It is true that many of those who went to Washington for May Day were also young working men and women; but they had not organized themselves as workers, and they thereby surrendered a great part of their potential strength.

Politicians in Command

Despite their strength, the New York City workers did not win what they wanted. Their failure must be laid to the disunity of the municipal unions and to their reliance upon politicians, Republican and Democratic, who have made clear time and again that they are not the "friends of labor" they claim to be.

At the insistence of Victor Gotbaum, D.C. 37's strike was aimed solely at pensions, and not at service cutbacks, the threatened 25,000 layoffs, welfare, or taxes. John DeLury, head of the Sanitationmen's union, has called for a general strike of municipal workers if masses of workers are laid off by the city. Michael Maye of the Firefighters said that "if one fireman is laid off, we will consider the entire force laid off."

Yet Gotbaum repeats on television that "we will never threaten a strike over layoffs," and he hopes to negotiate job reductions by attrition only. And DeLury's sanitation truck drivers were ordered to cross picket lines when D.C. 37 sewage workers were on strike.

One reason for the disunity among the municipal unions is that they see no way out of the budget crisis. Any gains won by one group of workers seem to

have to come at the expense of others, via layoffs and higher taxes.

The politicians do their best to make sure that no other ideas are heard. Pension plans were the particular victim this year in New York State because "businessmen, who exert considerable influence in Albany," according to *The New York Times*, "have complained that they are feeling considerable pressure from their own employees to improve pensions as government [employees'] benefits rise."

Gotbaum and Lindsay

But there are alternative sources of revenue. There is the money wasted in Vietnam and on the growing military budget. There are the private profit-making corporations, whose share of the New York State tax burden has steadily decreased during Rockefeller's term as governor. There are the banks, which are hardly taxed at all.

What working people cannot afford to tolerate is the support that the New York State AFL-CIO, including DeLury, has given to Rockefeller, and the long-term cozy relationship between Lindsay and Victor Gotbaum. The latest victims of this friendship are the city workers who struck in June, since they face penalties under the Taylor Law forbidding strikes by public employees.

Gotbaum has already announced his submission to the astronomical fines promised by Lindsay's personnel director. Labor leaders whose first instinct is to submit to legal repression rather than resist it, and who see only the plight of politicians strapped for funds without putting forward the pro-labor alternative, are of very little use to the people they lead.

Gotbaum's strategy has been to rely on his relationship with Lindsay for the support his union needs in the political arena. In this he is no different from other labor leaders, who all rely on one or another liberal politician (usually Democrats). During the strike Gotbaum stated that "this strike was caused by one man — Gov. Rockefeller," implying that Lindsay was still to be seen as labor's friend. But it was Lindsay who denounced the strike, threatened to use the National Guard, directed the Army engineers in reopening the bridges — in short, it was Lindsay who kicked Gotbaum in the teeth. Yet anyone who suggested that labor should form its own political party would doubtless be denounced by the same Gotbaum as a starry-eyed visionary! There is a lesson here for labor, if leaders like Gotbaum could only see it. ■



Victor Gotbaum



Brian Mackenzie

N.Y. Telephone: 1101 Blows Up

On June 9, 1700 members of Local 1101, Communications Workers of America (CWA), met for the first business meeting in over nine months. Like most 1101 meetings in the past, this one was fiery and chaotic.

In most past meetings the chaos stemmed from angry opposition to attempts by leaders to prevent discussion. This time the chaos resulted from the refusal of the Local's new President, Rick Carnivale, to even structure the meeting or propose an orderly means of discussion. In other words, his way of covering himself was to let things get out of control.

It is obvious that the solution to

chaotic meetings, which attempt to handle nine months' business in one evening, is to have regular, frequent, democratically-structured meetings. Yet, in spite of the frustrating lack of focus, some important business was conducted and the ranks were able to make it clear that they wanted 1101 to play an aggressive role in the coming strike.

Several motions, proposed mostly by the United Action group and the Bell Workers Action Committee (two rank and file groups that worked together at the meeting), were passed that could put the Local on the path to un-

ity and victory — if they are carried out by the Local leadership.

Perhaps the most important of these was the motion from United Action that 1101 fight to organize Operators into 1101 and that 1101 support all Operator job actions even before they are officially in CWA. This motion passed almost unanimously amidst cheers and applause.

This was clearly a victory against the CWA International's present attempt to shunt the Operators into several tiny, weak locals. The Operators, of course, are women (and in New York mostly black and Puerto Rican), and it is now clear that the International

al bureaucracy does not want to see a solid block of 15,000 Third World women organized in the same Local with the habitually "unruly" New York craftsmen.

There is also reason to believe that the present white male leadership of 1101 (there is only one black male and no women on the Executive Board) is not too enthusiastic about this either. But thanks to the militant desire of the 1101 ranks for a strong unified Local, these leaders are stuck with this position.

The ranks also voted overwhelmingly to support the 18 members arrested during the January strike and anyone arrested during the coming strike. This was in clear opposition to Carnivale, who had recently dismissed the lawyers who were handling the defense case for these brothers.

The meeting then voted to have the union fight for the abolition of the notorious Absence, Lateness and Production Control Plans, and for the elimination of the no-strike clause. These motions were presented by United Action and the BWAC.

Racism and Sexism

Another important motion came from a group of the women members of 1101. This motion called for the immediate upgrading of clerks without exams. The women who presented the clerks' motion made it very clear that the more than 1,000 women members of 1101 will no longer take a back seat.

This was the first 1101 meeting in which women and blacks asserted their own special needs. For the first time the phony color blindness and refusal to recognize the problems of women workers that for years has characterized 1101, and probably most unions like it, was confronted.

It is clear that this, and must be, only the beginning of the fight against racism and sexism in CWA. Furthermore, the willingness of the majority of the white male craftsmen to support the clerks' motion and the motion concerning Operators shows that there is the potential for white support for the aspirations of specially oppressed workers.

The role that integrated rank and file groups such as United Action and BWAC can play and to some extent already have played in mobilizing this support points to the need for a unified, racially and sexually integrated rank and file movement with a clear program on these questions. The merger of United Action and BWAC, in spite of some differences in approach, would be a step in this direction.

At the same time, it is clear that Third World and women telephone workers in New York will need independent organization to carry their fights to their conclusion. Whether these would be caucuses within a broader rank and file organization, or independent caucuses working in coalition with integrated rank and file groups, will have to be worked out in practice by Third World and women telephone workers.

An immediate task faced by the ranks is to force the Local leadership to carry out the resolutions passed at the membership meeting, something they are not likely to do on their own.

[Brian MacKenzie works for New York Tel in the Plant Department and is a member of CWA Local 1101 and the International Socialists.]

For a National Phone Strike /Settlement

Since 1947, the conservative leadership of the CWA has refused to recognize the need for a unified national strike as the way to defeat the Bell system. Company-by-company and unit-by-unit settlements, "pattern" bargaining, and all the other statesmen-like tricks to get around a real fight have left the CWA weak and the wages and benefits of telephone workers below those of most other organized industrial workers.

This year, however, the anger and determination of the ranks, particularly in the major cities, has forced Bierne and the CWA bureaucracy to pretend they are for a unified national strike by moving to begin the strike on a national basis.

Presently, 61 CWA contracts have expired, some as long ago as April. Nearly a quarter of a million telephone workers have been willing to work without a contract so that all may go out together.

This incredible self-discipline has not meant capitulation to management; Western Electric installers have been on a national slow-down, and other groups — such as AT&T Long Lines — have had short strikes to defend themselves. It has meant that telephone workers are serious about a national strike.

Hopefully, the CWA bureaucracy will call a national strike. But all the restraint and sacrifices will come to nothing if the International settles on the usual piecemeal, company-by-company basis. It is to be expected that this is how Bierne and his pals will repeat their history of capitulation to the Bell System.

If a national strike is to really mean something, the settlement must be a unified national action. That is, no one goes back to work until all have settled to their own satisfaction.

CWA members must return to work as one victorious body with a national Master Contract. In addition, the Inter-

national must extend an offer to all other unions in the Bell System (IBEW and the independents) to join them in united coalition bargaining.

Bierne's silence on these crucial questions is enough to convince us that he will not fight for a national settlement, at least not if it is left up to him. Telephone workers in every part of the Bell system must demand a unified national settlement.

Resolutions to this effect can, and should, be presented at local meetings — before the strike if possible. If Bierne refuses to respond to this sentiment, the locals can guarantee a *de facto* national settlement by simply refusing to settle early.

In addition, we think it is high time that all of CWA refuse to return to work until our contracts include the complete abolition of the Absence, Lateness and Production Control Plans, and eliminate any form of the no-strike pledge. ■

Oakland Teachers Fight Cutbacks

Ron Flaherty

About ten percent of the teaching staff of the Oakland, California, high schools stopped work on June 10, in a one-day protest action called by the Oakland Federation of Teachers against proposed cut-backs. About 175 teachers manned picket lines throughout the day. At least one high school, large numbers of students joined the lines.

The work stoppage was called to protest the loss of 150 full time teaching positions, announced for the fall by District Superintendent Marcus Foster. These cuts, to be achieved through attrition, would mean a significant increase in class size.

The OFT has demanded that all the staff positions be retained, and that funds be obtained, if necessary, at the cost of administrative salaries and other overhead (while teachers are hurt, administrative salary expenditures are expected to be increased). The OFT obtained support for its demands from some of the Community Advisory Councils, parent organizations officially recognized by the school system.

The one-day job action was seen as a first step in building for a possible strike in September, if the school board does not rescind the cut-backs. For this reason, the winning of community support is crucial, since teacher strikes in the past have often met with hostility from black and Chicano parents.

The work stoppage was a good beginning, but it also showed some weaknesses that will have to be overcome if the teachers' fight against budget cuts is to have any chance of real success. The most obvious problem was the weakness and vacillation of the leadership, which was willing to call the strike, but made little effort to build it.

The OFT leadership proved far too susceptible to pressure from the bureaucrats of the Alameda County Labor Council, and was timid about organizing mass picketing and student support. President David Creque even said explicitly that he feared a withdrawal of support from the national and California Federation of Teachers, if the union became too militant.

The timid stance adopted by the OFT leadership did not, however, seem to win any favors from the AFL-CIO bureaucrats. The Central Labor Council promised strike sanction in the fall if the local would keep quiet now and do nothing. Statewide Teachers' union leader Jim Gallagher also chimed in with the bureaucrats against his Oakland local.

Another crucial problem is the parochialism of the local union. Teachers' struggles, here and elsewhere, have been confined to the search for local solutions, as expressed in the demand to find funds by cutting administrative salaries. While these demands are legitimate, they are hardly enough. The AFT will have to begin action on a statewide and national scale, around a demand for a school tax on corporations — that is where real money can be obtained.

In addition, the teachers will have to build support among the labor movement as a whole, not by relying on the reluctant dragons of the labor bureaucracy, but by appealing to the rank and file of other unions. ■

The Reagan Squeeze

Reston Easy



Public workers and welfare recipients are fast becoming victims in a war not of their making. The war that is being fought today in California, as well as across the nation, is over the question of who will pay for the financial crisis of the American economy. That is, will the corporations who control the economy pay, or will working and poor people pay? Governor Reagan, on behalf of his side, is in the vanguard of an attack on the latter.

Reagan's first moves are aimed at welfare recipients and public workers. Basically, Reagan's aim is to force welfare recipients off various programs (unemployment insurance, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Aid to the Disabled), and force them in General Relief-type programs.

The Los Angeles County General Relief program works like this: the recipients (referred to as GR's) receive about \$110 per month, which has to be worked off at \$1.20 per hour or less. Reagan well knows that will massive unemployment; general discrimination

against minorities and women, lack of child-care facilities, lack of inexpensive public transportation, and lack of job training — welfare recipients will be forced to accept his alternatives or starve.

Already, the number of GR's has risen four times in the Los Angeles County hospital system. There has been a hiring freeze in the County system for several months. For unskilled work (custodial, dietary, laundry, and others) that freeze may very well continue as more GR's assume those tasks.

In the Department of Social Services (welfare workers), GR's are taking over clerical positions (thus making massive layoffs of regular employees a very likely possibility). The use of GR's is clearly an attack on the jobs and union rights and wages of all public workers.

Tragically, the use of low-paid, untrained, and reluctant welfare labor will further contribute to the severe deterioration of hospital services. In the last two years, services have already suffered from budget cutbacks, and

most recently, the hiring freeze.

For instance, the average waiting period for people wishing to be admitted (and this includes emergency services) is now 12 to 18 hours. One spokesman for the interns organization stated that further deterioration of services will cause "unnecessary deaths."

Especially odious is the fact that GR's (mostly Blacks and Chicanos and mostly women) will replace black and Chicano workers, mostly women. GR's have also been assigned to work in agricultural fields, harvesting crops.

Reagan's plan means that the war, inflation, and falling profits will be paid for by workers who are supposed to work hard, work cheap, and not talk back! However, our public employee unions are talking back. The question for us is: How and when are we going to fight back? ■

[Reston Easy is a Los Angeles County hospital worker and a member of Service Employees International Union, Local 434.]

Western Electric

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16

buildings, maintenance work is done by plant people working for Pacific Telephone. Plant workers and operators belong to entirely different locals, 9410 in San Francisco and 9415 in the East Bay. Since Western Electric installers are not involved in the day-to-day operations of the Phone Company, only a united strike by installers, plant workers and operators can effect the immediate operation of the company.

The company responded to the three hour walkout by a two day lockout. The Bell System complements its "paternalism" with class warfare — in this case it upped the ante two fold. The Western Electric contract expired April 30, but had been extended on a day to day basis. The 9490 leadership had the opportunity to begin the national

strike at once.

The Fresno incident which was the immediate cause of the strike could have been the signal to take up every outstanding local grievance. If the 9490 leadership was really more militant than the national leadership, there is no reason why they had to wait for the national negotiators to call a strike (or prepare a sellout). They could have forced their hand by initiating a real local strike and spread it into a national strike from below.

But the 9490 leadership was incapable of organizing to win the Fresno issue much less taking up all the local demand, getting other locals out on strike and forcing a beginning of the kind of national strike which could really win. No meeting was even called of the men on strike.

The first victory of the rank and file was their forcing a meeting to be called. A leaflet was issued by rank and file workers putting forward a list of demands for the strike! These included: 1) End of company violations in Fresno, 2) No firings, no suspensions, no reprisals, 3) Full pay for each day off, 4) End

of compulsory overtime, and 5) End company harassments. The rank and file installers threatened to call a meeting of their own if the leadership did not.

Even the threat of the ranks calling a meeting was not enough to force the area representative to set one up. Tremendous personal pressure had to be put on the area rep by rank and file to call a meeting which he finally agreed to do. This rank and file pressure led the leadership to call a strike for the day following the two day lockout.

The problem of the strike was that the rank and file was not organized. A meeting of the executive board of 9410, the local representing plant workers and operators in San Francisco, was finally called after the active strikers had lined up a few 9410 stewards for a solidarity strike.

Militant strikers accepted the assurance of 9410 stewards that their leadership would authorize a strike. But these union militants underestimated the tremendous company pressures on the union leadership to keep the rank and file at work. (All the operators' stewards are also their supervisors!)

It was fine to have only a few observers at the 9410 meeting, but as soon as it was clear that the executive board was not going to call a strike, every available Western Electric striker would have been brought over to the meeting. The direct personal confrontation of striking workers face to face with union officials, which worked so well in getting a meeting of 9490, should have been used against the executive board of 9410, including a sit-in in the union office, not letting the officers out if necessary.

A strike which could have been the beginning of a militant national strike ended without resolving even the one issue it began over. Rank and file pressure was able to force a union meeting. But the ranks were unorganized and the union officials were reluctant and unable to organize and extend the strike.

[George Ellingsen is a phone company worker and a member of the International Socialists. Kevin Bradley is a frequent contributor to Workers' Power who has followed phone company activities closely for several years.]



Dirty money always finds its way into the cleanest hands. The dirtiest money, according to popular lore, is gangster money — the proceeds from vice, dope, and gambling. Think of Las Vegas, City of Sin, a gangster behind every one-way mirror, growing plumper with each turn of the card. But gangsters, with their evil ways and dirty hands, have always been small businessmen. The stories we hear about the Mafia, and secret empires of high crime, are all nonsense.

Dirty money isn't nonsense, however. Over the last decade what is called the "gaming industry" has become so hot that it began to attract the attention of the biggest operators of them all. Billionaire Howard Hughes moved into Las Vegas with his own mob, all so upright and religious that none of them smoked, drank or gambled, but only collected money.

Half a dozen casino operations became so legitimate that they started listing their shares on the American Stock Exchange. And finally the banks, the most august of capitalist institutions, by reputation conservative and clean-handed, took notice. The Mafia was edged out; the big boys had come to town.

Conglomerate

This move was part of a determined effort by certain corporations to gain control over the "leisure time industry," of which gambling is a major part. The corporations most intent on exploiting leisure time are conglomerates, fast-growing enterprises whose glamorous rise only recently ended.

From the point of view of the consumer, conglomerates are like shopping centers. They try to provide everything. A large conglomerate may, for example, own an airline, a car rental service, a hotel and restaurant chain — all of which fit into its leisure time apparatus. The idea is that you will fly with them, rent their cars, stay at their hotels, and eat their food.

This doesn't always work. You know that if you buy a new washing machine it will break down. Or if you buy a new car parts of it will begin to fall off, and the car will begin to rattle. The same thing happens to leisure time when it is manufactured by corporations.

Nevertheless, most people can be fooled at least once, and there is profit in that. And gamblers by nature can be fooled again and again, so there is much profit in that. Thus with gambling as a prime enticer, the capitalist class undertook the manufacture of leisure time.

One of the splashiest operators in the field of gambling is a sinister outfit known as Resorts International. Until 1968, Resorts went by the unlikely name of the Mary Carter Paint Company. Mary Carter had developed the funny habit of lying about how much her bargain-basement paint sold for, and she was continually hounded by government agencies, which made life difficult.

In the meantime, however, the company — there really was no Mary Carter, any more than there is a Betty Crocker — began buying up land in the Bahamas. In 1968 it sold off its paint operation for less than ten million dollars, and stepped forth as Resorts International. Resorts' major asset was a leisure time concentration camp for the upper middle class and well-to-do retired, called Paradise Island.

Paradise Island is a small island a few hundred yards off Nassau, capital of the Bahamas. It includes the Paradise Island Golf Course, Paradise Lake, and most of all Paradise Island Casino, one of the world's largest.

Resorts bought Paradise Island from Huntington Hartford, a man who had long been siphoning money to the "Bay Street Boys" of the Bahamas' corrupt ruling party, the United Bahamian Party. In 1967 the Bay Street Boys were turned out of office by the Progressive Labor Party, which it seems, had been actively supported by the shrewd Mr. Hartford.

As a result there are no taxes on Paradise Island, except for a fairly low tax on casino profits. And Hartford's successor, Resorts — which he owns part of — has received a guarantee that no further corporations will be allowed to build casinos in the Bahamas. There are presently just two competitors, neither, of course, on Paradise Island.

Gambling is a lovely business. The only risk is for those who wager, and even that isn't really a risk, since they

When Workers Gamble

Charles Leinenweber

are bound to lose. Casinos typically pay back in winnings two-thirds of every dollar they take in. The rest they keep. It's guaranteed by the laws of the game.

With the enormous potential profitability of their casino in mind, Resorts made arrangements with chains such as Holiday Inn, to expand hotel facilities on Paradise Island to 5,000 rooms, each bringing in thirty dollars a day in gambling revenues, on a yearly average. Resorts also contracted with other firms to build apartment houses, condominiums, and a few houses, to attract a more permanent clientele.

The idea was to make Paradise Island a version of Miami Beach, but with a heart of pure gold, gambling. Resorts estimated that within three or four years the casino would be winning fifty million dollars annually. Thirty million of this would be clear profit — after taxes, overhead, everything. There is no better business in the world.

If our story ended here it would be a simple one. We would have a group of happy businessmen of doubtful character, exiled from the paint business, plucking wealth from the well-to-do, who can afford to buy leisure time in the Bahamas. But like all stories, this one isn't over yet.

Resorts International is a capitalist enterprise, and capitalism never stops short. It is expansive, or what its advocates like to call "dynamic." When capitalism expands, it does so at somebody's expense. If Resorts were to expand, to make real leaps instead of just becoming fatter and fatter on Paradise Island, it could not rely on the disposable wealth of the retired. It would have to approach the true creators of wealth, the working class.

Shortly after it was formed, Resorts International began to lay plans for a far-flung empire of leisure time, with locations throughout the world, including Greece and Colombia. If you build a far-flung empire, you have to devise some way of tying it together — that is, of getting people around to its various parts.

Resorts did not intend its Colombian facilities for a bunch of Indian peasants and farmers. It wanted Americans, white Americans with plenty of money. If you are a cheap operator you will char-

ter airplanes to tie your empire together. But Resorts is no cheap operator. It wanted nothing less than the world's largest and most prestigious international air carrier, Pan American Airways.

At first glance a takeover of Pan Am by Resorts seems ludicrous. In early 1969, Resorts showed barely \$100 million in assets, while Pan Am approached two billion. But this was a period unlike any other in the history of American capitalism, a period when aggressive midgets were swallowing giants. Thus had been built the conglomerates, such as L-T-V, Gulf & Western, and Litton Industries, all of which started out as shoestring operations.

Taking lessons from them, Resorts moved to capture Pan Am. In short order, it cornered 3.3 million shares of Pan Am stock, ten percent of the total, a long stride toward success.

The stock cost dearly, as it always does when one corporation attempts to raid another. Financing included, Resorts paid over \$50 for each share, which were listed on the market at under \$30. How could they afford it? A little over half the shares — 1.8 million — were provided by the conglomerate Gulf & Western, which had previously bought into Pan Am with an eye toward taking it over.

In exchange for the shares, Gulf & Western received \$16 million in cash, which Resorts could afford, plus \$77 million worth of Resorts stock. Gulf & Western was obviously looking toward the future, when it could capture not only Pan Am, but Resorts International.

Generosity

The remainder of the stock — 1.5 million shares — was generously provided by American workers. Ford workers, undoubtedly with a keen interest in the potential value of Resorts International stock, contributed 130,000 shares of Pan Am. Standard Oil workers, not to be outdone, put up 150,000 shares.

From the electrical industry, Western Electric workers offered 118,000 Pan Am shares, while Westinghouse workers topped everyone with 170,000. Even unions got into the act. The Mack UAW Local matched the contribution of workers in the Mack plant; each contributed 5,000 shares.

All told, workers from some 140 different corporations and unions combined to provide Resorts International with the necessary Pan Am shares. In return, these workers did not get a piece of Resorts International, but Chase Manhattan Bank did.

If all this seems bewildering, think back a moment to a previous article in *Workers' Power*, entitled "The New Philanthropists and the Banks." (WP no. 33.) There, it was explained that the money deducted from workers' paychecks for pension funds is deposited in trust accounts with commercial banks. A handful of great commercial banks manage most of the pension funds form across the nation. Chase Manhattan, for example, manages more than \$7 billion worth.

Pension funds are the fastest growing, and possibly most important source of investment capital for large, commercial banks. They comprise a vast pool of capital, which the banks have full discretion over. With them, the banks can buy stock or not buy stock, as they see fit; they can utilize the voting powers of the stock as they wish; and they can engage in any transactions they might incline toward, such as Chase Manhattan's deal with Resorts Interna-

tion.

The Ford, Westinghouse, Standard Oil and Western Electric workers who gave their Pan Am stock so generously, of course had no idea what was happening. No doubt, they have no idea how pension funds are used, or what they are for.

But beware: every penny deducted from your paycheck goes to the banks, where it is put to the bankers' use. Your employer even has an agreement whereby income tax deductions are deposited for short periods in the bank, to augment its cash assets.

With the help of so many workers, it looked for a while like Resorts would be successful in its bid to take over Pan Am. Suddenly, however, things began to go wrong. Pan Am caught wind of what was happening, and utilized its power to get the effort halted.

Several congressmen introduced bills that would block the takeover. The American Stock Exchange halted all trading in Resorts stock. The Securities and Exchange Commission, which supervises all major stock transactions, insisted that Chase Manhattan be listed on materials Resorts was planning to send to its stockholders.

Chase was unhappy about this exposure just as the storm was breaking; it did not wish to be publicly associated with such a shady outfit. Nevertheless, it went along with the SEC's demand.

As the story swept through the press, Chase became more and more nervous. Its own role in the affair was clearly prominent, its ties to Resorts now a matter of public record. Pan Am, a major air carrier to Viet Nam, played out its own role to the hilt, emphasizing that Resorts International was a bunch of gangsters, and a threat



to national security.

Chase executives sent hasty memos to each other, assuring themselves that this wasn't so. These memos recently came to light in a congressional investigation of conglomerates.

In one, Chase executives noted approvingly that the two men hired by Resorts to oversee its Paradise Island operation were William Hundley and Robert Pelouquin. Hundley is the former Chief of the Organized Crime section of the Justice Department, while Pelouquin was his man in the Caribbean. We can say, so much for the Organized Crime section of the Justice Department.

Chase executives also pointed out

to each other that the head of Resorts, James Crosby, "is an acquaintance of President Richard M. Nixon and we assume that Mr. Nixon would not associate with people of questionable character." We know better than that.

Finally, as if to clinch their case, Chase executives noted that Resorts International has enjoyed "amicable relationships" with none other than the Chase Manhattan Bank. Some proof.

When the clamor subsided, Resorts International was left with half the intended 3.3 million shares of Pan Am. By mutual agreement, Chase, Gulf & Western, and Resorts abandoned their original deal, for one that fit better the

public climate. Time was not that precious. They will be back.

The outcry, after all, had been misplaced. The relationship between two of the principals in the case, Chase Manhattan and Gulf & Western, was all but ignored. Chase has provided the bulk of financing for all of Gulf & Western's acquisitions, from the very beginning of G & W's career as a conglomerate. At the time of the deal with Resorts, a former Chase vice president, Roy Abbott, was serving as vice president of Gulf & Western, in charge of acquisitions.

We noted above that the period of rapid conglomerate expansion witnessed the phenomenon of corporate mid-gets swallowing giants. The mid-gets, so to speak, requires an awfully big stomach to do this. The commercial bank is his stomach.

Forgotten Role

If the relationship between Chase and Gulf & Western was all but ignored in the outcry, the role that so many American workers played was completely forgotten. It seemed terrible that gangsters could take over an airline; it seemed unfortunate and unjust that a bank such as Chase Manhattan would stoop to deal with them. But no one cared that millions of dollars of workers' money could be used by Chase to finance its entry into the gaming, or any other industry.

Even in the end, Ford, Westinghouse and the other workers donated 750,000 shares of Pan Am stock, in exchange for Chase's more subdued entrance onto Paradise Island. There was not a whimper. That is what happens when workers gamble.



Cuban cartoon equating American music with homosexuality and bourgeois decadence. (The Spanish word for "duck," *pato*, is a slang term for homosexual; the Twist is used by Cuban cartoonists as a symbol for American music and culture in general.)

James Coleman

Repression of Gays In Cuba

In a Declaration by the first National Congress on Education and Culture, printed in the May 9 issue of *Granma*, Cuba's official Party newspaper, the Castro regime made some of its most reactionary statements to date on homosexuality. Said the Congress:

"It was resolved that all manifestations of homosexual deviations are to be firmly rejected, and prevented from spreading...."

"It was resolved that it is not to be tolerated for notorious homosexuals to have influence in the formation of our youth on the basis of their artistic

merits...."

"It was resolved that those whose morals do not correspond to the prestige of our Revolution should be barred from any group of performers representing our country abroad."

"Finally, it was agreed to demand that severe penalties be applied to those who corrupt the morals of minors, depraved repeat offenders, and irredeemable antisocial elements."

In addition to these libertarian sentiments, the Congress also took a firm stand against "extravagant" modes of dress:

"We find it necessary to take direct action to eliminate extravagant aberrations...."

After all, reasoned the Congress: "...the necessity of maintaining the monolithic ideological unity of our people and the struggle against all forms of deviation among our young make it imperative to implement a series of measures for [the eradication of extravagant fashions]."

The Congress noted that some recent modes of dress were a symbol of rebellion in the capitalist countries. Such rebellion had no place among Cuban youth, "who have the possibility for self-fulfillment in building communism."

Gay activists in the United States have denounced these resolutions. The Gay Committee of Returned Brigadistas — a group of homosexuals who have taken part in the "Venceremos Brigades" of young Americans aiding in Cuban harvests — said that the new policy "does not simply fail to include gay people in the revolutionary process — it specifically excludes them from participation in that process and the right to self-determination."

Another statement charged that in effect the policy "encouraged individual physical violence against homosexuals."

Genuine socialists stand for full personal freedom and oppose any repression of homosexuals. The Castro regime, on the contrary, at first followed a policy of putting homosexuals in labor camps.

When this policy changed in the early 1960's, after protests by European intellectuals, the regime still restricted homosexuals in various ways — for example,

known gays were not allowed to work as teachers. Now Cuba has moved back toward open repression, calling for increased penalties.

Supporters of Castro's regime often point out that Cuba, like other Latin countries, traditionally has been very prejudiced against homosexuality. Everything can't be changed overnight, they argue. True, but here is an example of the ruling party, which according to its propaganda is leading the struggle for a more humane society, demanding that persecution of homosexuals should become more extreme. Indeed, the Castro regime is leading — toward less freedom.

However, this is only one example of a general lessening of freedom in Cuba. The pronouncements against homosexuality had much to do with Castro's new attempts to intimidate creative artists, many of whom are gay (see *Workers' Power* no. 37).

In addition, the resolutions quoted above caution that in Cuba there is no need for youth rebellion — indicating only that the regime is in fact worried about dissatisfaction among youth. (As Trotsky once wrote, "Political decay expresses itself in a loss of ability to attract the youth under one's banner.") And the working class too has been placed under increasing restrictions, now including forced labor as punishment for absenteeism (see *Workers' Power* no. 29).

The American gay radicals who protested the new policy on homosexuals — and other American radicals as well — should also protest the restrictions on the rights of all Cubans.

JAPANESE WORKERS PROTEST OKINAWA SELL-OUT



On June 17, a wave of rallies and demonstrations swept across Japan. Rallies were held in 167 places, including three places on Okinawa itself, protesting the sell-out Okinawa "Reversion" agreement signed by Japan and the United States.

Sponsors of the rallies varied from the leaders of Japan's "respectable" opposition parties — the Socialist and Communist Parties — to radical and revolutionary students and workers' groups. Between 20 and 40 thousand students and workers attended four militant rallies held by radical groups in Tokyo, at which 329 persons were arrested.

On Okinawa itself, all three universities were shut down by students, some of whom clashed with police in the islands' capital city. These actions came on the heels of a one-day general strike held by the Okinawa labor unions (Zenkuro) on May 19, a strike which mobilized 70,000 workers and paralyzed activities at all U.S. military bases.

Chobyo Yara, the supposedly "progressive" chief executive on Okinawa, who sabotaged a previous general strike in 1969, was forced this time to support the strike, and he refused to attend the signing of the Reversion Agreement.

One of the great political issues in Japan during the last ten years has been the persistent demand of the Japanese people for the return of Okinawa to their control, and the removal of U.S.

military forces. Spokesmen of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party have declared that "the post-war period will not be ended until Okinawa is returned."

A widespread movement for "Fatherland Reversion" was organized by the Communist and Socialist parties during the sixties around the general slogan of returning Okinawa to Japan. Because this movement appealed to a vague patriotism rather than to politics, it was thrown into confusion and disarray by the government's apparent success in achieving reversion. An agreement with the United States was announced on June 8, to be signed simultaneously in Washington and Tokyo on June 17.

The agreement allows the U.S. to retain 88 of its 134 military bases on Okinawa, and the despised propaganda-mill of the Voice of America will remain on the island for 5 years. In addition, Japan agreed to pay \$320 million in compensation for those facilities turned over to Japan, prompting oppositionists to charge that Japan was paying ransom for Okinawa.

Most ominously, the agreement leaves open the door for U.S. nuclear weapons to remain on the islands. One of the main demands of the Japanese has always been for the return of Okinawa in a denuclearized state.

The Liberal Democrats have claimed loudly that this demand was won in the Reversion Agreement. The facts do not support this claim, however: the

U.S. State Department and the Japanese government have agreed that the future of nuclear weapons will depend on a process of consultation, and said the answer "would not necessarily be no."

As the United States, stung by defeats in Vietnam and strained by economic difficulties, attempts to reduce its direct role in Asia, it has encouraged Japan to fill the void. There has been

much talk about the rearming of Japan, in part for this reason.

The Okinawa Reconversion, by seeming to eliminate a major source of tension, will tend to cement the position of Japan as the major Asian arm of Western imperialism. The U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, however, poses obstacles to Japanese re-armament, since it outlaws nuclear weapons on Japanese soil.

If Okinawa is returned to Japan with U.S. military bases and nuclear weapons intact, the agreement will mean no the Japanization of Okinawa, but the Okinawization of Japan — its transformation into a direct tool of imperialism.

The struggle against the "Reversion" sell-out has been most resolutely led by the Japanese Revolutionary Marxists (Kakumaru) and the Okinawa Marxist League, which has won a great deal of support among the radical military base workers.

The Revolutionary Marxists warned early that the struggle to liberate Okinawa could not be based on vague nationalism, but must be clearly posed in terms of the class struggle of Okinawans and Japanese workers, and of the struggle against U.S. imperialism. As a result they have won the support of thousands of Okinawan workers.

The U.S. bases remain on Okinawa and the American presence in Japan has increased, if anything. The struggle there will continue until they are gone.



Nobuhiko Ushiba and William P. Rogers sign Okinawa treaty

A Little Help From A Friend

Early in June the Ceylonese government revealed that a month before it had received a message from the Chinese government offering an interest-free loan of \$24 million and congratulating it on putting down the recent "insurrection." With this message Mao Tse-tung's regime has added itself to the list of those, like Nixon, Brezhnev, Heath of England, Yahya Khan of Pakistan, and India's Mrs. Gandhi, who have done their bit to maintain exploitation and oppression in Ceylon.

Such a move will be a shock for many people on the left who have thought that the Chinese regime was somehow better than all the others. After all, until his support for Yahya Khan in Bengal, Mao

was usually presented in public as being in favor of revolution and national liberation.

But now Mao has taken direct responsibility for the blood of thousands who have been massacred in Bengal and Ceylon. And he has done so while making conciliatory noises to the Americans, who are still using napalm and fragmentation bombs against the people of Vietnam.

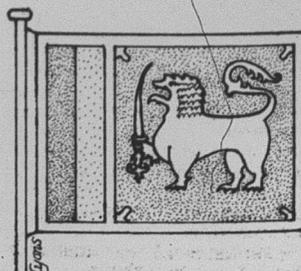
The actions of the Chinese regime are not those which any genuinely socialist government could follow. But China has never had such a socialist government. The revolution that brought Mao to power certainly threw out the reactionary puppet of foreign interests, Chiang Kai-

shek. It nationalized most of industry, but it was not a revolution carried through by China's workers and it did not give control of industry to them.

Those who took power were, in the main, members of the old middle class who wanted to build up industry at the fastest possible speed. Despite their mouthing of socialist slogans, their foreign policy has always been determined by that consideration.

The people of Bengal and the people of Ceylon have learned the harsh realities that lie behind Mao's words. It is up to socialists everywhere to learn the lesson too, and to build a movement that is not confused by the belief that this or that "great power" is really on our side.

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To the NPAC Convention: A Strategy to End the War

John Weber

Do you think the war is going to end soon? That's certainly possible. If popular support were needed to carry on a war, this one would have been over a long time ago.

Since the war makers now have no hope of recapturing popular support for their adventures (according to Gallup, 73 percent of Americans want us to get out of Vietnam now), their only hope of maintaining anything like a free hand in continuing their Indochina operation is if the opposition to the war is incapable of becoming more effective.

The anti-war movement is presented today with brand new opportunities, but also with new and greater obligations. Nearly three quarters of the population is opposed to the war. There is a growing economic crisis in the country which everyone feels (particularly working people) and which everyone knows is largely caused by our own military policies.

Also, substantial sections of the capitalist class have decided that they too favor an end to the war. These sections, while they are still committed to an imperialistic foreign policy, have decided that the detrimental effect of the war on their interests now outweighs the strategic benefits they had hoped to achieve from it.

But while there is some real basis for hoping that the war will be at least de-escalated by the 1972 elections, (1) there is no guarantee even of that; (2) we want to assure, not merely de-escalation, but a complete withdrawal of US troops, advisers, military equipment, and technical aid; and (3) we want the war to end as a resounding defeat for US imperialism, so that a re-run, anywhere else in the world, will be more difficult for the government to pull off.

The organized anti-war movement has been capable of capitalizing on existing anti-war sentiment, and giving it mass form (anti-war marches and rallies). However, in the past, the movement has not played a large enough role in shaping the ideological content of anti-war sentiment, nor has it been able to sustain massive anti-war activity during periods when the sentiment prevailed that the war was being wound down. The anti-war movement will face its greatest test in the months to come.

Independent Politics

Today, more than ever before, the anti-war movement needs a political strategy of its own. Until now, the only wing of the anti-war movement that has played a consistent political role, and that has attempted to implement a political strategy, has been the Democratic Party doves and their political supporters: the section of the protest movement that is the least politically committed to the goals of the movement, and which is least reliable.

In part, the doves represent the political interests of that wing of the capitalist class and of US imperialism that would now like to reduce what it calls "US commitment in Southeast Asia."

This is, incidentally, by and large the same wing of the ruling class which was most instrumental in getting us involved in Vietnam in the first place.

In part, also, these politicians represent an opportunistic reaction to the mushrooming anti-war sentiment, a reaction which strives to give it leadership in order to keep it from getting out of hand. They sound good, sometimes even militant, when this is required to build up confidence in their leadership among the anti-war public. But their message to this public is: "Trust in us, elect us, we will do the job for you." (As they like to put it: "Only Congress can end the war.")

Much greater than their commitment to ending the war is their overall commitment to American imperial policy, and their commitment to social peace at home. This makes them totally unreliable. When a possible end to the war is in sight, they may become paralysed for fear of pressing through, to its full completion, a policy which will weaken US imperialism as a whole.

Also, their commitment to social peace makes them fear the emergence of an aggressive mass movement of the rank and file of society, through which people can learn self-reliance and can learn how to struggle in their own interests against the status quo. They know that a growing aura of popular militancy, in a society racked with social and economic problems, threatens interests to which they are thoroughly committed.

For this reason, one essential goal of the anti-war movement must be the development of a cohesive wing which sharply counterposes itself to the Democratic Party doves and attempts to win the political allegiance of the anti-war mass base to itself and away from the Democratic Party doves. The only way that this can be done is for the anti-war

movement to enter into the electoral arena, in its own name, in opposition to the candidates of the parties that are responsible for this war.

We do not propose this in the expectation that anything even close to the majority of those who oppose the war will choose to support our candidates over those of the two parties. We do it, rather, to demonstrate that there is a wing of the anti-war movement that has no confidence in the doves and that desires to go beyond the limitations they impose on the movement.

We believe that there is, or at least should be, a wide section of the current leadership of the anti-war movement which is unwilling to play the role of left cover for the Democratic Party, which instead is serious about setting itself up publicly as an alternative leadership to the doves. If we fail to begin laying the basis for building a new political party, independent of the two capitalist parties that now dominate the scene, we will fail to attack the political base of US imperialism.

Beyond the Single Issue

Another necessary objective for the anti-war movement is a break from the so-called "single issue strategy." Opposition to the war rarely develops in individuals as an isolated phenomenon. Usually it develops linked with an awareness of other social and political problems, injustices, and inequities.

The war is closely linked to the vast number of domestic problems that confront the majority of Americans today; the same social system and the same ruling class interests are their common cause: People today are becoming more and more aware of this fact even though the anti-war movement has tended to keep its mouth shut about these connections.

To attempt to channel the movement into a single issue framework is to try to rip it out of the social context in which it arises. The single issue approach helps keep opposition to the war at its most shallow, and therefore least combative, level.

Real, or at least potential, mass movements striving for important and just goals exist among blacks and other minorities, among women, among homosexuals, and most importantly, among workers. The anti-war movement, by becoming the champion of all just struggles and movements, can become a form through which the struggles against the war can be tied to struggles around other, often more immediately felt, issues of self interest.

To the Working Class

The single most important group in society toward which the anti-war movement must address itself is the working class. While a generalized anti-war sentiment pervades the ranks of labor, it lacks there, more than anywhere else, a focused expression. Even those unions that have become outspoken against the war, do almost nothing to provide forms through which the anti-war sentiment in their ranks can be expressed, deepened, and mobilized.

Union leaders today fear the self-activity of their ranks. They know it will not stop with opposition to the war, but will spill over into a fight over other issues of workers' self interest. Since the present union leaders have, until now, proven either unwilling or unable to lead such a fight, they know that, if it were to break out, their chances of getting dumped in the process would be very great.

Helping to build up an active anti-
[continued on page 12]



The War Unmasked

Introduction

This was an eventful June. The nation's newspapers spent the month publishing great chunks of the Pentagon's 47-volume secret study of the Viet-Nam war. The Nixon administration spent it furiously trying to stop the newspapers.

The newspapers won out. Despite the government's best efforts, the Pentagon papers have received a tremendous circulation. They have been reported, repeated, reviewed, condensed, capsulized, and syndicated all over the country — and around the world.

Among the best-known revelations contained in the Pentagon papers are:

1. That throughout 1964 and 1965 the Johnson administration prepared secretly to escalate the war in Viet Nam first through massive aerial bombardments of the North and then by committing hundreds of thousands of US combat troops to the South;

2. That the Johnson administration stuck firmly by its determination to spurn any and all offers of peace talks until it could be sure that North Viet Nam was "hurting" badly enough to agree to all the US's terms;

3. That these terms amounted to little more than a demand for the NLF's unconditional surrender;

4. That Johnson escalated the war, aimed for all-out military victory, and spurned all negotiations... while he blandly insisted to all the world that he was doing nothing of the kind. "We will not escalate the war," he said. "We are ready to reach a flexible compromise settlement," he said. "Negotiations will begin as soon as the 'other side' shows some interest," he said. Briefly: lies, lies, and still more lies.

These four points are important. Even if the Pentagon papers had done nothing more than highlight them, the papers' importance to the anti-war movement and the American people at large would still have been immense.

But the Pentagon papers do more, much more. They include classified memoranda, coded cables, and secret letters which show us not only isolated decisions which the government reached but the actual process of reaching them.

With the help of the Pentagon papers, we can actually return to 1964 — 1965 and sit in on the closed, top-level meetings of government and watch the pivotal decisions of the Viet-Nam war being made. Above all, we can learn the motives and considerations which led to those decisions.

Only in this way can we really understand what makes American governments tick. And with that understanding we can learn what to expect of them and how to deal with them in the future. Viewed in this way, the value

of the Pentagon papers is tremendous. Perhaps this is why Defense Secretary Laird is suddenly so loudly opposed to "raking over the coals of past policies" — a pastime which, he vigorously assures us, can serve "no useful purpose."

1. The Imperial Road In

How and why did the United States get into the Viet-Nam morass in the first place? In general, three different groups have offered three different explanations.

THE LIBERALS, first of all, chalk up the war to the personal weaknesses of one or another individual government official. Johnson was willful and proud. Rusk was narrow and small-minded. McNamara was a heartless machine. And so on. The liberals' remedy follows: Vote for better men next time!

THE WARS DEFENDERS have a different kind of explanation, of course. "Vietnamese democracy was in danger!" Or: "We had signed these ironclad treaties which now bound us to go in." Or: "We had no moral choice. We had to come to the aid of the beleaguered but valiant Vietnamese people as they resisted foreign aggression."

FINALLY' THE RADICALS. Year in and year out, the radical community has patiently explained that the war grew neither out of personality weaknesses nor warmhearted sympathy with the Vietnamese peoples' plight. Instead, it could be understood only as an integral part of the larger struggle by the United States to maintain control over its third-world empire.

And now we have the Pentagon papers before us. What do they reveal on this score?

Neil Sheehan (the *Times* reporter who obtained the study and prepared it for publication) puts it pretty well: "...the study reveals a deeper perception among the President and his aides that the United States was now the most powerful nation in the world and that the outcome in South Vietnam would demonstrate the will and the ability of the United States to have its way in world affairs.

The study conveys an impression that the war was thus considered less important for what it meant to the South Vietnamese people than for what it meant to the position of the United States in the world.

2. Allies

What does it mean for the US to be "the most powerful nation in the world"? It means, bluntly, that the

United States maintains a massive empire around the world which governs the lives and fortunes of much of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

And how does the US make sure to "have its own way in world affairs"? That is, how does it safeguard its empire? By maintaining throughout the countries of its empire a network of puppet governments whose leaders are drawn from the thin upper-class crust of their societies.

It is through these governments — these middlemen regimes — that the US exerts its economic, social, and military control over the third world. In return for their services, the middlemen regimes are permitted a small share in the booty and the limited status and power which goes with being the Big Boy's flunkie.

One of the most amusing aspects of the Pentagon papers is the light they shed on the US's high regard for its third world "allies". William P. Bundy of the State Department, for example, suggests that the SEATO "allies" receive no notification of possible US bombing plans until they were well underway. (These were the "allies" we recall, who were supposedly most endangered by an NLF victory.)

"We should consult the Philippines a day or so before such action," he charitably adds, "but not necessarily before we have made up our minds." And in fact, when the decision to bomb became definite, the Pentagon writers record, the Philippines, South Korea, and the Chinese Nationalists on Taiwan were kept almost completely in the dark.

The most scandalous of these vignettes, of course, involve the Saigon governments themselves. On July 24, 1964, General Nguyen Khanh, then chief of state, went to the US ambassador (the representative, remember, of Saigon's "junior partner" in the war

effort) to ask the Ambassador whether he ought to resign. Taylor said no, and Khanh stayed on.

On Sept. 3, Asst. Defense Secretary McNaughton urged pressure on the "faceless leaders" in Saigon "to get a real government in operation." On September 8, 1964, William Bundy, once again, wrote the President that "The best we can expect" is that Gen. Khanh would "give the appearance of a valid government.

Most priceless of all is the confrontation of US Ambassador Taylor with Saigon's "Young Turk" generals after they had overthrown the carefully put-together "civilian government" then in office.

Taylor marches into the roomful of generals — now supposedly the "king-makers" in South Viet-Nam — and demands right off the bat, "Do all of you understand English?" He goes on:

I told you all clearly at General Westmoreland's dinner we Americans were tired of coups. Apparently I was tired my words. Maybe this is because something is wrong with my French because you evidently didn't understand.... Now you have made a real mess. We cannot carry you forever if you do things like this. Who speaks for this group? Do you have a spokesman?

General Ky steps sheepishly forward, denies that he is any kind of spokesman, but whines that "we only did what we thought was good for this country." Taylor asks, "...Would any of the other officers wish to speak?" (It is almost embarrassing to read this.) One Admiral Cang now pipes up: "It seems to me," he complains, "that we are being treated as though we were guilty. What we did was good and we did it only for the good of the country."

General Thieu offers the cheerful news that "after all, we did not arrest all the members of the High National



Council. Of nine members we detained only five." But Taylor is not mollified.

I have real troubles on the US side. I don't know whether we will continue to support you after this. Why don't you tell your friends before you act? I regret the need for my blunt talk to-day, but we have lots at stake.

...And was it really all that necessary to carry out the arrests that very night? Couldn't this have been put off a day or two? [We note in passing how principled is Ambassador Taylor's devotion to democratic civilian government and due process.]

3. The World "Guarantor"

What is true of the Saigon clique is true in general of all the US's third-world flunkys. And it is one of the outstanding facts of the decade that all over the world, these flunkys are in trouble. Workers, students, and students are chafing under their rule.

Faced with this unrest, few of these regimes could stand if left to their own devices. This is no secret: Washington knows it; the flunkys know it; and the people of the third world know it as well. Only the concentrated efforts of the United States can guarantee these regimes' security.

But how strong is even this guarantee? This remains the big question. And so, when the war of national liberation got underway in Viet-Nam, the attention of all the world was irresistibly focused on that struggle. In the Viet-Nam crucible, the ability of even the United States to prop up its stooges would be tested.

These were the real stakes in Viet-Nam. If there was any doubt about this before, the publication of the Pentagon papers ought to dispel them.

From 1964 to 1967, John T. McNaughton was the head of the Pentagon's foreign affairs planning staff, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. He was a key figure in the escalation of the war and appears again and again in the Pentagon papers.

In November, 1964, McNaughton wrote a memo outlining "US aims" in Viet-Nam. He listed four aims in all, but at the very top of his list he placed:



MARCH 1965: U.S. MARINES LAND IN SOUTH VIET NAM

(a) To protect US reputation as a counter-subversive guarantor.

In case anyone might think that the order in which he listed the "aims" was accidental, McNaughton re-emphasized his meaning the following March. In a new memo, he once again listed "US aims." But this time he specified the relative importance to be attached to each, expressed in percentages.

This list, as it appears in the Pentagon papers, begins: "70% - to avoid a humiliating defeat (to our reputation as a guarantor)." The wish "To keep South Vietnam (and adjacent territory from Chinese hands" gets a meager 20 percent rating. And the supposedly pivotal, central aim, "To permit the people of South Vietnam to enjoy a better, freer way of life," gets a whopping, grand-total weight of 10 percent.

McNaughton then added another aim, not percentage-rated: to avoid "unacceptable taint from the methods used." And, McNaughton explained carefully, our aim was "NOT -to 'help a friend,' although it would be hard to stay in if asked out."

We needn't labor the point. Viet-Nam is (as revolutionary socialists have said all along) important to Washington because it is related to the fortunes of the American Empire in general. Or - to use Mr. Sheehan's more polite phrase - "to the position of the United States in the world."

The defeat of the United States in

Viet-Nam will threaten the hegemony of American imperialism throughout the Third World. In so doing, it will undermine the overall role of the US as a world policeman for the capitalist social system.

This then was how the United States entered the Viet-Nam war ... via the Imperial Road In.

4. Ball's Memo

But ... the best-laid plans of mice and imperialists often go astray.

The theory of teaching the rebels a lesson was fine only so long as a US victory seemed possible. But almost immediately this prospect began to dim. Desertions from the Saigon government forces shot up while (as McNamara admitted to LBJ), "the Viet are recruiting energetically and effectively."

This deterioration was advanced already in 1963 but, as Neil Sheehan records, the Kennedy administration was "ultimately spared from major escalation decisions by the death of its leader." By late 1964-early 1965, the Pentagon study adds, the need to make a choice was unavoidable:

"All evidence pointed to a situation in which a final collapse of the [Saigon government] appeared probable and a victorious consolidation of VC power a distinct possibility."

What now to do? Most of Johnson's advisers counseled even further escalation. But one man in government plumped for a different strategy, because of which he later became something of a hero among liberals. That was George Ball of the State Department, and he was for getting out.

Make no mistake. It was not that Ball was weak-kneed or was disloyal to the empire. On the contrary, his imperialist credentials were impeccable. In fact, Ball proved to be one of the reaky top-notch imperial strategists of the entire Johnson administration.

Ball was too good to allow the pressure of one "hot spot" to imperil the security of the larger empire itself. And that, as he set out to show, was exactly what the Viet-Nam war threatened to do.

In July, 1965, Ball wrote Johnson a lengthy memo entitled "A Compromise Solution in Vietnam." This memo, fortunately, is included among the Pentagon papers published in the *Times*. For-

tunately, we say, because this one piece of paper gives us probably our best view to date of the astute imperialist mind at work.

The first point Ball hammered home was the hopelessness of Saigon's position. "The South Vietnamese are losing the war to the Vietcong," he declared flatly. And there was nothing - with either bombs or GI's - that Washington could do to change this fact.

No one [reads Ball's memo] can assure you that we can beat the Viet Cong or even force them to the conference table on our terms, no matter how many hundreds of white, foreign (US) troops we deploy. No one has demonstrated that a white ground force of whatever size can win a guerrilla war - which is at the same time a civil war between Asians - in jungle terrain in the midst of a population that refuses cooperation to the white forces (and to the South Vietnamese) and thus provides a great intelligence advantage to the other side....

Faced with this hopeless situation, Ball posed the alternatives. If, on the one hand, we refused to accept reality, but instead continued to pour men and material down the Viet-Nam rat-hole, we would not succeed in preventing defeat but only in postponing it. Ultimately, that defeat would come - but, if postponed, only after the empire had "paid terrible costs."

And the costs were indeed terrible, as Ball outlined them. First, there were the obvious ones: the measurable loss of manpower, materiel, and treasure. Beyond these, however, there were less calculable but even more threatening costs.

For one thing, US allies elsewhere in the world - especially in Europe - were already worried that a prolonged and escalated war would weaken US commitment to them. For another, the war was already beginning to have a bad effect on the world-wide propaganda front.

It was true, after all, as Johnson and his advisers had so often said, that in the end the struggle in the third world was a war "for the hearts and minds of the people." It was because in Viet-Nam the NLF has won that war that they were winning the war on the battlefield as well.

Well, said Ball, the longer the Viet-Nam war is stretched out, the worse will fare the US's fortunes in the propaganda contest worldwide. The sad fact, he explained, was that "the war is vastly unpopular and that our role in it is perceptibly eroding the respect and confidence with which other nations regard us."

5. The Imperial Road Out

Ball summarized: we couldn't win in any case, and we simply stand to lose more the longer we stay on. Adding it all up, Ball presented the obvious conclusion. It was time to simply write Viet-Nam off as an unfortunate but unavoidable loss. Time to "limit our liabilities in South Vietnam and try to find a way out with minimal costs."

"On balance, I believe we would more seriously undermine the effectiveness of our world leadership [ahem!] by continuing the war and deepening our involvement than by pursuing a carefully plotted course toward a compromise solution."

[continued on next page]





Ball

The kind of compromise which Ball had in mind, however, was of a rather specific variety. It had little in common with the underlying motivation, for example, of today's anti-war movement. For withdrawal from Viet-Nam meant anything for Ball but withdrawal from Asia in general or even Southeast Asia in particular. On the contrary: it meant beefing up the remaining US outposts throughout that region. As he assured the President:

"Providing we are willing to make the effort, Thailand can be a foundation of rock and not a bed of sand in which to base our political/military commitment to Southeast Asia."

In short, Ball was for getting out, but only via a particular route: the Imperial Road Out.

Interestingly enough, by the way, the CIA bolstered Ball's positions in a memo of its own to the President. Johnson had asked the Agency about the effect on the rest of the empire should both Viet-Nam and Laos fall to the Communist-led insurgents. The CIA replied:

"With the possible exception of Cambodia, it is likely that no nation in the area would quickly succumb to Communism as a result of the fall of Laos and Vietnam. Furthermore, a continuation of the spread of Communism in the area would not be inexorable, and any spread which did occur would take time — time in which the total situation might change in any

number of ways unfavorable to the Communist cause."

Besides, the memo concluded, there was always — besides Thailand — the "island bases, such as those on Okinawa, Guam, the Philippines, and Japan."

6. Imperialist Doves

Looking back, it is clear that Ball (and the CIA) had evolved the most farsighted plan of action from the point of view of the empire's interests. But Johnson was not interested. The fact is, he was simply not as good an imperialist as Mr. Ball himself. And so, for the good of the empire, those who shared Ball's viewpoint had to begin carrying their campaign into the open — that is, to the public.

This is the origin of the "anti-war" noises made by imperialist politicians like Fulbright, McCarthy, Robert Kennedy, and their later successors. They were for ending this war, all right. But, like Mr. Ball, only because victory this time seemed too costly (financially, strategically, politically). What was it, after all, but imperial cost-accounting, when Eugene McCarthy declared in December, 1967:

"We reached the point, I think about the middle of 1966... that the proportion between what it was going to cost to win a victory and what would come of victory became at that point out of balance."

Robert Kennedy had declared in 1966, "If we can defeat [the NLF] without paying a great price, an overwhelming price, then that's what I'd like to do." Two years later, he was a dove — because he realized it just couldn't be done. "Unable to defeat our enemy or break his will — at least without a huge, long, and ever more costly effort, we must actively seek a peaceful settlement."

And more: while they are for ending this war and leaving this particular country, the liberal "doves" remain

firm defenders — like Ball before them — of the overall empire itself. In 1967, for example, a reporter asked McCarthy if he "would insist on a continued American presence in Asia." McCarthy replied:

"I think you would have to insist on a significant presence of some kind there even if we did withdraw from Vietnam... We are now in Thailand. I think we could remain there for some time even though we did withdraw from South Vietnam. We are in Korea. Our Navy is free in the China Sea...."

Z "The Right To Know"

The liberal politicians, however, are not the sole public supporters of the Imperial Road Out. No indeed; they have a tremendously powerful ally. An entire wing of the news media — including business journals and prestigious newspapers and TV stations (for example CBS) are for withdrawal for imperialist reasons. Not the least important and powerful of these forces is *The New York Times*.

Times editorials call for a pull-out, but only because of the "basically untenable military and political situation in which the United States is still enmeshed in South Vietnam." *The Times* would very much like to "extricate the United States from an unsound position on the Asian mainland."

Does this point of view have any bearing on the decision to print the *Times* study? Not according to the *Times*. It was published, the editors grandly declare,

"...Because the American public has a right to have it and because when it came into the hands of the *Times*, it was its function as a free and uncensored medium of information to make it public.... To have acted otherwise would have been to default on a newspaper's basic obligation to the American people under the First Amendment...."

Very impressive ... bunk. Ten years ago, under very similar circumstances,

the *Times* came into possession of the complete story of the CIA's impending invasion of Cuba. Why didn't they print it? Because a President which the *Times* supported — in pursuit of an expedition which the *Times* supported — asked the editors to kill the story. They did so. Somehow, the "basic obligation to the American people" got lost in the shuffle of papers.

The same is true of the liberal-Democratic politicians. Today they are having a field day parading as champions of "the people's right to know." Poor Richard Nixon is left alone to man the battlements for governmental secrecy. But don't count on those liberal politicians to stand by their principles should a Democratic President be elected next year.

It was in 1961, we recall again, that a liberal-Democratic President was calling for forms of press censorship. And it was out-of-office Nixon who could courageously declare that such proposals would —

"...Inevitably encourage government officials to further withhold information to which the public is entitled.... The plea of security could well become a cloak for errors, misjudgments, and other failings of government."

Given the opportunity, the two imperialist parties will continue playing this game, periodically switching roles and speeches.

The record of the last decade — ably reinforced by the Pentagon papers — is clear. The primary consideration which governs the foreign policy plans of both Republicans and Democrats, conservatives and liberals, is, "What is best for the empire?"

On occasion, there will be differences among the imperialists over strategies and tactics. But just because they share this common basic loyalty, none of them can be counted upon to lead or even support movements directed against the empire itself.

Any movement which allows itself to come under the direction of imperialists — decked out in militant rhetoric though they may be — will inevitably find itself led by the nose back into the imperialist camp.

Strategy

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

war movement among the working class is a very difficult task for an anti-war movement that, today, barely exists in the workplace. For the present anti-war movement to have any hope of doing this, it must be able to present itself to the workers as a movement concerned with the problems workers themselves see, and not as a hostile, alien force.

Unemployment, job insecurity, inflation, rising taxes, the breakdown in all vital social services, and the decay of the cities, are all problems which directly confront workers and which many of them see as directly caused by the Vietnam war. Intensified speedup and deteriorating working conditions are also directly related to the economic crisis that the war has helped to provoke.

A clear stand, and the willingness to fight over these issues, will be a necessary first step if the anti-war movement is to build any base among workers. But

to build a fighting anti-war base in the workplace is to build the one base capable of bringing the war to a screeching halt, because it is capable of bringing the country's production to a halt.

Today is the time since the war started that the prospect of building toward work stoppages against the war is no longer mere fantasy. We must demand of union leaders who claim to be opponents of the war that they begin organizing for this. But we cannot depend on them to actually take this step on their own. We must bring this proposal to the ranks of the labor movement and agitate for it there.

In most instances, only pressure from the ranks will get the union leaders to act. When sufficient base exists, we are for work stoppages even against the will of the union leaders, although no one should press for premature and isolated actions in which rank and file leaders get victimized, and as a result the wrong lessons are learned from the struggle.

We should make a central goal of the anti-war movement the organization of work stoppages against the war, and against the domestic effects of the war on the American economy. NPAC must adopt as a central slogan for the next

mass rallies it calls: BUILD FOR WORK STOPPAGES AGAINST: THE WAR, UNEMPLOYMENT, INFLATION, AND THE WORSENING PLIGHT OF THE AMERICAN WORKER.

NPAC should attempt to organize shift change rallies at shop gates to attract rank and file members of the anti-war unions to the mass rallies. And a main theme at the mass rallies should be the organization of the work stoppages.

We also believe the anti-war movement should prepare itself to enter the electoral arena in its own name with a program calling for: (1) immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia; (2) opposition to US imperialism; (3) support for and advocacy of the just goals of the important and progressive social movements that are in motion today; (4) an orientation and needs of the American worker.

We believe that NPAC will only become capable of carrying out an ongoing effective anti-war strategy if it transforms itself into a democratic membership organization, involving a day to day struggle against the war, as opposed to subordinating activity to semi-annual campaigns and mobilizations.

We propose that a caucus form to fight at the NPAC conference for a strat-

egy like the one outlined above. In the likelihood that the strategy is not adopted by the conference, we propose that those at the conference who agree with this sort of a strategy form an ongoing caucus to continue the fight for radical politics in the anti-war movement. This caucus could intervene with and build support for this strategy, not only at conferences, but what is more important, in independent mass work and actions which would build toward the mass rallies on a radical political basis.



View From The Pit

David Shoemaker

Showdown In Steel

United Steelworkers president I.W. Abel may succeed in avoiding a showdown with the basic steel industry on August 1. He may have less luck with his own rank and file.

The pattern set by contracts in the can, cement, and aluminum industries — hailed by the USW as having "historic significance" for negotiations in basic steel, and denounced by Nixon and the steel companies as "creating serious problems" economically — to the workers this same pattern is the old pattern of sell-out. The revolt which has been brewing for some time in the USW ranks has been seriously accelerated by the prospect of a steel settlement along the lines of the can-aluminum deals.

Whether Abel calls a strike or not, there are sure to be walkouts on (or before) August 1, when the present contract expires. The big question is: how many? How long? Will the steelworkers' revolt be able to pull together regional and national organizations this late in the game?

Bookmaker's odds would be for a three-way stalemate this August between the workers, the corporation, and the union. But there is too much in the works for a truce to last.

Aluminum Contract

First there is the aluminum contract, "won" without a strike, which dashed the hopes of workers in basic steel and copper for major gains in their upcoming settlements.

The can-aluminum pattern is for 50 — 75 cents in the first year and 12½ cents in years two and three, a \$245 pension after 30 years work and a sprinkling of extra money for weekend

and holiday work. The most important feature, however, is a return to the cost-of-living (COL) escalator clause sold out by the union in 1959.

Behind the hoopla generated in the bourgeois press about a "31% pay hike," business is secretly pleased. *Business Week* writes:

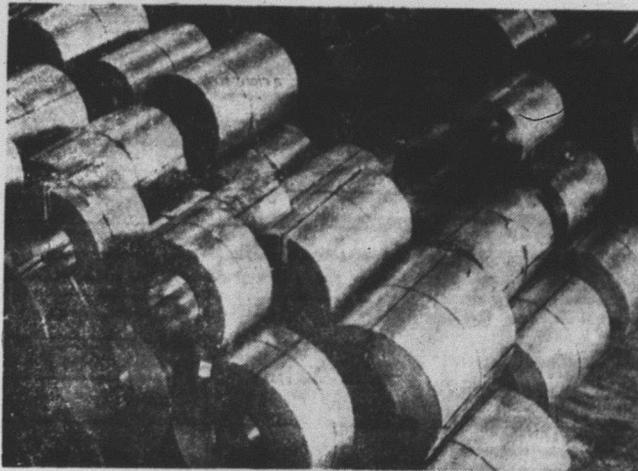
The 1971 wage boosts (50 cents an hour, or about 14%) will hurt the economy, but after the fat increases this year — which include a large amount of "catch up" pay — the agreements call for the USW's first productivity-related wage hikes in nearly a decade. Workers will get 12½¢ an hour or 3% in 1972 and again in 1973.

The pattern, then, is for less than the old, scorned 3.2% "guidelines" from the LBJ days.

Steelworkers aren't buying this. One local has come out for a \$2 increase. Nor is anyone fooled by "average wage" figures. The USW's current demand for laborers in the steel mills, the largest single job category, is reported at 16½¢. At the bottom of the heap, wildcat is in the air.

On their side, the companies cannot easily live even with these miniscule wage raises. With the ink still wet on their new contract, aluminum producers announced a 6% price hike.

Even before the basic steel con-



Coils of cold rolled steel

tract there have been quiet, but widespread layoffs and shutdowns. One local paper listed ten major shutdowns in Ford, Youngstown, Amco, Armco, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Inland, Republic, and Bethlehem.

Other companies are going in for "austerity" programs, compulsory pep talks where the company tells workers to work harder and water down demands in order to keep the mills from suffering financial collapse, and so on.

Corporate spokesmen are currently waging a big propaganda battle against free enterprise. Their main demands are for the right to eliminate domestic competition by shelving anti-trust laws, eliminate foreign competition by protective tariffs and quotas, and eliminate competition from workers for a share of the profits by calling down government intervention. That, plus a green light for price increases.

Indirectly, steel has placed itself alongside the railroads as an industry which cannot make it alone, without government subsidy and regulation.

No Program

The USW has no long-range or broad program to deal with the crisis in the steel industry. Everyone knows that steel will have to rationalize its archaic physical and organizational structure. Steelworkers are concerned that this will be carried out through a years-long series of short-sighted, half-assed desperation measures, with themselves as the main victims of change — both as employees and as consumers.

To defend themselves, most of the local unions have raised the demand for the right to strike during the lifetime of the contract. Stronger demands, such as guaranteed employment (no layoffs) and workers' control have been put forward by the ranks themselves through newly-formed independent organizations.

Black Workers Congress

Rank and file groupings have sprung up in many mills, as have underground newspapers. Attempts by some revolutionaries to call national caucuses into being overnight have failed. However, local groups with some substance to them are in the process of setting up com communications and co-ordinating activities.

The most notable is the Black Workers Congress, whose Steel Division in Detroit has published a full-scale set of

[Continued on page 15]

A Contract Worth Fighting For

1. **RIGHT TO STRIKE.** Our only weapon in the daily struggle against speed-up, racial discrimination, dangerous conditions, changing quotas, job definitions and work rules. Any contract without the right to strike should be rejected out of hand.

2. **END RACISM.** Fire foremen for racist practices. If we have the right to get rid of them, we can identify them easily enough. Abolish employment tests. Equal treatment for all workers: the old practice of giving the worst jobs, lower pay, less relief and slower promotions to minority workers must be grievable and strikeable offenses.

3. **GUARANTEED JOB SECURITY.** No layoffs without compensation at full pay until the employee finds a comparable job.

4. **UNLIMITED C.O.L IMMEDIATELY.**

5. **CATCH-UP PAY.** Restore the 50¢ lost to inflation during the last contract before any new money is discussed.

6. **\$2 AN HOUR NOW** in new money, with second and third year increases.

7. **SETTLE THE GRIEVANCES.** No sell-out of grievances for contract "language" or fringes. No settlement, no work.

8. **\$500 BASIC PENSION,** with unlimited C.O.L.

9. **FOUR DAY, 30 HOUR WEEK AT 40 HOURS PAY.** Not the four day, 40 hour week industry wants to cut overhead.

10. **MINIMUM FOUR WEEK ANNUAL VACATION FOR EVERYONE.** There's no sense in working year round with millions unemployed.

11. **A WORKABLE GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE** which allows for fast settlement of grievances. The way to insure

this is with the right to strike. Employees "innocent until proven guilty."

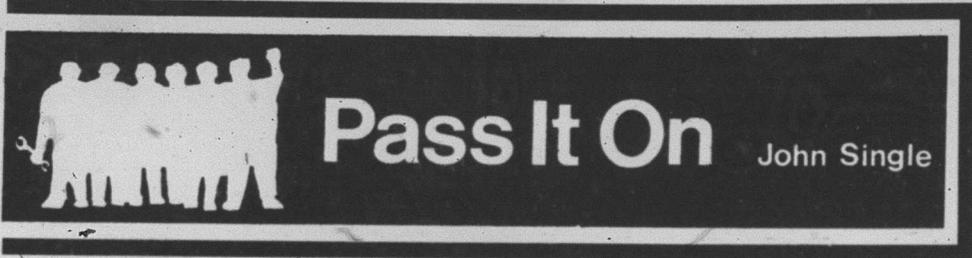
12. **NEGOTIATE WORK RULES, QUOTAS, JOB-DEFINITIONS.**

13. **RIGHT TO REFUSE UNSAFE AND UNHEALTHY JOBS.** This supposedly exists now, but by the time a grievance is processed, with the man still on the unsafe job, it is too late.

14. **OVERTIME FOR WEEKEND WORK.**

The union will tell us that these demands are not "realistic." Give us the right to vote on the contract. We will decide whether they are realistic.

The companies will tell us they cannot afford these demands. We say: open the books — and we will see if they can. ■



Citizenship

The years of collective bargaining — as we have known it — are numbered. The signs are all around. Collective bargaining for workers has been twisted into an institution of systematized waiting.

During the frustrating waits for grievance answers, arbitration decisions and legislative actions or the lifting of government anti-strike laws, the employers gain the necessary time to chip away at the unity of the people they "hire." Too many times they have been successful. For too long on the sidelines have stood top union officials who can't remember what it means to be an employee and have to look ahead to a lifetime of "doing what you have to do to stay hired."

Americans whose life conditions are in a large part ruled by collective bargaining decisions have become impatient. Whether they are New York City bridge tenders or sewage workers, San Francisco city hospital nurses or West Virginia coal miners, Chrysler engineers or the nation's railway signalmen and steelworkers, all have in common the determination to reconstruct the institution of collective bargaining as it affects them. There is a divorce between that institution and the present reality of their lives.

New Concept

How to change the institution is the question. Labor's rank and file lacks organizational links from workplace to workplace. Its revolts are still isolated. There are no well organized national caucuses in particular unions or industries and the uniting of rank and file committees at the city wide level regardless of industry has only just begun. Also, the National Coordinating Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy is completely and undemocratically dominated by the bureaucrats around the *Labor Today* magazine in Chicago.

Thus, no plan in program form on how to redesign collective bargaining has yet come out of the legitimate rank and file movement. The main weapon of the ranks continues to be a courageous refusal to go along with official union programs or contracts that don't fight back against the employers' attack on wages and conditions. The ranks force feet-dragging leaders into action and even to lead strikes.

As a result, a few long overdue grievances get settled, or a suspended shop steward who should never have been fired or suspended in the first place gets his or her job back. Also, the new strike-won contract may contain a "substantial" money package un-

protected from inflation.

Too little is done to change this pattern and system at-the-root. The ranks demonstrate the tremendous power they have, but that power is not used anywhere near to full advantage. It's like using a cannon to stick up a bank and asking for lunch money. After a strike the ranks return to work only to face another two to five years of work like under a contract that does not really arm them to make that life better during the life of the contract.

A big breakthrough is necessary. The thing that can most accelerate the formation of national, regional and citywide rank and file caucuses is the emergence of ideas to organize around. It is already clear to public employees that they need the freedom to strike without penalty, just as it is clear to mass production workers governed by multi-plant contracts that they must win the right to strike on local issues. But if that right is won, what are the goals? A whole set of related ideas is needed, a concept, that can bring a thread of unity to the fight of all the unions regardless of industry or sector (public or private).

The basis for such a new concept already exists. It is not yet out in the open. As yet it can be seen only in attitudes expressed in the course of the revolts, in shop floor actions and by numerous individual workers in their disgust with the way their employers run the workplaces.

During the last ten years, alarmed employers have complained louder and louder that workers, particularly the

young, don't just accept orders, but increasingly ask, "why?" This is only one of many complaints about what "you can't get these workers to do any more." The employers' problem is based in the new way that workers have begun to view society since the end of World War II.

Less and less, American workers view the places where they work as a private area set apart from the rest of the country and over which their employer has sole authority. More and more the place of work is seen as a connected extension of the total community. More often they try to make their employers treat them as citizens rather than temporary parts of the capital investment.

World War II dramatically demonstrated this to an entire generation. Overnight the population was mobilized to perform a total military and production effort. It became clear, in fact, that no activity was independent or unrelated from another and the mass media bludgeoned this into our minds. After the war the close relations between government and employees continued. The myth that industrialists didn't need the government could no longer survive.

No demand could be more just or fair than that which seeks to make every workplace a part of America instead of a privately owned colony free-loading on the rest of the nation. There is not a major industry that is not getting big government aid from taxpayer money. There is not a major industry that pays taxes in the same pro-

portion as the nation's lower income citizens.

The employers of this country can no longer make it on their own. They couldn't live without the money and help they get from the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government. They enjoy all the benefits of this country and turn right around and refuse to allow what are supposed to be, by law, the basic American freedoms to exist in the workplaces they own or manage.

A major idea weapon for American laboring people then, are those neglected documents, the United States' Constitution and Bill of Rights. The immediate need is to focus attention on them by beginning to supply an analysis of them in terms of the life experience and needs of those of us who are the nation's labor supply and force.

The most precious of the rights of American citizenship is the privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus (see *Documents on Fundamental Human Rights*, Vol. 2, by the noted authority on constitutional law, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., New York, 1963). It was part of the law of the land even before the enactment of the Bill of Rights and is contained in Article I, Section 9, of the Constitution.

Any nation whose citizens do not have this right lives under some form of totalitarian rule. This right did not exist in Hitler's Germany and does not exist today, for example, in Russia, Poland, China, Cuba, Spain or Greece. Citizens of those countries can be arrested and disappear and there is no law (Writ of Habeas Corpus) that requires whatever branch of government is holding them prisoner to produce them, or to tell in what prison they are being held or even if they are alive.

Just how precious a right this is can best be demonstrated by recalling a bitter experience of the Russian people. In 1936, Stalin announced the writing into law of a new constitution that would be "the most democratic in the world." The famous Article 125 of that constitution guaranteed all Russians the right of "free speech and assembly."

But no one was so foolhardy as to practice those rights. The councils, unions, and other organizations of Russian workers, intellectuals, soldiers and farmers had long since been taken over by the State and there was not a workers' neighborhood, factory or university whose inhabitants had not seen friends and acquaintances arrested, only to disappear for years or forever.

In the U.S. it is not at all unknown for one or another branch of the police to make arrests, tell no one and not allow the arrested to make the phone calls that will get them legal representation. If, however, the friends or lawyers of the arrested citizen learn of the arrests or strongly suspect that their clients or friends have been arrested, they can go to court to obtain a writ of Habeas Corpus.

The writ is an order commanding that the jailers of the arrested people produce them (bodily) in court at an early specified time together with an explanation as to why the person was jailed. The explanation is called a "return." In this manner, the legality of the arrests can be challenged.

The existence of the law doesn't guarantee absolutely that it will be enforced. Only powerful organization brings maximum assurance. But it is ABC that an individual person or his or her union or class is strengthened if the



law is on their side.

Let us now for discussion purposes suppose that the workplaces of the nation are each like small nations to themselves. A parallel can then be seen between the U.S. Constitution/Bill of Rights and the union contracts in each of those small "work nations" within the nation, for the contract is the only document spelling out workers' rights on-the-job.

Tie on the Can

It is then apparent that the most valuable right in any union contract is its own version of the writ of Habeas Corpus, that is, that contractual clause that won't let an employer fire a worker out of a workplace without notifying the union and stating the reason.

Before the great growth of unions in the 1930's, employers commonly fired workers without telling them why and without a word to those working around them. There would be no commotion. A common method used by foremen was to get the victim away from his or her immediate work area, "tie on the can" and have a couple of plant guards present to escort the victim immediately from that spot to the plant gate.

It had the same effect as in Russia (to be fired carries with it a terrifying sense of finality similar to that of going behind prison walls). The disappearance also put fear in the hearts of those (still employed) who witnessed it. Afraid for their jobs, they worked harder.

They were citizens of a "democratic nation," but their "nation-at-work" was a totalitarian dictatorship separate from America. They did what they were told or they were fired, driven out. They had to "love it or leave it."

Later, in the 1930's and early 1940's,



when American workers got themselves together in unions and became strong enough to make demands on their employers, one of the first things they sought to get into their union contracts was what amounts to the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus as it applies in the workplace.

Few contracts as yet deny the employer the right to send a suspended or discharged worker out of the workplace. But most unions have now for some time contractually required management to notify union officials within 24 hours after a discharge or suspension.

Some large unions including the UAW have in most of their contracts added to the 24 hour notice clause the requirements: (1) that the fired worker can see a union representative "privately" and "before he is required to leave the plant" (UAW-GM Contract, paragraph 76); and (2) that the disciplined employee "will be furnished with a brief written statement describing the misconduct" (also

paragraph 76) and the extent of the punishment.

With the above type clauses the workers concerned or living under them obtain partial Habeas Corpus protection on-the-job. No longer do workers just disappear from the job in such large numbers.

Weak locals will still find that management is able to get workers fired and outside before they know about it. Those locals are then faced with the often impossible problem of trying to reach a fired worker at home.

Even when it is attempted it is hard to talk to a person who has experienced "the treatment" into filing a grievance from the outside. Some will have already gotten lower paying but lower pressure non-factory jobs and will tell the union to forget them and things less polite.

Local unions that are more militant and that have well-informed memberships are able to get most of the fired to demand immediate representation. A union official gets to see "the body" or corpus, so to speak, and obtains the charges, or as they are called in connection with Habeas Corpus, the "return."

The official may in some cases challenge the firing right then and get the fired person immediately reinstated. In most instances, however, the best that a steward can do is file a grievance, say goodbye to the fired worker as he or she leaves the plant and hope that it isn't for good.

What if the union "wins" the grievance because it is able to prove that the firing was unjust? The grievance is won but it is no victory. It often takes months "to win." For whatever time it takes, all the workers who saw the firing know, is that he or she disappeared. It discourages them, increases their fear and they less often are willing to exercise their

right to grieve or picket.

If and when a victim returns, it helps, but everyone knows that the victim can never be fully compensated for the indignity. To be put out from your place of work is an experience that has a reality that stays fixed in the mind.

In a way, it is similar to being put behind jail walls. Even though you may in your mind feel assured you will get back your job or get out of jail, there is at the time that it happens a deep down feeling of finality.

Nothing can change the fact that the victim, whether innocent or guilty as accused, was considered guilty until proven otherwise. Hopefully, the union will get a victim a trial and "due process of law" through the use of the grievance - but they both take place after the sentence (firing) is pronounced.

Speedy Trial

Because there is not the right to full privilege of Habeas Corpus in the world of work in the United States, every other right of on-the-job citizenship that workers have tried to get is kept to a minimum. It is not enough to simply eliminate the 24 hour after-the-fact notice.

What if, for example, the employers had to prove their charges against a worker before the first move could be made to discipline or fire? Would the grievance procedure then take as long as it does now? The answer, of course, is NO. The employers would want to move much faster on disciplinary grievances than they do now.

The struggle to win the American right to "a speedy trial" in discharge cases would be half won. And this is but one of many examples of the new progress that would be made possible if employers lost the right to violate the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus.

Steel CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

1. An end to production for profit
2. Turn over steel operations in the third world to the native work force
3. End to defense contracts
4. Abolish NLRB and similar entities in favor of workers' councils

At present, rank and file organization is aimed at winning member control of the unions, which in steel never have been democratic. It is Abel's hope to head off the movement for union democracy by minor concessions, such as turning over contract ratifications to the local presidents rather than a special body of the International.

At the same time, he wants to come through with a contract just barely adequate to stem a tide of feeling which could replace the union entirely, by wildcat strikes putting forward their own demands.

Abel and the companies, not to mention Nixon have no solution to the crisis in steel. The obvious answer to steel's problem is to NATIONALIZE THE STEEL INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.

The corporations themselves have admitted that free enterprise is a bust in steel. But they have no solution which will not transfer the burden of modernizing and integrating the industry to the workers and taxpayers. And the workers and taxpayers will not accept that burden.

There is simply no realistic way of renewing the steel industry while maintaining profits at the old level. The dollar-outlay is too enormous.

American society has to have steel, can't do without it. It is the steelworkers themselves who have the largest stake in maintaining and improving steel production, and the advantage of placing the public welfare before profits.

The workers have no interest in continuing the artificial support of basic industry through wars and wasted defense spending; they do have an interest in providing the hundreds of thousands of jobs which a renovation of steel would create.

The workers have no stake in pollution; unlike steel owners, who live far away from the plant in the suburbs, the steelworker must put a halt to fouling of the environment for his own sake.

In short, it is the workers themselves and not Bethlehem, not Nixon, not Abel, who are in a position to supervise the rebuilding of steel with the least amount of social disruption and public damage. That is the meaning of nationalization under workers' control.

No "Labor Peace"

Big business, big labor and big government are not about to turn over an iota of their power to workers. It has to be taken. We can begin now by opposing Abel's "labor peace" negotiations with demands of our own, designed on the basis of need rather than expediency. (See box.)

Secondly, we must demand the right to vote on the contract. Whatever the

International says, a vote can be forced in each local union, and backed up with a strike if necessary.

Thirdly, we can expose the sham of current negotiations. Steel negotiations will continue in Pittsburgh for another month. Local unions (if they will) and rank and file groups (if the locals won't) can send delegates to Pittsburgh to oversee the negotiations and coordinate national actions on their own.

We can picket the negotiations, demanding a right to participate and carrying signs with the real demands which are not being discussed inside: Nationalize steel under workers' control! Right to strike! Right to vote! Settle the grievances! One year contract! End racism! \$2 an hour now! Enforce pollution control! No work in unsafe jobs!



ABEL

contractual, union, and political demands. Included are:

Contract

1. Eliminate arbitration
2. 20 hour week at 40 hours pay
3. Workers' control of the production pace.
4. Full equality for women
5. Year's maternity leave at full pay
6. Weekly stipend for child-care
7. Disciplinary measures against male chauvinist advances on women
8. Halt lay-offs and labor reductions

Union

1. Refuse to honor defense contracts
2. Insure production for need, not profit
3. Establish a women's department in the union
4. Elected shop stewards
5. Department, section and unit agreements to be sanctioned by the workers in them
6. Right to vote on the contract
7. Right to strike, each local with its own strike fund

Political



Allende drives a nail to promote "National Day of Voluntary Labor" (unpaid overtime).

Second of Two Parts

Chile: Where Is Allende Going?

Juan Iver

The very coming to power of Allende was vitiated by compromises with the army and the PDC which controls congress. Allende's failure to obtain an absolute majority in September at the polls meant that he needed congress's support. On October 24, they accepted him, but only after a month of horse trading and constitutional amendments forced on the UP by the PDS.

Allende has pledged himself to uphold the free press, free trade unions, non-sectarian education and the right of political parties to organize. With a meagre congressional control of 80 seats against the PDC's 75 and the conservatives' 45, Allende had to compromise, but since pre-election promises were all vague and demagogic, the watering down of such an essentially reformist program cannot be seen as capitulation.

Deep Study

If, before, he promised to expropriate the American copper mines, he still does, but it is left for "the future"; besides, he has said that expropriations will be done only after deep study and consultation. The main economic thrust of his program is:

"The replacement of the present economic structure by a socialist one, divided in three areas: a dominant state area, and private and mixed areas. The state area would be formed by the concerns now under state ownership plus those which will be expropriated. Immediate nationalization of copper, iron, salt-petre and mineral coal and, in general, of all basic products.

The state area would include besides the whole financial system of the country through the nationalization of private banks and insurance, foreign trade, the great distributing concerns and monopolies -- both Chilean and foreign --, the strategic industrial monopolies and in general all activities which condition the economic development of the country: the production and distribution of electric energy, railways, air and sea trans-

port, communications, production, refineries and distribution of oil and its derivatives, smelting, cement production, petrochemicals and heavy chemicals industry, cellulose and paper. The economy's private area will be limited to small and medium industry."

How he will achieve this sort of "welfare state" nobody knows. Already in December 1969 congress opposed his move to expropriate the Chilean banks. They will obviously oppose him down the line. The credits necessary for the agrarian reform program of the UP will face the same hostility. Frei could teach Allende some lessons on this.

Already in November Allende took over two American owned concerns, NIBSA, a plumbing and heating fittings manufacturer, and Alimentos Purina de Chile. But these and other takeovers with compensation were based on a 1945 law permitting the state to intervene when

Chilean workers were threatened; the American companies had reduced production and had begun to lay off workers.

The takeovers weren't part of Allende's program, and it is quite possible that in the future he sees himself with many industries falling on his lap due to capital flight, sabotage or closing downs. But they will be marginal industries, not the "commanding heights" of the economy.

An offensive to get control over that sector of the economy, with or without full compensation, would face fierce opposition in congress. Allende could only hope that he could carry out particular concrete proposals on a plebiscite basis, if congress opposed him on an issue. But to put through the complete program on such a basis would be nonsense. To attempt it fully would mean civil war, and Allende, who likes to legitimize his every move under Chilean constitutionality, would never do it.

He can, of course, wait for the 1973 congressional elections to attempt to get a majority. But that's too far away, and by then his electoral constituency might be eroded, or passive enough to permit a swift, bloodless coup d'etat by the military.

If that were to happen, Allende's regime would have proven to be, historically at this period, the Chilean bourgeoisie's way to demoralize completely the Chilean exploited masses, discipline them brutally under a subsequent military regime and so further its, and the US imperialism's, hold on the economy. It cannot be denied that reformists play this role in Latin American history: what happened to Arbenz in Guatemala and Quadros in Brazil are cases in point.

The pre-electoral program of the UP didn't contemplate compensation for nationalizations. But after the elections, the UP, under PDC pressure, agreed to go along with the present Chilean constitutional legislation, which calls for compensation. Needless to say, the American or Chilean companies are going to push for their terms, that is, they will expect to be paid in dollars, not bonuses or long-term payments rendered non-profitable by Chile's inflation.

Obviously, Allende's regime can't go along with this, but its hands are tied. Attempts to escape this deadlock by instituting a dictatorial, state-capitalist regime, can only be done violently, and again, it means civil war, including American intervention, international boycott of Chile's products, which would have to be added to the falling world prices for copper, a metal constituting 70 per cent of Chile's exports.

Having promised not to destroy what he meant to destroy, Allende is against the wall. His social basis is electoral, not revolutionary. Thus he will be unable to arm this basis which could have otherwise defended him arms in hand, had he and his coalition been a revolutionary one.

Allende vs. the Left

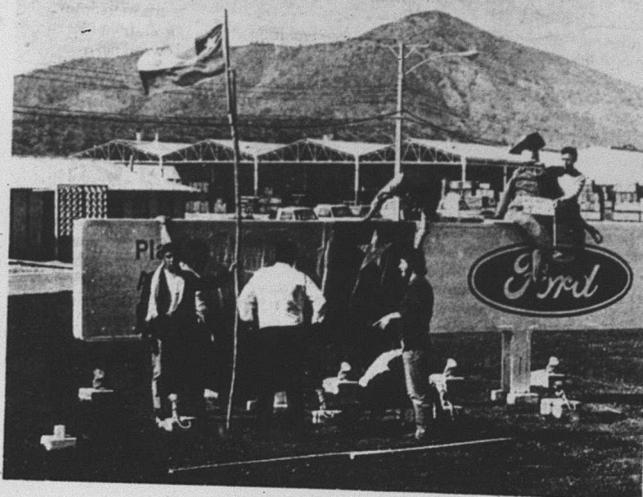
History has proven that full state capitalism, the real program of Allende, can be instituted only through violence. The old, classical bourgeoisie, based on a certain play of market forces and "free trade", sees state property with hatred, insofar as it expropriates them for the benefit of a homogeneous, semi-autarchic expanded reproduction of capital managed by state functionaries.

The MIR didn't support Allende before he was elected. They looked on the electoral, peaceful intentions of the UP with contempt. But once he got elected, many of the MIR jumped on the bandwagon and supported him unconditionally. They did this even after Allende had publicly threatened that marxists would be punished with vigor if they broke the law.

In the University of Concepcion, a Stalinist student killed a young MIRist in a scuffle. When university students in Santiago took over a building in October, the UP considered this a provocation and Allende again disassociated himself from the MIR.

Furthermore, when leader Toro, of the slum tenements, advocated the taking over of fundos, schools and factories by the workers themselves, the UP viciously attacked him. The MIR's ranks, many of whom reject Allende's victory as a "worker's victory", have continued to support such mass actions, which run counter to the "law and order" emphasis of the UP and the police.

In Temuco, the squatters have occupied



Chilean workers at Ford plant

much land and the latifundists have shot at them. Mapuche Indians, in the south of Chile, took over more than 400 properties. Allende has arrested those who shot the squatters and has forbidden the police to shoot people. But, as the American socialist Gene Debs said, "he who can set you free can also put you in jail."

The rest of the left is splintered. The MIR has no mass base; it contains only a few thousand militants; the Maoists area a handful and publish a bitterly sectarian magazine; some "Trotskyists" around Luis Vitale in the University of Concepcion have simply joined in the national "left" hysteria to support Allende.

The Communist Party of Chile has been the main prop of the UP. They control three quarters of the 15,000 committees of the UP, covering mainly working class and callampa neighborhoods. The CP is also importantly represented in the ministries: they control the finance, public works and labor ministries. It is in the nature of things that they should have obtained those ministries.

The trade union organizations in Chile are quite weak by European standards; they don't have the financial and disciplinary means that the latter do. In most cases, the UP organized them and it holds control of the most powerful trade union federation; the CUT (Confederación Unica de Trabajadores), which nominally has around 500,000 members. I

In 1966, Petras and Young, writing on Chilean labor, held that the percentage of workers organized in trade unions was approximately twelve percent. Chile, which is 60 per cent urban, is a country in which the working class, including the rural workers, has enormous industrial and numerical weight.

Basing itself upon this class and segments of the middle class, which provide it with



'LAND OR DEATH,' says a sign at Camp Lautaro, set up by the revolutionary peasant movement, which has been occupying privately owned farms in Chile. Sign at the lower left bids welcome to the poor, and evil to the rich.

certain elements of its nationalist ideology, the CP reigns supreme. It is, to a great degree, the architect of Allende's victory. Gleeefully, Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CP, has admonished the workers:

"The carrying forward of this task (meaning full support for Allende) demands in some cases a change in attitude, the relinquishing of apolitical positions, of economism and of narrow syndicalism; it demands full consciousness of the marvellous perspectives open at this moment."

Chilean workers will soon learn what

these rantings mean -- productivity deals of a harsher nature. The automatism which leads the trade unions to become part of the state's planning boards in order to regulate wages and productivity, means that they will become direct appendages of the state, a development hastened by the CP's control of the organized workers.

The Chilean workers haven't won a victory with Allende. On the contrary, they have suffered another ideological defeat, because Allende's blunders, failures and economic adventurism will be laid on the

door of revolutionary Marxism.

It remains the task of Chilean marxists to overcome the mystifications and fuse their activity with that of the Chilean workers. If today it is extremely difficult to fight Allende, tomorrow it will be easier. But fight one must. In 1964, it would have been equally difficult to fight Frei: Now there's so much more at stake.

[Reprinted from *International Socialism*, the British International Socialist bimonthly, April/May 1971.]

Fascists Gain In Italy

Norah Carlin

Fascist gains in the Italian local elections in mid-June hit world headlines. The MSI (Italian Social Movement) increased its vote to about 16 per cent in Rome and Sicily.

The MSI is an openly fascist party. Its leader, Almirante, was a member of Mussolini's last government, and its main support comes from small businessmen and landowners.

It denies aiming at a fascist restoration, but it clearly wants to see the "center-left" coalition of Christian Democrats, Socialists and Republicans replaced by a more right-wing coalition.

The actual electoral gains of the MSI are limited. In the elections (which included regional, provincial, and city elections) only a fifth of Italian voters went to the polls.

In Genoa, the only major city in the industrial north to vote, the main gains were made by the ruling center-left coalition. Even in Rome, the center-left city government kept its majority despite forecasts that fascist gains might force it to split.

In Sicily, the increased fascist vote was produced largely by the special problems of the underdeveloped, poverty-stricken, and corruptly governed South. To some extent it was a "protest vote" against the central govern-

ment's inability to do anything about these problems.

The fascists also seem to have appealed to the peasants against a new Housing Bill which they said threatened the principle of private property. These issues probably do not make permanent fascist voters.

Neither the Socialist Party nor the Communist Party has ever had a real base in the South of Italy. The revolutionary left-wing groups (including the Maoists, who support peasant revolution) have made little progress there.

The way the fascists could step in and attempt to fill the gap by trying to lead popular protest movements was shown by the riots in Reggio Emilia over the last six months.

In the industrial north, the fascists are not yet winning significant numbers of votes. But they are present in the form of violent "squads" which constantly attack and attempt to provoke the revolutionary groups working in industry.

All this does not mean that the Italian ruling class is considering a return to fascism. The big business interests are still backing parliamentary reforms and an alliance with the "respectable" elements of the Italian Communist Party and the unions to smash independent

working-class action and unite the nation under the banner of productivity.

But the rulers are prepared to tolerate fascism, both on the streets and in elections. They can use it as a threat against the Left, an excuse for harsh "law and order" policies, a stick with which to beat the "opposite extremism" of revolutionary working-class politics. La Stampa, the Fiat-owned news-



Almirante

paper in Turin, immediately used the election results to attack the Left in this way.

To appeal for an alliance of all classes and for state protection against fascist attacks, as the Communist Party does, is useless. The state will not smash the remnants of fascism in Italy while they serve a useful purpose, and while the state itself uses a largely fascist legal code and has many ex-fascists in its service.

But popular front politics are part of the Communist Party's parliamentary "road to socialism" in Italy, and the party is as anxious as the capitalist press to brand the left-wing groups who challenge its politics as "extremists."

The only answer to fascism in Italy lies in independent, revolutionary working-class politics strong enough to fight back politically, as well as to organize physical self-defense against the "squads." And only such strong, revolutionary politics can convince the oppressed peasants and workers of the South that their future lies in alliance with the working class, not with fascists and reactionaries.

[Reprinted from *Socialist Worker*, the British International Socialist weekly, June 26, 1971]



feedback

Burn Rejoinder

I was somewhat amazed at the reaction to my review of "Burn" by David Hirsh. At least now I know how it feels to get hit with a polemic. However, I must make at least this modest defense, that Hirsh missed the points of the review almost completely.

First, as to his charge that I was "condescending" in making reference to Pontecorvo's awareness of the nuances of his subject. Hirsh is amazed that I could (apparently) think that "the director of Battle of Algiers" could be unconscious of politics.

General political consciousness was not the issue. That part of my review went beyond general anti-imperialist consciousness into a specific message about a specific type of struggle. Now, it is by no means to be assumed that any artist is necessarily aware of the subtleties and implications of his or her subject. For example, in "Battle of Algiers" itself. What were the correct conclusions to be drawn from the smashing of the guerillas?

Was Pontecorvo then aware at all that a nationalist struggle isolated from the working class (and that element of FLN was nothing if not isolated) must founder? Apparently not, for years later, out of the ashes of the old organization, winging in on a war whoop and a prayer only, for all Pontecorvo showed us, the struggle was won.

In Burn, Pontecorvo demonstrated an apparently new and certainly broadened understanding of revolution as an international question. I noted that, and feel it is to his credit as an artist and as a "political" person.

Secondly, on the question of the women in Burn. Hirsh does, finally decide that he thinks he read what I thought I said. But immediately after this concession, he makes the argument that in an action film a woman's role must necessarily be monotonous. If Hirsh's conception of woman revolutionary fighters parallels that of the stereotype he referred to, then he is right. My own vision of this question does not.

But it is not only that Pontecorvo stuffed over the woman question in his film. Were it that alone, the question could rest here despite Hirsh's arrogant and muddled vision of revolutionary women. In fact, there was a scene in Burn that quite openly "put women in their place."

I was not primarily concerned with this question in my original review, which was why the comment on women came at the end and was left unsubstantiated. For that, I apologize.

The scene: Jose Dolores, newly risen

leader of the slave rebels, addresses a camp of people who are in flight. He says in effect: "We have run to protect the women and children. But for those of you who are not women, for those of you who are not children, this man (Brando) has guns."

Now compare this even to the stolid heroic dignity and initiative of women in "Battle of Algiers." Most obviously, Pontecorvo was unable to understand the nuances and implications of this particular question and he deserves to be attacked in the socialist press for this, as he deserves recognition for the other.

The final criticism of Hirsh's has some validity to it. However, I do not see the point of concerning ourselves in the socialist press with questions that can be dealt with much more incisively by such reviewers as Joyce Haber or Rex Reed.

I am aware of technical shortcomings in Burn, of the one dimensionality of the characters, etc. But Burn as a technical work was not my concern. Similarly, Burn as a political statement was not the concern of Rex Reed when he panned it as an artistic flop.

Precisely because Burn was given political overtones in the advance publicity, precisely because Pontecorvo had ventured none too timidly into the question of revolution in the past, precisely because Brando had made statements as to the importance of the film as a personal political statement of his, I felt it necessary to look at it on that level.

I don't feel that was a mistake. Neither do I think it valid to in all cases hold political standards up to films. But when a political statement is the point of the film, then it is valid and defensible to analyze and criticize it on that basis.

I agree we should avoid thinking and writing in slogans. At this time, I (and I think, other comrades attempting to take a critical look at our culture) am attempting to develop a method of investigation and criticism. This work should continue. Hopefully, Workers' Power will continue to print reviews of films, books, whatever, and give that side of our collective socialist consciousness room to grow.

Morgan Glenn

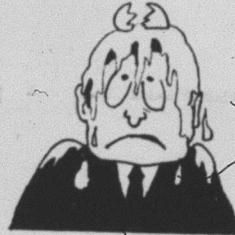
Love/Diary Rejoinder

I am responding to David Hirsh's criticisms of the reviews of Love Story, and Diary of a Mad Housewife. It is remarkable that a man can dismiss the first two reviews (those of Love Story and Diary of a Mad Housewife), as "showing no thought" and chooses only

to comment on the film, Burn, which was reviewed at the same time, and which stars Marlon Brando.

The scene which Morgan Glenn describes as the only minor scene with a woman, the defiant wife of an executed rebel slave who refuses to speak, is criticized by Hirsh as "underrating her defiance." It is not coincidental that David Hirsh would choose to criticize this film in depth and dismiss the other articles as "showing no thought," not feeling that they merited further criticism.

American revolutionary men have always professed that in comparison to other oppressed women in the world, American women are relatively not oppressed. Hirsh refuses to comment on the careful analysis of the psychological oppression of two women, Tina and Jenny, in these two films. This does not in any way show the lack of thought in the two reviews; it merely shows the low level of Mr. Hirsh's consciousness on issues concerning American women.



4 MINUTE EGG?

A discussion of these films and the psychological oppression of American women is very important -- to middle-class women who are struggling to understand their particular socialization (both films, Love Story and Diary of a Mad Housewife, deal with upper middle-class life); and to all women in order to understand what aspirations we are taught to have.

I personally resent Hirsh's comment that rather than be serious, Louise Mitchell wanted to be funny and draw laughs from her article. I saw the movie, read both the reviews and the criticisms. I do not think that Louise Mitchell wrote to be amusing.

The aspects of the film that she portrayed were done well. I wanted to vomit, just like the film made me sick. ("Your, mother," he tells his young daughters to be witty, "graduated summa cum laude from Smith, but she can't do a four minute egg. Isn't that funny, girls?")

Perhaps if Mr. Hirsh graduated summa cum laude from any school and was expected to do no more than type or boil four minute eggs, he might get upset, too. Mitchell describes Tina as "tortured and tongue-tied and over-worried" -- how can Hirsh consider this as one of Mitchell's attempts to make us laugh?

Ellen Kaye

To American Trade Unionists

The American owned company of Fine Tubes Limited, Plymouth, England, has for the past year, been engaged in an industrial dispute. The two unions involved, the Transport and General Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, made this strike official on June 15, 1970.

The unions involved in this firm, which is a member of the Employers' Federation, put in a claim for a substantial pay increase based on productivity in November 1969. Following local talks and regional and national conferences with the Employers' Federation and national union officers, a "Failure to Agree" was recorded on June 12, 1970. (After seven months of futile negotiations which the employer used to prepare for a strike.)

It should be pointed out at this stage that the take home pay for 40 hours work was between \$37 and \$40. The national average is approximately double this amount.

The members of the unions in Fine Tubes, 172 out of a work force of 220, came out on strike at 2:30 p.m. on June 15, 1970 and still remain to this date, 52 weeks later, on official strike. On July 1, 1970, the Managing Director of Fine Tubes sacked all of the 172 members who were on strike.

The Managing Director has refused all conciliation offers by the Department of Employment, Mr. Vic Feather (General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress), Mr. Jack Jones (General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union), Mr. Hugh Scanlon (National President of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers), trade union-sponsored Members of Parliament, and numerous others who were trying to end this dispute.

The Americans are coming into Britain in search of cheap labor. The British people will not stand for sub-standard wages which are being forced upon them by United States firms: The American employment policy in Britain is like a cancer. We call upon all American trade unionists to help us in our struggle for industrial freedom.

Superior Tube Company of Norristown, Pennsylvania, United States of America, is our parent company and we ask you all to "black" their products throughout the United States.

Any further information or donations can be sent to the address of the Strike Committee:

48 Stuart Road, Penny-come-quick, Plymouth, Devon, England.

Frank Clark

Vice-Chairman, Fine Tubes Strike Committee.

Feedback is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep letters as brief as possible; when necessary, they will be abridged.

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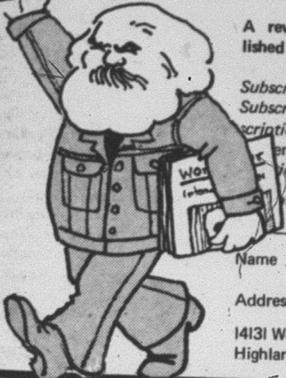
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Big Talk, Little Action

Ron Flaherty

CWA Convention

For all the people who say they don't like CWA President Joe Beirne, they sure seemed to be under his thumb at the convention in Kansas City. There wasn't a single vote against his re-election, although a few people abstained from the voting. And everyone dutifully applauded his rah-rah speech, although there wasn't the kind of wild enthusiasm he was obviously after.

The results of the secret strike vote were announced: the vote was more than two to one in favor of authorizing a strike. But for all his big talk, Beirne offered no strategy to win this strike — no ideas for making any better showing than the fiasco we saw three years ago.

Two motions aimed building for a more effective strike were struck down in parliamentary manoeuvres: one was to borrow \$100 million to finance it, another to form a committee to arrange loans for striking workers. Neither seemed important to Beirne — he has lots of money in the bank.

It was a very short convention, only three days in all, including one day of



Beirne

workshops. For the third straight year the leadership ignored a vote taken at a previous convention to rotate seating on the floor of the auditorium. When a fight was made over this, a vote was taken to rotate seating next year. Don't hold your breath.

Beirne gave a more political speech than in previous years, saying that big business was taking over the executive

branch of the government. He added: "It isn't just Nixon — Johnson and Kennedy did the same thing."

His only solution for this problem, however, was to call for more support to C.O.P.E. — the same crowd of political marshmallows who supported Kennedy and Johnson! He said labor wouldn't go for building its own politi-

cal party, because then "it would be in a minority." We have news for him: seventy per cent of all Americans are working people — that's a majority.

The closest thing to a highlight at the convention was a speech by the visiting head of the English Postal and Telephone workers. Postal and Communication workers fought a long and militant strike earlier this year, though not without some foot-dragging from this English cousin of Joe Beirne.

Former CWA activist Bill Moultrie, who led a militant wildcat in the mid-west ten years ago, made his annual attempt to attend the convention, and the CWA goons kicked him out as usual. This militant trade-unionist was apparently much more of a threat to the union leaders than representatives of the company, who sat in on all the sessions.

The strike date was set for 6 a.m. on July 14. Since Beirne has no idea of how he's going to win it, communication workers will have to organize themselves to fight, and to make Joe Beirne do the job he's paid to do. ■

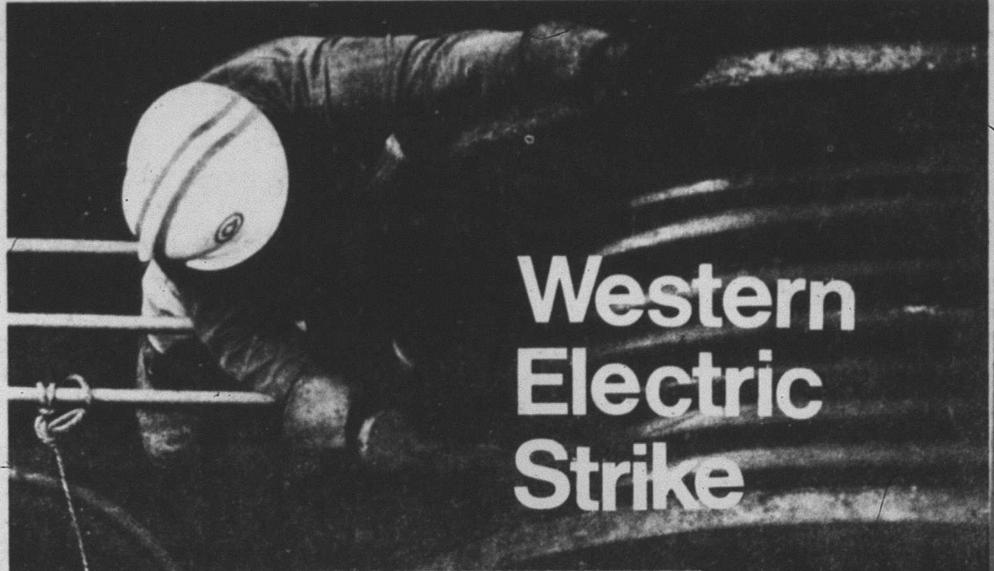
On the eve of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) Convention, Western Electric workers in Local 9490 engaged in a preliminary skirmish with the company. The issue happened to be the use of outside contractors, whose riggers uncrated and loaded frames into a phone company building in Fresno, but any number of other issues could have touched off the strike.

Dissatisfaction and frustration had grown among phone workers during the two months that had passed without a contract, national strike or progress in negotiations. Already there had been a slowdown in San Francisco, a slowdown for over a month in the San Jose area, and resistance to compulsory overtime in San Bruno.

In Fresno, workers of Western Electric, the manufacturing subsidiary of AT&T, refused to work with the frames brought in by the contractor. The bosses began suspending them one by one for refusing to handle scab frames. As a result of the suspensions, 70 workers walked out of the building June 7.

The leadership of Local 9470 used the opportunity to call 2000 workers out on a one day work stoppage for the last three hours of the day.

This giant local, which covers Northern California and Nevada, has local unit meetings: for example, there is a unit in the San Francisco area. The 9490 leadership is generally disliked and distrusted by the rank and file. The leadership says it opposed CWA National President Beirne at the last convention, but has been unable to produce any documents to prove this, upon demand by the rank and file. (At this past convention the



Western Electric Strike

vote for Beirne was unanimous).

The San Francisco unit of 9490 passed a list of demands, including the right to strike anytime, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to end unemployment, \$1.50 per hour wage increase, and 24 hour union/parent controlled childcare paid for by the company. But local president Carr ignored them.

The 9490 leadership began to talk strike two months before the June 8th walkout. They are running scared of the rank and file and wanted to prove them-

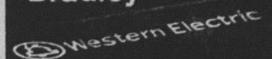
selves. But once they called the strike they were totally incapable of carrying out the steps necessary to win it.

The leadership itself disappeared during the strike. President Carr was in New York for the negotiations. Acting President Archaletta immediately upon calling the strike took off for Sacramento.

Although Western Electric workers install equipment in phone company

George Ellington

Kevin Bradley



[Continued on page 5]