



## Labor and the War

On June 23, the founding convention of "Labor for Peace" will convene in St. Louis. This conference, called by various union leaders to found a national organization of unionists to oppose the Vietnam War, will be attended by hundreds of delegates from different American trade unions.

The purpose of Labor for Peace in the words of Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers and an original sponsor of the conference, is to "mobilize the rank and file of the labor movement and its leaders in bringing this Vietnam War to an end."

Indeed, the time is certainly ripe for such a venture. Nixon's latest escalations of the conflict have placed the war issue back on the political agenda of the country. As the war continues to take lives and eat up tax dollars, more and more rank and file workers are coming to oppose the war's continuation.

Moreover, massive labor participation in actions against the war at this time would fill a crucial weakness in the current anti-war movement. Almost from its inception, the movement has been largely middle class and campus-

*[Continued on page 2]*

**FREEZE WAR,  
NOT  
WAGES!**

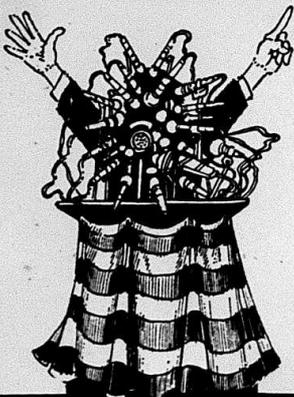
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**WHO DOES  
FREEZE  
SQUEE**



Editorial

## The Anti-Democratic Party



The spectacle of McGovern's maneuvering (see page 3) shows that behind the facade of the "McGovern reforms," the Democratic Party remains anti-democratic.

Despite the reforms, blacks and women remain underrepresented. However, even were this not so, the nature of the party itself is anti-democratic.

McGovern's rise, through the mechanism of the seemingly democratic primary contests, obscures this. The primaries, however, only partly determine who

is nominated. They serve as a barometer to indicate who can muster the popular support necessary to take office -- in this sense, weeding out a Muskie and substituting the flashier McGovern, they are valuable to the party leaders.

However, powers "behind the scene" still decide who is to be nominated. This influence determines the continuing pro-capitalist nature of the Democratic Party, regardless of individual reformers. This influence is exercised by both the Democratic

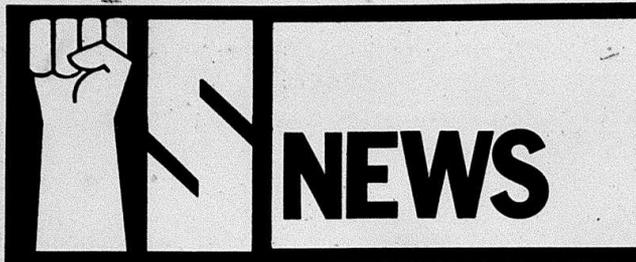
center, and directly by business.

The Democratic Party center -- the machine leaders like Mayor Daley and the organization men -- are not antiquated "bosses," but shrewd politicians, whose links to business at the local and national level are the basis of their power. By withholding their support or putting strings on it, they can tame a reformer, or hamstring his efforts.

Businessmen largely finance campaigns -- and since he emerged as a major contender, Mc-

*[Continued on page 11]*





# I.S. East Coast Socialist Educational Weekend

Over 120 socialists and radicals gathered for a lively and informative weekend educational sponsored by the New York International Socialists June 3 and 4. The conference took up some of the major tasks and problems faced by revolutionary socialists and labor militants in the 1970's.

Joel Geier, I.S. National Secretary, started the Saturday session with a presentation on the rising international revolutionary struggle.

In the advanced capitalist West, the post-war boom has ended. The attempt by the major capitalist powers to rationalize industry at the expense of the working class has led to militant labor revolt.

Geier discussed the revolutionary implications of this working class upsurge in the wake of the May-June 1968 general strike in France. The movements in Italy, Britain and Japan were among those analyzed.

In all these cases, the lack of a gen-

uine revolutionary working class party, able to lead the fight for workers' power, has hindered the development of the rebellion. The grip of the traditional reformist mass workers' parties, i.e., the Communist and Social Democratic Parties, has nevertheless been weakened. The present task remains to construct new working class revolutionary parties.

In the Soviet-dominated bureaucratic collectivist bloc, the declining growth rate, the contradiction between totalitarian planning and production needs, and subordination of consumption to the expansion of heavy industry, has resulted in low labor productivity, shoddy goods, waste, and inefficiency.

Geier pointed to the recent growth of working class independence and militancy in Czechoslovakia and Poland, and the re-emergence of struggle by oppressed national minorities in Russia and Yugoslavia. He indicated that the Stalinist bureaucratic liberal-

izers, like their Western counterparts, would be unable to rationalize the economy or find genuine solutions to the increasing social decay.

In Asia the defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam and the Nixon-Mao summit has led to the strengthening of China as a major *status quo* power in Asia.

In Latin America, after the defeat of peasant-based guerrilla movements in the 1960's, the focus of struggle has moved to the urban workers. Despite the defeat in Bolivia and the possibility of a right-wing coup against Allende's reform regime in Chile, the growth of workers' struggles in the Third World provides possibilities for socialist militants.

During the afternoon session, Ilene Winkler, author of *Women Workers: The Forgotten Third of the Working Class* and a long time women's liberation activist, led the discussion on the failure of the left in the 1960's.

The Black Liberation movement, the anti-war movement, and the women's movement all attempted to break with the prevailing liberalism of the 60's. Their lack of social power and isolation from the masses of working people led to the disintegration of these movements, into the Democratic Party or ultraleftism. However, the aspirations of these movements made an impact in the working class, which opens up the possibility of winning their demands.

Winkler indicated the role of the I.S. in winning the best militants in SDS and the radical movement to socialist working class politics.

The highpoint of the conference came on Sunday morning as Steve Zeluck, a leader of the United Action Caucus of the American Federation of Teachers, delivered an address on "The Ruling Class Offensive and the New Working Class Militancy."

Zeluck described the present crisis of US capitalism as a crisis in productivity which became apparent with the negative balance of trade two years ago.

*The monetary crisis, export of capital, massive debt, and declining growth*

rate are reflections of this productivity crisis. The employers' offensive includes both state measures, such as the wage freeze, and anti-labor legislation coupled to shop floor tactics such as speedup, as in *Lordstown and Norwood*.

The labor bureaucracy -- tied to a pro-capitalist perspective -- has no program to meet this offensive.

In response, a number of national caucuses have grown up in major industrial unions, including the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and United Mine Workers. However, these groups have been weak in terms of a consistent strategy to counter the capitalist class and union bureaucracy.

Zeluck proceeded to outline a strategy for militant mass action by the labor movement against the anti-labor offensive. This strategy included the restoration of union democracy, the fight against anti-labor legislation, organization of the unorganized, the fight against speedup, inflation, productivity clauses, unemployment, and the Vietnam War. He pointed out the need for an independent party of labor, to mobilize the ranks of labor for mass action against the two businessmen's parties and the government.

In the final session, Brian McKenzie, a leader of a militant caucus in the *Communication Workers of America*, spoke on the working class, socialists, and revolutionary organization.

McKenzie addressed himself to the tasks of revolutionaries in winning over to socialist politics an increasingly militant and politically advanced strata of Black workers and rank and file oppositionists in the unions. He pointed to the role of the I.S. in this development and the possibility of creating a revolutionary party rooted in the working class which can lead the fight for socialism.

Each session was followed by vigorous discussion. Ten participants expressed an interest in joining the I.S. A fifth of those attending were trade union members and many came from as far away as Boston. ■



A section of the contingent of the British International Socialists marching in a recent protest against the Vietnam war in London

## Workers' Power 60

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# George McGovern's Road to Power

James Coleman

George McGovern is, as we go to press, the likely winner of the Democratic Presidential nomination. There is some chance of denying him the nomination by last-minute deals, but most of the other candidates are resigning themselves to a McGovern nomination.

McGovern's likely victory illustrates the nature of the party system in America. A wide variety of fugues and groups in protest movements, from Coretta King to Jerry Rubin to the Communist Party, boost McGovern as the "lesser evil." At the same time, McGovern is making a determined effort to convince business leaders and the Democratic Party center that he is the lesser evil from *their* point of view.

McGovern presents himself as a "people's candidate." This is pure crap. He is the slickest maneuverer among the candidates, and the biggest faker of them all, except for Wallace.

## Democratic Bankruptcy

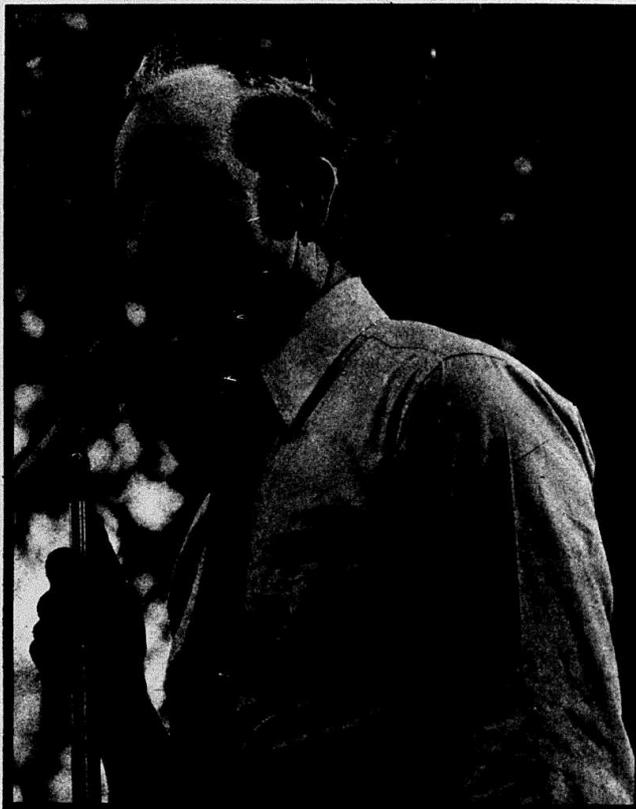
McGovern's emergence as a major Democratic contender has to be set against the background of the faltering of such figures as Muskie and Humphrey. McGovern's victories, beginning in New Hampshire, and Wallace's victories beginning Florida, transformed what had previously looked like the dullest Presidential race in memory.

The Democrats who had been previously considered the major contenders, Muskie, Humphrey, Jackson, etc. — expressed the bankruptcy of the Democratic Party, its candidates, and its politics.

Muskie, the early front-runner, campaigned on the basis of the "cool Ed Muskie" image developed during the hot days of 1968. Avoiding issues, he used as his slogan the plea: "Trust Muskie." Unfortunately for him, prolonged exposure to the voters revealed his hopeless dullness. Behind this was the fact that the dead-center wing of the Democratic Party which he represented had absolutely nothing to say.

The other major candidates moved steadily to the right — especially after Wallace's impact began to be felt during the Florida campaign. The flaming liberal, Hubert Humphrey, in Florida attacked "lazy welfare chiselers" (that is, blacks), and in California attacked McGovern for "gigantic giveaways." At the same time, during the Michigan campaign, black radio stations beamed ads featuring Humphrey's unmistakable twang calling for the Democratic Party to "walk out of the darkness of Jim Crow into the sunlight of civil rights" — followed by the announcer's explanation: "That was Hubert Humphrey — in 1948."

*This was a fit comment on the*



whole campaign of the Democratic regulars. The Democratic Party ran on the record of the past, while its candidates made more and more racist appeals. It was a campaign without honor and without shame.

The failure of the voters to respond resulted from the fact that the party had in 1972 no program. Its politics had been those of economic manipulation and social legislation to create the "welfare state." By 1972, the words "welfare state" were a joke as the economy faltered, unemployment rose, working conditions and wages lagged, and the cities became sinkholes of decay.

## Three Phases

The Democrats shared responsibility for the war in Vietnam, which even in 1972 they would not pledge unequivocally to end. They were silent on the wage controls — which their party had first proposed — and had no program for rebuilding the cities. Instead, they hoped the voters would respond to a variety of special appeals — more social security for the aged, less welfare to appease the racists, and the record of 1948 for the blacks.

Only Wallace and McGovern had the wits to understand that the majority of voters were angry and dissatisfied with traditional politics. Whereas

Wallace used this anger to build a pressure campaign to move the Democratic Party to the right, McGovern used it as part of a carefully constructed strategy to win the Presidency.

## Phase 1 — McGovern the Radical.

In the initial stage, when his campaign was considered hopeless, McGovern emphasized the "radical" elements of his program — an end to the war, amnesty for draft resisters (but not for deserters who deserve amnesty just as much), the legalization of abortion. On this basis, he appealed to former McCarthy supporters, students, and dissatisfied liberal Democrats, and built a campaign organization on the basis of their support.

## Phase 2 — McGovern the Reformer.

Having used this support to gain his first impact, McGovern then began going after the nomination in earnest. In this phase, that of the major primary campaigns, McGovern worked to "broaden his appeal." He struck out toward the white blue-collar and white-collar voters — the heart of Wallace country.

McGovern now made tax reform his chief issue. He correctly assessed the existence of a "tax revolt" among the voters he was trying to reach. McGovern proposed the repeal of tax breaks given to big business since 1960; forcing the top income-tax bracket

to pay at least part of the taxes required by law; replacement of the welfare system by a system of \$1,000 cash grants per person to each American family. (For families making over \$12,000, this would be a net increase in taxes; for those making less, a net reduction.)

At the same time, McGovern showed his compromising nature by refusing to take a clear stand against George Wallace — he candidly explained that he was trying to appeal to the same voters Wallace appealed to. And he softened earlier stands; for example, campaigning in Nebraska, he explained that he was *not* for repealing all anti-abortion laws; he was for repealing *Federal* anti-abortion laws and leaving the matter "up to the states."

Finally, McGovern steered away from the harder issues such as the wage controls, limitations on the right to strike, etc. All these anti-labor measures had been proposed by the Democratic Party of which he was a member and whose leaders he was about to woo. Like any other candidate, McGovern promised that economic progress under his administration would make these measures unnecessary. Nixon could have said as much.

**Phase 3 — McGovern the Great Compromiser.** McGovern's campaign strategy won him strong support among middle class and blue collar voters, although in Massachusetts and Michigan the issue of the war remained his biggest vote-getter. Having made the big time, McGovern now set out to dissolve opposition to his candidacy among Democratic leaders and businessmen.

McGovern's new approach can be seen in his approach to the black voter — an area in which his Congressional record is barren. In the earlier phases of the primary campaigns, Humphrey had cleaned up the black vote, and McGovern's staff had explained that the Senator was working to "develop programs" to appeal to black voters. After the California primary, this promise was junked.

Instead, according to an interview with a senior McGovern adviser, the Senator decided to go for the votes of "patriotic middle Americans." In California, the adviser explained, McGovern "didn't campaign in the suburbs enough and he didn't make a single stop at a police station" to campaign; worse, the newspapers "were all playing up" McGovern's connections with Mexican-Americans and blacks.

**Too bad for Mexican-Americans and blacks!** Before California, McGovern was seeking to demonstrate to party leaders that he could command the traditional Democracy votes; this meant cutting into Humphrey's support among blacks and other minorities. After California, his campaign for the nomination turned on winning

*(Continued on page 11)*

# Angela Davis Acquitted:

Workers Liberation League (YWLL). The CP/YWLL, although eager to recruit sympathizers of Angela Davis to their organization, would never agree to embarrass "progressive" union officials willing to sign public petitions but absolutely unwilling to organize their ranks to take action.

Even from its own point of view of recruitment, the CP could have waged a much more vigorous, dynamic defense effort. Suppose, for example, that the CP had run Angela Davis as its candidate for President. (Eugene Debs, the leader of the socialist movement, ran for President from prison in 1920 and won massive support. Eldridge Cleaver, who was on parole and facing the threat of jail, ran as the Peace and Freedom Party candidate in 1968.) Davis would undoubtedly have won a large sympathy vote, and probably thousands of her supporters would have joined the CP.

The CP deliberately threw away this chance as well, for the reason that it has no intention of running a serious campaign against the capitalist parties, just as it had no intention of mobilizing support for Davis against the pro-capitalist labor leaders. The CP, as the pro-Russian Stalinist party in the US, has a strategy of capturing leftward-moving forces in the working class and radical movements in order to keep them chained to the "progressive" wing of the capitalist political establishment. Thus the CP is formally running as its candidates the colorless hacks Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, while in practice it supports Democrat George McGovern for the White House.

In the Black community, among radicals, and throughout the world, Angela Davis has won widespread sympathy on the basis of her well-deserved reputation as a militant. She has stated her intention to return to the struggle to free political prisoners around the world.

It would indeed be a blow for the forces of freedom everywhere if she would carry out such a campaign. We suggest that Davis use her reputation and standing to demand freedom both for Black and other political prisoners in the US, and for the revolutionary socialists imprisoned by Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other Stalinist regimes.

But so long as she maintains her commitment to the reactionary politics of the Communist Party, that sort of campaign would be impossible for her.

**"The only fair trial would have been no trial at all"**



The acquittal of Angela Davis on frame-up murder, kidnapping, and conspiracy charges touched off celebrations throughout the radical movement and many sections of the black community. On Sunday, June 4, the almost all-white, middle-class jury brought in the verdict of "Not Guilty" on all charges.

An emotional outburst followed, in which Davis, weeping with joy, embraced her friends, family, and members of the jury. This was more than simply an expression of Davis' personal joy and relief at her release and the prospect of freedom. It mirrored the sentiments of a broad section of the population who have come to sympathize or actively identify with the struggle against the repression of the Black Liberation and radical movements.

The liberal and "mainstream" press, making the most of the situation, piously noted that the verdict would "destroy the myth" that Black people, Communists, and revolutionaries cannot receive a "fair trial under the American system of justice." Davis herself, however, showed no illusions on this score. In a widely quoted statement, she asserted that "the only fair trial would have been no trial at all."

The jurors evidently agreed with this assessment. One juror, interviewed on television, stated with complete confidence and authority that the state had presented no case at all. (The only "evidence" presented were letters from Davis to George Jackson, designed to "prove" that a love affair

existed between them that allegedly drove her to suicidal lengths to liberate him.) Some of the jurors openly expressed their happiness at having exposed the government's dishonesty before the eyes of the whole world.

*After holding Angela Davis without bail for sixteen months - more than a year during which she faced the prospect of never seeing the outside world again - and spending hundreds of thousands of dollars to convict her, the State of California has only added another failure to the long list of "conspiracy" charges which juries all over the country have laughed out of court.*

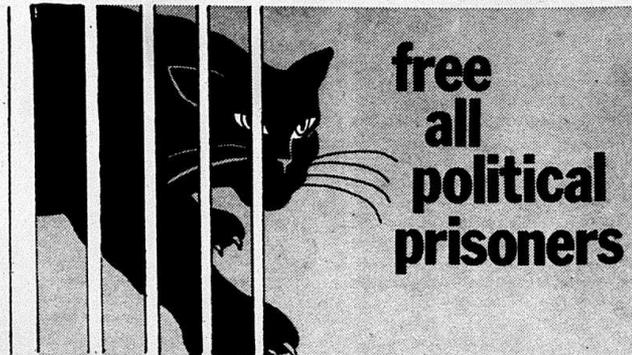
## Changed Climate

The outcome of the trial illustrates the change that has occurred in American politics over the last fifteen or twenty years with the rise of mass protest movements and radical organizations. In the 1950's, long prison terms were served by individuals for the "crime" of membership in the Communist Party. Two people - Julius and Ethel Rosenberg - were executed on fantastic contrived charges of selling atomic secrets to Russia. Today, a black woman who is openly a Communist is not only acquitted, but has gained widespread public sympathy in her struggle against the state.

In another sense, however, the trial of Angela Davis represents a missed opportunity for the American radical movement. The defense of Angela Davis could have been a rallying point

for important sections of the working class, especially young and Black workers. In the Black community, in factories, and in the trade unions the Davis case could have provided the basis for mass demonstrations and potentially even sympathy work stoppages. In earlier periods of American history, such tactics have been essential tools of defense for prisoners of class warfare, and from the standpoint of the radicalization now occurring inside the working class, the Davis defense campaign could have had a significant impact.

The fact that no such campaign occurred, that the defense case remained under the tight control of the Angela Davis Defense Committees, is a result of the politics of the groups which controlled these Committees - the Communist Party (CP) and the Young



Since the self-destruction and disintegration of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the New Left of the 1960's has fallen into disarray. At the same time, the emergence of a new rank and file movement inside the American working class has given new life to the hopes of building a socialist movement in this country. After twenty-five years of counterrevolution and a deep conservatism of the working class, the possibility once again exists of bringing socialist ideas -- the ideas of revolution from below and workers' democracy -- into the lives and struggles of this class.

Over the last several years, a number of attempts have been made to build new organizations to replace the wreckage of the New Left, not simply based on campuses or existing radical movements but committed to reaching out to tap the new militancy of various sections of the working class. Up to this point, such attempts to form broad socialist groupings have not been successful. The latest such attempt is the New American Movement (NAM).

The NAM, which will hold its first full convention in Minneapolis June 22-25, appeared six months ago to be the most hopeful first step toward a broad socialist organization. Committed on paper to a viewpoint which stressed the democratic character of socialism and the need for a struggle of all working people -- female and male, black and white, blue collar and white collar -- NAM seemed to have a good foundation for the elaboration of a political program and strategy for building a mass socialist movement.

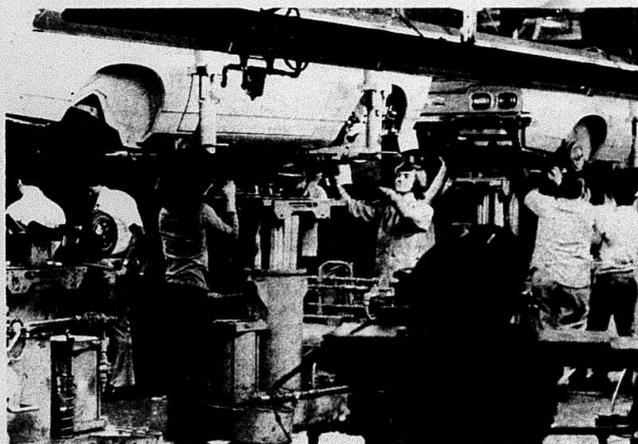
### Strategies

Within this context, a number of proposals and strategies were discussed in the NAM newspaper and at its pre-founding conference in Davenport last Thanksgiving. Members of the International Socialists proposed that the main focus of activity center around the growing labor revolt against the New Economic Policy with its wage-control programs, the deterioration of working conditions, and the collaboration of the labor bureaucracy with the policies of the state.

IS members stressed three essential aspects of such activity. The first was an analysis of the deepening instability of the economy, which forces the state to intervene directly against workers' demands for improvements. The second was political program, including the need for independent political organization by the working class against the capitalist parties as well as transitional demands to achieve full employment and halt economic stagnation, aimed at helping to raise the consciousness of militants in struggles. The third was nationwide and local action programs, such as a campaign for equal pay and equal work for women workers, through which NAM members (most of whom come from middle class radical backgrounds) could develop contacts and work with rank and file militants.

# Reformism and Stalinism Or Revolutionary Socialism:

# WHERE DOES N.A.M. GO FROM HERE?



Young workers on the line at GM's Lordstown plant. NAM leaders like Weinstein and Greer are uninterested in the growing rank and file revolt in the shops. Contemptuous of the working class, they look instead to a new intellectual elite at home, and Stalinist bureaucrats abroad.

Many leading members of NAM argued for different strategies, including organizing "people's councils" for "people's control of the economy" and related campaigns. The Thanksgiving NAM conference passed a number of resolutions committing the organization to such an orientation.

In the succeeding months, much of NAM's initial promise has apparently gone unfulfilled. Most of the chapters have not been able to implement the perspectives adopted by the conference, and a number have more or less disappeared. In and of itself, the NAM's inability to initiate an immediate mass action program is by no means fatal. It is extremely difficult for any group, no matter how politically experienced and sophisticated, to get ambitious organizing programs off the ground.

What is much more serious is the fact that a section of the NAM leadership seems committed to a course of political exclusionism, based on a set of politics which if adopted would

turn the NAM into a social-democratic sect. Should this happen, NAM would become only one more obstacle in the path of building a serious socialist movement.

This social-democratic conception is put forward in particular by James Weinstein and John Judis, who argue that the IS position represents "domestic economism and moralistic internationalism" and that such views should be excluded from NAM. By their charge of "economism," Weinstein and Judis mean that a conception which sees the struggles of industrial workers as critical to the development of a revolutionary socialist movement represents only a new form of "bourgeois ideology."

Weinstein and Judis, although they formally affirm the Marxist position that the working class is capable of self-emancipation because of its position in the system of production, argue in fact that the real motor force of revolution is "the challenge to

bourgeois hegemony" which supposedly issues from "the new working class" as distinct from industrial workers.

Behind this ideology stands a thinly veiled contempt for the conception that industrial workers are capable of democratic control of production and the state. Their "new working class" theory is not -- despite its claims -- a "broader and more scientific" definition of the working class, but rather the substitution of a potential radical intellectual elite for the entire working class as the agency for socialism.

### Greer and the PRG

Another NAM leader, Ed Greer, has denounced the IS as "anti-internationalist" for its refusal to extend political support to the program of the NLF and the Provisional Revolutionary Government in Vietnam and its analysis of the bureaucratic class character of the so-called "socialist" countries. Greer, and much of the rest of the NAM leadership, is willing to subscribe to a statement committing NAM to a democratic, libertarian conception of socialism in the United States but maintain the idea that Stalinist dictatorships represent a "transition to socialism" in other countries. For opposing this repulsive notion they condemn the IS as "national chauvinist!"

The third major attack on the IS has come from Ed Clark, a former leader of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) who has abandoned PL's Stalinist ideology and adopted a position which advocates workers' self-organization and democracy as the key to socialist revolution. He shares neither Weinstein's contempt for the "old" working class, nor Greer's enthusiasm over the Stalinist status. In these respects he is far superior to them politically.

Unfortunately, Clark's reaction to the Stalinism of PL has taken the form of opposition to any concept of a revolutionary party as "elitist" in and of itself. From this standpoint he has come forward with the proposal of excluding advocates of such a party, including the IS. Thus, tragically, he finds himself on the same side as the social-democratic and pro-Stalinist tendencies in NAM.

In responding to these critics, the IS has called for a full discussion of the political issues raised. Members of the IS will present proposals outlining an action program for NAM based on the rank and file revolt, an anti-imperialist position on the Vietnam War supporting the military victory of the NLF but opposing its reactionary politics, and revolutionary internationalism in opposition to all forms of exploitation and oppression. The IS will also oppose the exclusion from the convention of various political tendencies, including the members of PL and the Socialist Workers Party which have been excluded by name in advance.

This convention will indicate NAM's viability as a part of the process of building a mass socialist movement in the US. There is the possibility of organizing a section of the fragmented radical movement into an action-oriented, working class socialist movement. If the perspectives of the current leaders are adopted, however, this promise will go down the drain, and only a bureaucratic shell will remain. ■

# Teamster Tops Sell Out Bottlers Strike

Ken Smith

Late in May, Joe Diviny, First Vice President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, ordered Bay Area bottlers of Local 896 back to work and formally ended the bitter six month strike in the soft drink industry. This order came despite the fact that Local 896 had minutes before voted 119-118 to reject the pact arrived at by union officials and company representatives.

Five other locals with fewer strikers had voted to accept the pact. The locals involved had a pre-strike agreement that none of the 1,300 strikers would go back until all locals were satisfied, but this agreement was scrapped by the International hacks. They also had to scrap the Constitution of the International in order to rule that it took a two-thirds vote to reject the contract.

*This behavior on the part of the officials came as no surprise to most strikers. They came to recognize during the strike that there were not two forces in the fight but three: the companies fighting for their interests, the ranks fighting for their own interests and the officials fighting for their own interests.*

Side No. 1, the soft drink industry, let it be known from the start that there would be a tough fight. Company spokesmen boasted they would "break the union," and then hired the Food Employers Council (FEC) as their representative to attempt to do just that. The FEC, with a well-earned reputation for union-busting determination and prowess, planned a complete strategy and then followed through on it.

When the contract expired in August last year, they successfully stalled off a strike until December. Then, in the off-season for Coke and other soft drinks, they provoked a strike at first one company, then two, and then locked out the remaining workers.

## Employers' Offensive

The industry went on the offensive on several fronts. First they hid behind the Pay Board guidelines of 5.5 percent to justify keeping raises down, and carried out a public relations campaign about it. Second, they hired scabs to maintain partial production, and rent-a-pigs to protect the scabs and intimidate strikers. Finally, they made direct appeals to the workers through frequent letters to break down morale and start a back-to-work movement.

The FEC "plan" called for a long strike throughout the winter, so they used every pretext to break off negotiations. Toward the end they announced they would not negotiate at

all and individual workers would have to come back on their own.

Side No. 2, the union officials, (referred to in the media as "the Union") began the strike with no plan for winning it. They hoped to strike the companies one at a time, under the assumption that the companies would "compete" with each other. Unfortunately, the companies understand the meaning of class solidarity much better than the union piecards.

This should have been obvious to even the dullest bureaucrat after the companies designated the Food Employers Council as their representative. But the bureaucrats had a strong reason to avoid taking notice of the united employers; they didn't want to face up to what that unity implied for strike strategy.

**The most obvious response when a relatively weak union is confronted with an industry-wide employers' offensive is to spread the strike, to mo-**

by the Southern California locals but denied by the International.

*So Teamsters in Northern California were confronted by the ludicrous spectacle of their brothers in Los Angeles being forced to scab on the Bay Area strike. And the Los Angeles Teamsters were scabbing on themselves too, because as the strike in the north was being defeated, they were settling in Los Angeles for a lousy contract... with the same Food Employers Council.*

The International also prevented the strikers from countering FEC propaganda about the Pay Board and the 5.5 percent guidelines. In fact, Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons passed the word down that if they publicly demanded more than 5.5 percent then he would withdraw sanction.

So while the officials, led by Bay Area IBT chief Jack Goldberger -- a friend of San Francisco Mayor Alioto -- rattled their swords to the press about

try) and job security, but as the strike dragged on, their concerns became more defensive as their jobs and union were threatened altogether.

Many of the rank and file strikers knew what had to be done to win. Spreading the strike was consistently talked about on the lines. Moreover, the question of a general strike, which the bureaucrats cynically threatened when they had no intention of following through on it, was seized upon by the ranks. At the one strike meeting of all strikers that the officials allowed during the six month strike, speakers who called for a general Teamster strike were given thunderous applause.

Nor was this a far-fetched scheme. The strikers were scattered in several locals, locals that include some 30,000 Teamsters, including thousands in the freight industry. Many of these Teamsters who watched their brothers losing the bitter strike were ready to move; sometimes on the picket lines they would stop to ask when they would be called out.

What was lacking was organization and leadership of the rank and file sentiment. Although calls for a general Teamster strike or for spreading the strike to LA were greeted favorably, there was no group that could begin to seriously challenge the bureaucrats for leadership.

## Strike Committees

There were, however, some steps taken in this direction. Throughout the long strike, Strike Committees of stewards and rank and filers organized public demonstrations of strikers which gave visibility to the soft-drink boycott called by the Teamsters, and helped maintain the morale and solidarity of the strikers. The strike committee in one local put out a regular bulletin that was critical of the International, including its participation on the Pay Board.

When the officials first tried to sell out the ranks in April with a lousy settlement, they were soundly rebuffed and even as most men (except in Local 896) reluctantly voted to accept the final sell-out, they cheered oppositionists who spoke against it.

This strike may be an indication of what's in store for unionists in the near future. Emboldened by high unemployment and the government's anti-labor assault, many corporations are likely to be taking a tip from "employer militants" like the Food Employers Council. And we can expect that most bureaucrats will fare about as badly as the Teamster piecards did in this case.

The question for socialists and other militants is whether or not we can begin to organize a viable alternative to the present "labor statesmen." Even a few victories for the ranks by running over the officialdom might well be so infectious as to give nightmares to both the corporate class and the bureaucrats. ■



Teamster pickets at Oakland bottling plant

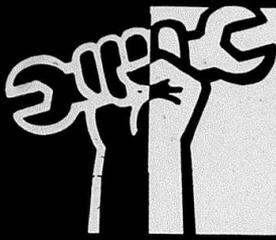
**bilize broad working class support to match the strength of the bosses. In this case, there were some natural ways that the strike could have been spread, all of which the bureaucrats carefully avoided at all costs.**

First of all, one Northern California bottler is Safeway, the biggest food retailer in the country. All of Safeway's operations in Northern California could have been brought to a halt, especially their big distribution center which employs over 1,000 Teamsters. This might have forced Safeway to break ranks with the other companies and settle. But the Teamster tops signed a me-too agreement with Safeway to avoid a strike there.

Secondly, the Southern California bottling companies, which supplied the Bay Area during the strike, were allowed to continue to operate although the contract there had expired. In fact, strike sanction was requested

a general strike, they in fact preferred to see the strike defeated rather than risk even the slightest mobilization of labor's power. And they did that not because they are corrupt or stupid (although they may well be both), but because they want to preserve their position as "labor statesmen." They depend on a cozy relationship with the employers, the government, and, in the case of the Teamsters, Nixon. And they fear unleashing the potential strength of the ranks (side No. 3) because they know that if the ranks are mobilized they may just decide to take some control of their own union.

Side No. 3, the strikers, were the invisible side in the strike. They had no presence in the press, even the Teamster press. They had no presence in the negotiations, except in so far as they could threaten the officials. Their initial interest in the strike was to win a wage increase (their wages lag behind Teamsters in the freight indus-



# labor in brief

Karl Fischer

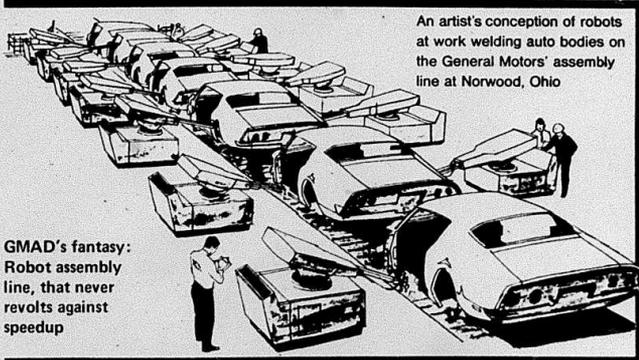
## Norwood speedup revolt continues

UAW workers at the General Motors assembly plant in Norwood, Ohio, are entering the eleventh week of a bitter strike over production standards and working conditions.

The Norwood strike represents the well-advertised "second round" of a struggle between young UAW militants and GM's first-string speedup crew, the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD).

Earlier this year, auto workers at GM's Lordstown Ohio plant struck for weeks against GMAD's moves toward higher line speeds and "efficiency" layoffs of workers. [See *Workers' Power* Nos. 50, 51, 54].

The basic issue at Norwood is also speedup. Union officials estimate that there are over 825 unsettled grievances at Norwood, all relating to speedup. In addition, they estimate that 1,200 workers have been laid off at Norwood since GMAD took over,



An artist's conception of robots at work welding auto bodies on the General Motors' assembly line at Norwood, Ohio

GMAD's fantasy: Robot assembly line, that never revolts against speedup

while production has been maintained at previous levels.

So far, neither side has given an inch in the dispute.

"Management has made minor manpower concessions," said UAW Local 674 Shop Committee Chairman Jim Young, "but nothing even close to being acceptable."

"Flint (Michigan) area delegations from local unions in that area would be coming to Norwood on June 18," Young added, "as a show of support in our strike."

Young has been in contact with brothers at the Lordstown plant, and indicated that little has changed there since the recent strike.

"The fires are burning again in Lordstown," Young said. "Work standards, grievances, and disciplinary cases are piling up, and there is a general kick-up all over again, according to the Lordstown shop chairman."

## '73 auto contracts: Wages or Fringes?

The national contracts between the United Auto Workers and the Big Three auto companies will expire a year from September, and rumors are already circulating as to the UAW's priorities in the upcoming negotiations.

The big question is whether the UAW leadership will modify their wage demands, given the Federal Pay Board's 5.5 percent guideline on new wage increases.

UAW President Woodcock has said they will not. "We will demand, and negotiate, what our members feel they need in wages and fringe benefits," he said recently.

"After that, if there is any question, we'll fight it out," he continued.

Woodcock indicated that the UAW would not be confined by Phase II guidelines.

But others are not so sure.

The April 29 issue of *Business Week* -- a magazine put out by and

for businessmen -- carried an article stating that the UAW, "betting that economic controls will be around for a while," will keep their wage demands in line with the Pay Board guidelines, and shoot for increased fringe benefits instead.

"Woodcock's biggest task now is to prepare the militant UAW membership to accept less of a wage increase in 1973 than it won in 1970," the article continued.

In addition to wages, the retirement plan is expected to be a major issue next year. Rank and file auto workers for years have pressed for a "30-and-Out" plan -- retirement after 30 years service, no matter what age.

The UAW won a partial victory on this question in 1971, and is expected to push for an ironclad 30-and-Out plan next year. A UAW local in Pontiac, Michigan, has also called for a boost in pension payments from \$500 a month to \$650.

## Phase II a success: Profits up and up

In the 57th issue of *Workers' Power*, we reported that profits were up to an all-time high. Figures published in the May 13 issue of *Business Week* confirm that claim. Overall, after-tax profits were 15 percent higher in the first quarter of 1972 than in the similar period in 1971. According to *Business Week*, "US business earned more money in the first quarter of 1972 than in any previous three-month period in its history."

Of the 35 different industrial categories surveyed, only six showed declines in profits, and only one, airlines, showed a loss. Several industries profits actually rose much faster. Some examples: aerospace, up 24 percent; appliances, up 62 percent; automotive, up 21 percent; building materials, up 51 percent; radio and TV broadcasting, up 107 percent; railroads, up 16 percent; textiles and apparel, up 15 percent; and trucking, up 42 percent.

Furthermore, profit margins (profits as a percent of sales) were up substantially to 5.9 percent from 5.3 percent in the previous quarter. This may not sound like much, but for a company with \$10 million in sales, the .6 percent increase in the margin results in a \$600,000 increase in profits.

These figures show that the Phase II controls are doing exactly what they were designed to do -- raise profits. As for bettering the living standards of working people, or ending unemployment, that cannot be achieved by any tinkering with the Phase II machinery. To make that possible, the first step is to abolish wage controls altogether.

## Harsh anti-farmworkers law passed in Arizona

On June 4, more than 7,000 people rallied in Phoenix, Arizona, against a new farm-labor law described by United Farm Workers Union vice-president Dolores Huerta as "the most repressive piece of labor legislation ever enacted in the farm field or any other area."

The new law, signed by the Governor two hours after passing the State Legislature, is part of a national offensive against the United Farm Workers Union. Similar laws, backed by the Farm Bureau, are pending in 12 additional states.

The law prohibits strikes in the fields during the harvest season, thus outlawing the farmworkers most powerful strike weapon. The law also makes it illegal after August 13 to boycott a specific product, such as lettuce.

The law allows only boycotts against specific labels used by producers. Since labels can be, and often are, changed daily, the law makes any effective boycott illegal.

The law also prohibits picketing an employer in order to force recognition of the union, if the union is not already certified as the bargaining agent of the employees in question. Since the only way to legally win such recognition is through an NLRB representation election, and since farm employees are specifically exempted

from coverage by the NLRB, this would make it next to impossible for the Farm Workers to organize in Arizona.

The penalties for violation of these provisions of the law include jail terms of up to one year, and fines of up to \$5,000.

Growers' associations, with good reason, have stated that they will press for similar legislation in other states. Kansas and Idaho have already enacted similar laws.

The United Farm Workers have mounted a major effort against this law which would destroy their organizing efforts in Arizona. Letters against this anti-farmworker law are needed and should be sent to Governor Williams, State Capitol, Phoenix, Arizona.

The march began in the Phoenix barrio at the Santa Rita Community Center where union President Cesar Chavez had begun a 24 day fast. They marched through downtown Phoenix, picking up support from community people, and arrived 7,000 strong at the Del Webb Convention Center. (Del Webb is an early land "developer" in the Southwest, and a strong Goldwater supporter.) Marchers came from Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, California, and Oregon as well as Arizona.



## Steel officeworkers look for union

Some 600 office workers at the Great Lakes Steel facilities in Ecorse, Michigan, have been trying to join a union for some months. But they have been unable to find any union to "organize" them.

"We're having a hell of a time finding any takers," said one worker.

The office workers are unwilling to join the United Steelworkers -- the union which represents 9,000 hourly workers at Great Lakes -- because that union failed to organize them five years ago, and because they are uncertain that their rights would be respected in the large local.

The workers thought they had an arrangement to join with the Teamsters, but at the last moment the Teamsters pulled out. The Teamsters have a "no-raiding" agreement with the Steelworkers.

The group next tried the UAW, but found the same situation.

"The Steelworkers told us that if we didn't go with them, we wouldn't have any union at all," said one of the group.

The workers have contacted the American Civil Liberties Union, which suggested formation of an independent union. ■

# Labor

[Continued from page 1]

based in nature, and the isolation resulting from this class character has severely limited the ability of the of the anti-war movement to go beyond mere protest.

Thus, the formation of a working class anti-war organization, formed to carry out direct action against the war, would be a very welcome and necessary development at this time.

But the possibilities of Labor for Peace becoming such an organization seem slight. The original call, signed by several trade union officials, made it clear that the thrust of the conference was aimed, not at rank and file workers, but rather at other labor officials. Indeed, the conference was originally to be open only to delegates from unions -- i.e. other union officials -- and not to rank and file union members, or to the general public.

More important, however, is the kind of action that the organizers of the conference project for Labor for Peace. Basic to the idea of labor moving against the war is the conception that labor's real power is reflected at the workplace; and that the only way to make labor's opposition to the war felt with the rulers of this country -- indeed, the only way to give such opposition any meaning -- is through withholding the services that labor perform; through *political strikes to force immediate US withdrawal*.

But the union officials who have called Labor for Peace into being have no such perspective. Indeed, they have continually resisted such



activities within their own unions.

Their answer to what action labor should take against the war is invariably electoral -- to work for and support the election of a "liberal Democrat" to replace Richard Nixon. More and more, as this election year has developed, this has meant George McGovern.

This strategy -- perpetuating the subordination of the labor movement to the anti-labor Democratic Party -- is both bankrupt and reactionary.

McGovern's opposition to the war dates only from the time that a significant section of the ruling class decided that the war could not be won and was costing US capitalism too much (both at home and elsewhere in the world). McGovern is not opposed to US imperialism in general -- much less to the capitalist system that produces it -- only to its fiasco in Vietnam.

McGovern, like the Democratic Party as a whole, is pledged to defend

the basic, capitalist status quo in this country and to advance its interests around the world. He merely sees himself as a more sophisticated supporter of the system than Nixon. If he ends the war in Vietnam, it will only be to set the stage for another imperialist adventure somewhere else.

In addition, the record of liberals like McGovern on economic issues -- issues so central to labor's interests -- leaves little room for doubt that their fundamental priorities are the interests of business. The authority for the current wage controls being pressed against unions so vigorously was given to President Nixon last year by a Congress controlled in both houses by Democrats.

But despite these facts, the founders of Labor for Peace intend to press such a self-defeating strategy on their newly created organization, and on as much of the labor movement as they can.

## Split at the Top

In fact, their real motivation for calling Labor for Peace into being is to further their own interests in an increasingly visible split within the ranks of the American trade union bureaucracy. This emerging split lines up AFL-CIO President George Meany, with several other officials from AFL-CIO industrial and building trades unions, on the one side, and Leonard Woodcock and Emil Mazey of the UAW, along with dissident AFL-CIO officials drawn largely from service industry unions, on the other side.

The developing split involves varied questions of trade union practice; but at present, it turns on the question of which capitalist politician to support in the upcoming presidential elections. Meany and Co. are committed to an old-line "liberal," Hubert Humphrey. The UAW and others are moving more and more toward McGovern.

Thus, it comes as no surprise that so many of the Labor for Peace founders -- Woodcock and Mazey of the UAW, Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta of the Farmworkers Union, Patrick Gorman and Clifton Caldwell of the Meatcutters, David Livingston of the Distributive Workers -- are official or unofficial supporters of McGovern.

Nor is it surprising that after Harold Gibbons, a Teamsters Vice-President, endorsed the Labor for Peace call, Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimons publically disassociated himself from Gibbons' actions (Fitzsimons has been leaning toward support of Nixon).

And so the Labor for Peace conference has been designed by its founders, not to project real union actions against the war, but to marshal support for a Democratic Party electoral campaign.

What must be done, if Labor for Peace is to escape the limitations imposed by its organizers, is twofold. First, the pro-Democratic Party electoral orientation of the leadership must be defeated, in favor of building an independent political party of the labor movement that can truly represent America's working people.

Second, a perspective for direct action against the war must be adopted by the conference. Only through such actions can labor's voice be heard; only through such actions can this war finally be ended. ■

## Labor for Peace Rank and File Caucus

Various working class newspapers including *We the People*, from Madison and *People's Voice* from Chicago, and left groups including the *International Socialists*, are calling for rank and file workers to attend the upcoming Labor for Peace Conference in St. Louis, Missouri and form a Rank and File Caucus there on June 23-24.

The Conference has been called by high ranking officials of such unions as UAW, Teamsters, Meatcutters, UE, Longshoremens, AFSCME, and District 65. The conference organizers have not only made little effort to encourage participation by rank and file workers, they have actually set up barriers, including a stiff \$15 registration fee. But any union member officially sanctioned by their local can attend as a delegate; others will be admitted as observers.

[Registration materials can be obtained from Labor for Peace, 300 So. Grand Blvd., St. Louis, Missouri].

Feeling that the conference will probably be used by union bureaucrats just to state an anti-war position or organize demonstrations acceptable to Democratic Party candidates, left workers groups are forming a caucus

which will emphasize direct action by rank and file workers. The caucus wants the immediate organization of local meetings, with full democratic participation by the rank and file, which will begin to mobilize for a one day work stoppage against both the war and the wage freeze.

The caucus will also call on the conference to denounce the war, not as a mistake which liberal politicians can correct, but as the inevitable consequence of the expansion of the US corporate empire in search of profits (the same corporate interests responsible for the economic crisis in the US).

Founders of the caucus will urge it to call for a denunciation of both the Democratic and Republican Parties as the political representatives of big business, both of which bear responsibility for the war and the wage freeze.

[For further information, contact *We the People*, Box 252, Madison, Wisconsin 53701 (phone (608) 251-2821), or *Workers' Power* (phone (313) 869-3137). Anyone arriving in St. Louis who is interested in the caucus can get in touch by calling (314) 371-1872.]

# NEW YORK HOSPITAL WORKERS PREPARE FOR STRIKE

Over twenty thousand workers from thirty-three private (or "voluntary") and ten city-run hospitals in New York City walked out of work on June 13 and rallied near City Hall. The walkout, carried out in defiance of an injunction and a massive slander campaign against the workers by the media and the hospital administration, brought home the workers' determination to strike July 1 if their contract demands are not met.

The demonstrators were members of Local 1199 Drug and Hospital Union, which represents workers in a number of New York private hospitals. The union does not include doctors, registered nurses, and many of

the secretaries (who are mostly pro-union).

The League of Voluntary Hospitals, a body representing the employing hospitals, has brought contract negotiations to a standstill by refusing to meet with 1199 and the New York State mediators on any but its own (unacceptable) terms. It has countered the union demand for a raise of 15 percent or \$25 a week, whichever is higher, and a one year contract, with an offer of a \$6 a week raise for the life of a three year contract!

The League is also calling for binding arbitration. 1199 officials reject the imposition of a settlement on

workers, though they accept mediation.

Meanwhile, the League and the press are attempting to turn public sentiment against the workers. 1199, in planning to strike, has been accused of intending to murder patients for monetary gain.

But New York City hospitals are already notoriously unsafe, and whose fault is that? The administrators: for the past three or four years they have been constantly reducing the staff of the hospitals through a regular policy of attrition (it is unusual for a job that has been vacated to be filled).

This necessarily results in worsening conditions for patients, as well as for workers. It is the administrators who have shown that they care more for money than for the service they are supposed to provide.

The hospital managements also threaten to raise their already astronomical rates to cover any wage increase. But unionized labor is not the only cost involved in hospital budgets. Hospitals also maintain professional employees and a vast network of superfluous supervisory personnel (the outlay for supervisory salaries is disproportionately high as compared to other industries). Let the hospitals open their books and prove that wage gains for the employees will force increases in hospital rates.

*Beyond this is the whole question of financing medical care. Whether public or "private," a hospital is by nature a public service, and should in fact be maintained by government funds. In no case, as the union should recognize and publicly proclaim,*

*should a pay increase be passed on to the patient, who faces the same rising cost of living as do the hospital employees.*

Other problems besides slander face the workers. One is a problem of jurisdiction which will come to a head on July 1, the date of the projected strike. The four thousand 1199 members working in city hospitals are there under "affiliation contracts" and are actually on the payrolls of private hospitals.

This arrangement, which aims at improving health care in city hospitals, was worked out about 10 years ago. Now the city is planning to roll back half of the 1199 employees in city hospitals to the city payroll.

The problem involved is that city workers are in District Council 37 of AFSCME. Their wages and benefits are lower than those of the 1199 members. The roll-back would mean a loss of \$30-\$35 a week pay, fewer benefits, and a complete loss of seniority for the 1199 members. 1199 has appealed to DC37 to act with it but the issue has not been sufficiently dealt with as a real problem for DC37 members as well; that is, their need for equal pay and benefits with 1199.

As a result of the walkout Tuesday, workers in several hospitals have been suspended. 250 workers at New York University Medical Center walked off the job Wednesday in protest over 3 suspensions there. Arrests were made, but 1199 officials ordered them back to work. 37 members were also arrested in a sit-in protesting suspensions at a Bronx nursing home. ■

# Boycott Farah!

Tom Sutherland



Mass picket at Farah plant in El Paso

Thousands of employees at the Farah Manufacturing Co. are involved in a month-long strike in Texas and New Mexico. Farah employs about 10,000 workers in eight plants in San Antonio, Victoria, and El Paso, Texas, and Las Cruces and Albuquerque, New Mexico. The center of the strike is El Paso where four plants employ 7,000 people.

The strike began May 3 in San Antonio, when workers began walking out following the firing of eight women workers active in a union organizing drive. The strike spread to El Paso on May 6, where 2,000 workers walked out the first week. Today almost 5,000 workers are on strike against Farah.

Farah produces men's and women's slacks and employs a majority of women workers, most Chicanas. Farah claims that it does not discriminate because "Ninety-four percent of Farah's employees are of Mexican-American origin."

The workers are represented by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union which has been organizing Farah workers for several years. Farah refuses to negotiate with the union, claiming only 1,500 hundred workers are on strike and that the union doesn't have enough support to even call for a union recognition election.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union won a recognition election in the Farah cutting department in El Paso a year ago, but Farah refused to negotiate. Farah has already been found guilty of unfair labor practices by the National Labor Relations Board.

Twenty-nine workers in the El Paso

cutting department were fired a year-and-a-half ago by Farah for union activities. The NLRB has ordered 19 of the fired workers reinstated with back pay. The cases of the other workers are still pending.

## Happy Workers?

In Albuquerque, Farah put out a full page newspaper ad, signed by the "Happy Farah Employees," listing the supposed benefits granted Farah employees in Albuquerque. However, no Albuquerque employees even received these benefits. Employees must work five years before getting sick leave, six years before getting medical benefits.

Arrests of strikers on the picket line have been widespread. Farah has obtained a court injunction limiting picketing to no more than 2 people at one spot and 50 feet between pickets.

The union is demanding that Farah recognize the workers' right to organize, that Farah recognize the Amalgamated as the representative of the workers and enter into negotiations. They have begun a nationwide boycott of Farah slacks. ■

*[Support is needed to help build the boycott of Farah and force the company to recognize the right of the workers to organize. Letters can be sent to the Farah Manufacturing Company, El Paso, Texas, protesting Farah's unfair labor practices and endorsing the boycott. Letters of support, boycott news, and financial contributions can be sent to the Farah Strike Support Committee, c/o Chicano Studies, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.]*

# Committee for a Workers' Government Joins I.S.

The International Socialists are proud to welcome into membership the comrades of the Committee for a Workers Government. These comrades were formally members of the Communist Tendency, an opposition expelled from the Socialist Workers Party for the sole "crime" of their ideas.

Their opposition was to the SWP's abandonment of a revolutionary working class program as it accommodates itself to the reformist and middle class politics of the "youth radicalization" and to its liberal and union bureaucracy allies in the anti-war movement. Another larger opposition in the SWP, the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, objected only to the SWP's lack of involvement and abandoning of union and factory work, but it agreed politically with the SWP's majority on its reformist program for the anti-war, women's, and student movements; and excluded the Communist Tendency from its ranks because of the latter's consistent defense of what proletarian politics as opposed to a mere "orientation" means - reformist politics inside the working class are no more socialist than are reformist politics in the middle class movements.

The SWP forbid both tendencies to carry on their politics after the SWP convention. The Proletarian Orientation gave in; the Communist Tendency refused and was expelled.

The Communist Tendency quickly made its way through the sectarian wilderness where groups talk a lot about the working class, but keep their opportunist tendencies in check by drawing a sharp line between themselves and the potentially corrupting real world. It was repulsed by the sectarianism, lack of democracy, and lack of any real involvement in the life and struggles of the working class of most supposedly Trotskyist groups. The C.T.'s point of view on the relationship of revolutionaries to the actual ongoing class struggle brought it closer to the International Socialists and eventually to the decision to join our ranks.

Although they are a small group, we believe their joining is an important milestone in the process of regrouping the fragmented forces of revolutionary working class socialism. While other groups are splitting under the impact of the economic crisis and the emerging working class revival, the IS through its involvement in the rank and file movement is becoming a force for regrouping other working class revolutionaries and helping to lay the basis for a revolutionary party.

The fundamental contradictions of a decaying capitalism, which have at last broken through the facade of a generation of prosperity, pose in the most acute way the problem of finding as Trotsky put it, "a road to the workers."

In the last few years, under the pressure of the rising crisis of this society, the whole panoply of petty-bourgeois radicalism has crumbled. The middle class withdrew from the field, unable to shoulder the burdens of the struggle against the capitalist class.

The protagonists of this social system have been brought increasingly face-to-face. The proletariat stands alone, the only class capable, through its role in the process of production, of uprooting the old order and of replacing it with a higher form of social organization.

All the "Trotskyist" organizations are now confronted with an unavoidable reality. They must integrate themselves into the class and arm the class programmatically for the battles to come, or they must inevitably perish. In response to this situation organizations such as the Workers League or the Spartacist League have begun a definite shift to the right, in accordance with their petty-bourgeois composition and perspectives.

One national leader of the Spartacist League ridiculed as "workerism"

tants and contact with the class in its rightward drift.

Despite the seriousness and dedication of many of its members, it exists in a symbiotic relationship with the SL, constantly fighting over the remnants of the radicalism of the last decade. Objectively, these groups, together with *Vanguard Newsletter*, which, with skillful eclecticism, combines the worst features of both, and the various crank "Labor Committees," represent only obstacles to the growth of Trotskyism.

One group, the International Socialists, has developed in exactly the opposite direction, towards the working class. It has attempted to transform itself from a student group into a group rooted in the proletariat. This transformation has not been completed. There is no way that it could be under the present circumstances. Nonetheless, the fact that it has been begun marks the IS as distinctive, as a group moving left when all the others are heading right.

This leftward movement has had a beneficial effect on its program as

able" in Marx' view as long as it functions to develop and educate a cadre prior to the emergence of the question of power. The reactionary aspect of a sectarian existence is that instead of defining itself by what it has in common with the movement of the class, as the communists should, such a group finds its reason for existence in a "point of honor," what *distinguishes* it from the class which it seeks to lead. In the course of history the reactionary aspect has been far more dominant than the progressive and necessary side.

Any Trotskyist who wants to negate the sect in a progressive way, in the movement of the class as a whole, has at present one alternative - to join the IS. Any other course will lead, in our opinion, to a sterile ingrown sectarianism, or complete demoralization and a consequent lapse into opportunism or an apolitical existence.

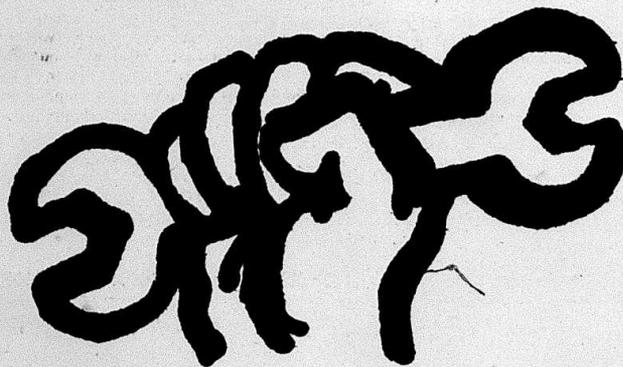
Our tendency arose from the wreckage, politically speaking, of the Socialist Workers Party. At its last convention we were the sole class-struggle principled left opposition.

The larger opposition, the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, a disparate grouping at best, contained anti-leadership elements ranging from confused revolutionists to rebuffed office-seekers. We warned that a large section would, when the tendency collapsed, "return to the bosom of the leadership."

The revolutionists who participated in that tendency and other sincere Trotskyists in that disgrace to the name of Trotskyism, the SWP-YSA, which now stands only a hair's-breadth from open reformism, are faced with a crisis. Self-deluding passivity will lead only to defeat. Suicidal leaps into the arms of Wohlforth or Robertson will lead only to defeat. All these courses will end in the rejection of the healthy impulse that motivated the desire to be a socialist in the first place.

It seems to us that if our tendency, a tendency condemned as super-orthodox by the revisionist can accept and be accepted by the IS, then the remaining revolutionists inside the SWP have some hard facts to consider before they rule out the IS.

We are all faced, as Trotskyists, with the necessity of making real the whole methodology and strategy of the *Transitional Program*. This means breaking from the old reactionary organizations and leaving them to rot. It means turning our face to the workers for the first time in twenty-five years. It means testing our various positions against reality in the class struggle. We feel that anyone who agrees with us on these points really belongs in no other organization, because of its performance and that of the other groups, than the International Socialists. ■



the idea that "work in the class has primacy." Having reached a certain size from the leavings of Progressive Labor, the SL and its RCY represent the most ludicrous example of senile Oehlerism, minus Oehler the mass-worker [a leader of a small ultra-left Trotskyist group in the '30's], seen in our time.

They combine the most sectarian rationalizations for not doing workers' work with a touching sensitivity to the whinings of the studentry. Any one under the illusion that these groups have anything remotely resembling a proletarian orientation is in for a tremendous shock, like that of the amateur handyman who decides to test a lamp by sticking his finger in the socket.

The Workers League neatly complements the SL-RCY. It leaps from one get-rich-quick scheme to another, from toadying to the SWP to cheap shots at Lora [a Bolivian Trotskyist leader]. It too, without ceasing to constantly talk about the workers, is increasingly losing proletarian mili-

well. This development has likewise not been completed. We have differences of considerable scope with the IS, the most obvious being on the "Russian Question." There is no way that the program of Trotskyism can be made to come alive except through continuous interaction with the class whose needs it expresses. This is why the IS can grow and the "pure" groups can only retrogress.

We of the Committee for a Workers Government, formerly the Communist Tendency, have decided to join the International Socialists. We see the IS as the only group seriously trying to implement a proletarian orientation, a question which is fundamental for us. In addition, its full and extensive democracy combined with its area of activity provide us with an opportunity to test our program for the class against the development of the class in reality and to win people to our views as they prove themselves in practice. No real Marxist can ask for more at this time.

A sect can be "historically justifi-

# Editorial

[Continued from page 1]

Govern has been getting checks in four and five figures— but their influence is not only through their checkbooks. Every reformist politician seeks a friendly relationship with the leaders of business; this gives business a veto power— not necessarily on small questions or where there is a conflict among businessmen themselves, but on the overall direction of policy.

*The anti-democratic nature of the Democrats throws into sharp relief the labor bureaucracy's support of this party. The argument has been that Democrats are "friends of labor" -- but this friendship has never been very real. It has no reality at all in this period, when the stagnation of the capitalist economy as a whole means that business requires an attack on the wages and working conditions of organized and unorganized labor -- which in turn requires attempts to chip away at the rights of unions.*

It is the labor bureaucracy's comfortable illusion, not that the people influence the Democratic Party, but that they, the bureaucrats, do. But the idea that contributing dollars to Democratic coffers, and votes to the machines, can equal the influence of the capitalist class, is only a pathetic illusion.

The labor support for the Democrats only builds support for demagogues like Wallace, who has been in the position of being the only candidate to voice -- on a right wing basis -- the feeling of "little people" that they are unrepresented in American politics.

Support for the Democratic Party, in the form of McGovern, is support

for a party committed to capitalism and a candidate already thoroughly housetrained by business and the gray center of the party. A real progressive program, in this period, would require a refusal to back any Democratic candidate, and the forming of an independent working class party, which could fight for the interests of workers and oppressed without a prior commitment to the interests of capitalism.

The fight for such a party -- not the debate between salvation in the form of McGovern, Humphrey, or Nixon -- should be the first priority of every politically conscious person. ■

On June 16, Jerry Rubin announced that the demonstrations which his group, the "Youth International Party," had planned for the Democratic convention, were being cancelled. Rubin explained that there were "progressive forces" within the Democratic Party, whom the demonstrations might embarrass, and that the YIP would concentrate its efforts on the GOP convention in August.

*This put a partial period to one of the rottenest episodes in the history of the American radical movement.*

Last fall, Rubin and other public spokesmen of the "new left" announced plans for demonstrations at the GOP convention (then planned for San Diego) to "evict Nixon." Billed as a protest against the war and repression, this was a thinly-disguised pro-Democratic scheme.

In turn, the strategy of electing a Democrat had been urged by North Vietnamese leaders in conference with these movement spokesmen; in doing so, the North Vietnamese followed their fundamental politics, which are not those of revolutionary international opposition to capitalism, but those of maneuvering for a quid-pro-quo.

When the GOP convention shifted to Miami, plans were made for demon-



strations at both conventions. However, their character was not changed. Rubin revealed his hand by endorsing McGovern; others in the planning groups did not do so openly, but argued that "if we were going to Dump Nixon, youth better have some voice in who replaced him."

The Communist Party, too, though not involved in the plans for demonstrations, has cynically supported the McGovern forces in an under-the-table fashion even while running its own Party candidates. It has spearheaded the "defeat Nixon" rhetoric which translates into "elect the Democrats," and its West Coast newspaper, *People's World*, gave thinly veiled support to McGovern as against Humphrey in the California primary.

As of this writing, demonstrations may still take place at the Democratic convention, under the sponsorship of these other groups; demonstrations at

the Republican convention appear a certainty. The possibilities of violence by police and by provocateurs are ominous, but not the most ominous aspect of these plans.

Both sets of demonstrations are politically rotten and should not be supported. They are not demonstrations against the policies of oppression and exploitation represented by both parties and all candidates. *Rather, they are demonstrations for one of the candidates -- McGovern. Because of this, they do not correct anyone's illusions about this political system, but reinforce them.*

In a period when above all the illusions of millions of workers and oppressed people about the Democratic Party need to be challenged, the spectacle of "revolutionaries" wearing a Mao badge on one lapel and a McGovern button on the other is sorry indeed. ■

# McGovern

[Continued from page 3]

over the leaders; if this could be done, then as Democratic nominee, he would have blacks and Mexican-American in his pocket. So -- off to the suburbs. Nothing better illustrates McGovern's slick opportunism.

McGovern's major effort, since Michigan and even more since California, has been his campaign for the support of business and of Democratic Party regulars. In an ad in the *Wall Street Journal* in late May, and in an interview in *Business Week* of May 27, McGovern tried to reassure business about his intentions.

He carefully pointed up the limitations of his reform proposals. For example, his attack on tax breaks for business would "not mean moving back to the old 52 percent corporate

tax rate. I would leave that at 48 percent." In a "background" interview, one of McGovern's chief economic advisers confided, "We simply cannot do the job for the poor in this country entirely by taking money from the rich."

More important than specific concessions, *McGovern in the Business Week interview virtually promised in advance to compromise any part of his program unacceptable to business.*

*"It's hard for me to believe that Congress would pass a program that would wreck the free enterprise system; a President... can't command," he said at one point in the interview. Later, he added, "I don't want to recommend things that I know have no chance of support."*

So much for McGovern the fighter! The likelihood of further major compromises was indicated by Senator Edmund Muskie's decision, in a June 9 speech, to remain a candidate, not in hopes of winning, but for the purpose of forcing McGovern to "re-examine and refine" his positions. Muskie speaks for the Party center, and his message was that McGovern had better bargain for their support.

McGovern's watering down of his platform in the Nebraska primary and

after California, and his open appeals to *Business Week* and the *Wall Street Journal* show that he is willing to junk his appealing reform program for votes and business support. But they show much more.

The McGovern record indicates the pitfalls of Democratic Party politics; it is almost an object lesson in the necessity for "progressive" efforts inside the Democratic Party to end up in compromise and betrayal.

Since the days of Franklin Roosevelt, the Democratic Party has stood on two bases. The first has been its appeal to labor, minorities, and others as a reform party; the second has been its links to the most far-seeing and internationally-minded sections of the capitalist class.

The Democratic Party has always subordinated reform to its commitment to modernize, uphold, and defend American capitalism in war and peace. It is this commitment which has brought us World War II, the post-war penetration of Europe, the Korean and Vietnam wars, and a dozen other imperialist ventures; the enabling legislation for the wage controls and legislation to end a dozen major

strikes; the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations and the anti-civil liberties "anti-riot" act of 1968 -- all initiated or supported by the Democratic Party.

The first Democratic base is more important for votes, but the second is what lets the Democrats take office. McGovern is no more free of the capitalist commitments of the Democratic Party than any other candidate. He needs the money of the party's capitalist backers, he needs the support of the party leaders who are careful not to let the party move too far from the interests of this more forward-looking wing of capitalism.

Because the Democratic Party is in fact responsible to large-scale capitalist interests, any individual Democratic candidate, no matter how well-intentioned, can do nothing which challenges these interests in any real way. This McGovern stated baldly in the *Business Week* interview. This is why the hopes in "McGovern the Radical" and "McGovern the Reformer" will puff out like a mirage in the desert. This is why a working class alternative to the two-party system is needed. ■

# India In Crisis

Nigel Harris

India is again in crisis. But this time it is not just the routine sort of disaster -- a few hundreds or thousands killed by cholera; typhoon floods driving men and their families off the land; a famine or a riot. No, this is a crisis of economic development. The whole future of steady growth of the Indian economy looks less and less possible.

Economic development means building industry, creating the jobs, and the output which will push along the whole of society. There have been great changes in India since independence. Steel mills, chemical plants, motor car and aircraft factories, all have been created. But beside India's enormous population, it looks very small.

Industry should be the engine which is driving India out of the misery and brutality of the past. Factory jobs and pay should, for the first time, be raising the prospect of some basic minimum of material freedom for India's poor.

If this were happening and at least some appreciable number of India's 547 millions could feel it happening, then it would mean that the world system as a whole still had some real prospect of advance. Capitalism would still be able to deliver some of the goods.

But the industrial engine will not fire. Or rather, it splutters and puffs, lurches the country along briefly and then dies. Indian industry ought to be roaring along at a rate of increase of output of 10 to 15 percent every year. But in two decades of independence it has never reached such rates.

In the first three five year plans, it reached an average of 8 percent per year. From 1965 to 1969, the whole economy slumped. And in the first three years of the current Fourth plan, industrial output went down from 7 percent in 1969 to 2½ percent in the first nine months of last year.

Yet even when the engine runs best, there are fewer and fewer jobs to go with it. So that wages hardly increase as output does -- productivity

has soared in Indian industry since independence. Since the number of workers looking for jobs is increasing rapidly, industrial advance is taking place with growing unemployment. This is true in the cities without taking into account the vast sea of India's rural poverty.

All the massive investments made since 1951 in four five year plans have had the total effect of increasing registered factory employment, as a proportion of all employment, from 2 to 2.4 percent.

In fact, the problem at the moment is not that industry cannot supply the goods. It cannot employ fully its present capacity. Under half of the present engineering industry is being used. The rest is still not needed because the general rate of growth is so low.

## Public Sector

The public sector is especially bad. The great nationalized steel works run only at half rate. Of course, at that rate of output, the financial losses are enormous. They say that if the Durgapur steel mill's output gets any less, it will be cheaper to have a lockout than carry on operating.

*The public sector is continually overburdened with politically appointed managers -- a general to run a steel mill, an admiral an engineering plant -- with corruption and poor standards. Yet it is out of the blood and sweat of the mass of the Indian people that these great white elephants have been partly purchased. They were enormously expensive and were supposed to lever forward the whole economy. Now they seem as useful as were the pyramids to the pharaohs.*

Of course, the debts the Indian government incurred abroad still remain even if the projects don't work. The British government which built the Durgapur steel mill still demands its pound of flesh, even if Durgapur doesn't produce any steel. The servicing of loans takes about a third of all that India earns on exports at the moment, and as time goes by, this proportion will grow even larger.

Payments to foreign lenders already produce balance of payments crises, without growing any larger. Dividends to foreign companies are also increasing rapidly as well. Only here, the profits are being made not on steel mills but on such obvious national essentials as Coca Cola and chewing gum.

Foreign capital now cares little for any raw materials India might have. It is interested solely in exploiting the small upper class market in India. The profits are high. Burmah Shell made gross profits equal to 53 percent (1968-69) and 48 percent (1969-70) of its sales.

It is a myth that foreign companies put capital into the country. They may put a nominal pittance in to start off. But they then borrow on the local capital market to finance their operations. That does not prevent them then exporting the proceeds as payment for the expensive components they import from their parent companies abroad, for "royalties," license fees, and all the other tricks.

Eastern Bloc countries have been quick to smell out the same profitable opportunities. They have a vast number of agreements with private Indian companies and government agencies for the same purposes as Western capitalist enterprises. For example, East

Germany has 67 collaboration agreements with private Indian firms, and returns to East Germany a growing volume of cash as payment for these.

Foreign aid and capital are two of the major obstacles to Indian economic development. But there is also the growing corruption of the Indian ruling class.

*Corruption is a kind of demoralization. It means that there is so little hope and discipline that the powerful use increasingly crooked ways of escaping from their problems. The less the morale, the more the ruling class cheats itself, the more cynical becomes the mass of the people.*

At the moment, the volume of illegal cash -- "black money" -- flowing through India is probably greater than the legal. Anyone and everyone who can seems to be fiddling the books. The man who claims to have no income at all lives in a block of luxury flats, runs a foreign car, holds parties for hundreds. Politicians -- including, for example, the Finance Minister in the central government -- cheat the land reform legislation in order to buy up agricultural land far beyond what is legally allowed.

The son of a former finance minister was tipped off about the building of a new state capital. He promptly bought up land where the road to the new capital was to cross the river. But when the plans were published, he discovered that the road went some way beyond his land. Nothing daunted, he set to work and finally got the plan revised so that the road -- and bridge -- crossed his territory.

And if you complain too much, there are men who will happily, for a small consideration, put a bullet in your back. This is after all the land of spiritual peace and the spinning wheel.

## Defense Spending

*The level of spending on defense is yet another major obstacle to development. For with corruption for the few and unemployment for the many, you naturally need a large army -- and police force -- to hold down the inevitable rebellion and frighten strikers.*

India's defense expenditures have been increasing by 41 percent per year since 1961-62. In West Bengal, the scene of the most violent clashes between workers and bosses and formerly where there were many rural



guerrillas, spending on the police increased from Rs.160 million in 1966-67 to nearly Rs. 500 million in 1971-72.

Where the ruling class of a country spends so much on arming itself, there is obviously much less cash available to build industry. Especially now. For it is now not enough to have a few guns, tanks, and artillery (making these might produce a boom in the engineering and heavy industries). Supersonic fighters, missiles, electronic equipment, etc. are now required, and need to be changed every five years for better and more expensive ones. This sort of equipment usually has to be imported so it does nothing for domestic industry and yet again burdens the balance of payments.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Congress government has expensive pretensions to grandeur. Originally, high defense expenditure was justified on the grounds that Pakistan and, to a lesser extent, China would attack India. Yet now India has -- through the invasion of Bangla Desh -- dismembered Pakistan, and no one believes any more that China will attack. But the generals now even more militantly refuse to accept any cut in defense.

If there is no bread, at least the government will provide a bit of military circus -- with promise of bayonets for those who don't like it.

#### Ghandi's Socialism

*Arms are not the only weapons that Mrs. Gandhi has in her armory to beat off rebels. She has also "socialism." Not long ago she announced her intention to "abolish poverty."*

Everybody has been cheered by this, even though nobody knows quite what it means. The one area of the economy that is doing well at the moment is industry which caters for upper class consumption -- refrigerators, air conditioners, household equipment, etc.

There are waiting lists for the tall blocks of luxury flats that are going up in the big cities. And in a country where 99 percent of the people travel on foot or by bullock, the streets of the cities are already jammed with the cars of that tiny group of people who can afford to buy them. They are planning an even more massive investment now to build eight-lane highways to carry the same tiny group of people. The big department stores and boutiques sell all the expensive things you can buy anywhere else. Such is the poverty of India.

Does Mrs. Gandhi propose to launch a revolution to curb the ugly consumption of the rich? No, she does not propose anything specific at all. She has no plan to tackle the sluggish pace of the economy as it is, let alone transforming Indian society. The slogan is just a confidence trick to mislead the mass of the population.

The tricks work. The combination of truncheons for the rebels, bribes for the few, and rhetoric for the majority brought Mrs. Gandhi and her friends a massive election victory in March. For the moment, the Indian ruling class has been reunited.

But this unity will not last long. For the real force that has emerged since independence is not just the industrial capitalist class but the rural capitalist, the business farmer, the rich peasant (including the landlords).

During the sixties, the government pushed substantial funds into the coun-

# Revolutionary Socialist Manifesto Calls For Working Class Struggle In Russia

For the first time since the crushing of the Left Opposition in 1927, anti-Stalinist intellectuals in the Soviet Union have issued a revolutionary socialist call to the working class for action against the bureaucratic regime.

A typewritten document stuffed into apartment mailboxes in working class districts calls on workers to carry out demonstrations, strikes, and protests in defense of their own conditions, following the example set by Polish workers in 1970. Previously, the dissident intellectuals have restricted their appeals to calls for liberal reforms and introduction of democratic rights for the intelligentsia.

In calling for class struggle and workers' self-defense, at least a wing of this intellectual movement has adopted a new outlook. This outlook understands the need for a new revolution of the working class to establish socialism.

The appeal, written to workers who have so far not played an active role in the dissident movement, exposes the truth about the low living standards of the Russian people, the monstrous privileges of the bureaucracy thinly concealed by "socialist"

rhetoric, rising prices, and the lack of democracy. A section of the manifesto quoted by the *New York Times* reads:

*"We have no socialism in our land! How can there be socialism with 20 times as many spongers and bosses as there were in Czarist Russia! How can it be socialism if the workingman's average wage is 100 rubles and the income of a high official several thousand a month!*

*"How can it be socialism if the people are deprived of their most elementary rights: freedom of speech, of the press, of the right to strike, etc.! It is precisely the absence of these rights that enables the Kremlinites secretly and openly and without pity to rob and oppress our people. And it is not toward Communism that we are going -- that is all a lie! What we have is state capitalism, the worst and most rapacious system of government.*

*"Respected citizens! Fight for your rights, for a better life. Defend one another, one for all and all for one. Only through struggle can we achieve a change for the better. If we won't fight, we will turn more and more into the slaves of the Communist Party's upper crust, into draft an-*

*imals. Long live freedom and democracy!"*

The manifesto notes that the standard of living of even unemployed workers in the West is higher than that of employed Russian factory or office workers. At the same time, the authors do not seem to hold the illusions about "western democracy" which have been characteristic of intellectual dissidents in the past. They note that workers in western capitalist nations won their relatively high degree of freedom and prosperity through struggle, not through the beneficence of the capitalist system.

This document represents the first visible steps in a process of fusing the democratic aspirations of the intellectuals with the pressure exerted by the Russian masses for freedom and a decent material standard of life. This process, which has begun to break to the surface in various Stalinist countries since the first uprisings in East Germany in 1953, will lead to an explosive revolutionary transformation of these societies. As the forerunner of this transformation, the appearance of the revolutionary manifesto in Russia is an event of world-historical importance. ■

tryside to try and raise food output. Almost all of this cash went into rich peasant hands. The rich farmers are not taxed; they pay nothing for the wide range of services the government provides. In some cases, much of their crop is bought by the government at high and guaranteed prices.

To be a rich peasant is to have a license to print money in present conditions. No wonder the rich of the city are trying to buy land and break into farming. The people who pay are those who buy their food -- the city workers and the poor farmers or landless laborers.

The rich peasants defend their land ruthlessly. Indian newspapers regularly carry stories of violent clashes when those who have been pushed off the land try to get it back. Last November, 10 share croppers were shot dead, 4 others burnt alive in their huts, and 35 wounded when landlords set out to show who was the local boss (the sharecroppers had been trying to reclaim some land taken from them by the landlords).

Resources going into rich peasant pockets are badly needed to build industry, but the government cannot stop the drain out of the cities. For the rich peasants control Congress at

the local level, and Mrs. Gandhi will not saw off the branch on which she is sitting.

Neither the government nor the urban capitalists will tackle the rich peasants. That failure means economic stagnation for India. The world capitalist system provides fewer and fewer opportunities for development. Yet now even those opportunities that occur will be squandered.

Only the workers could break out of this stalemate, but only through a revolution which would topple not only the rich peasants but also the industrial capitalists. Indian workers have waged long and bitter industrial struggles, but so far they have never been able to create a separate working class political alternative.

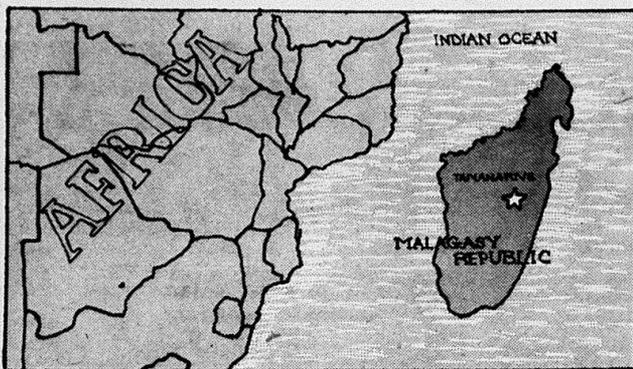
The Left is dominated by what are entirely middle class parties -- in particular, the three separate Communist parties. One of these is totally committed to the ruling Congress party (which it identifies as the "progressive national bourgeoisie"). Another -- the largest -- rejects Congress but is nevertheless totally tied up in parliamentary politics. The third -- or what is left of it after a savage police mauling -- wants to run away from the workers to start guerrilla warfare in

the more remote villages.

In all three cases, there is no possibility at all that the party can lead any kind of revolutionary worker struggle against Indian capitalism. None of the parties accepts that it is possible today to struggle for socialism in India, let alone the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The objective opportunity for a revolutionary workers' movement in India is very promising. Yet the political alternatives available mean that there is in the short term very little chance of taking the opportunity. There could have been a revolution in West Bengal in the past five years, but the work of the respective Communist parties has ensured a crushing defeat for the Left (including two of the CP's). Rarely has the need for a revolutionary workers' party been so urgent.

In the years to come, the need will become every more urgent as the Indian ruling class comes to play a more and more reactionary role both at home and abroad. For Indians in Britain and for those few in India with a real working class perspective, the opportunities and the tasks are formidable indeed. ■



# Behind the Malagasy Revolt

Eric Langdon

In the wake of a mass general strike by workers and students in Tananarive, capital of the Malagasy Republic, order reigns again. For almost a week in late May, power lay in the streets. Now the army, headed by General Ramanantsoa, has assumed command and taken over key cabinet posts.

Among the students and workers who toppled the authoritarian regime of President Philibert Tsiranana, an attitude of "let's wait and see what the generals do" prevails. But the failure to break the chains of French imperialism and regional and ethnic oppression makes the island a potentially explosive social tinderbox.

In 1895, a period in which the major European powers were busily carving up Africa and Asia in order to plunder their rich resources, France seized the island of Madagascar. The island had previously been a monarchy with an advanced social structure based on peasant agriculture.

## Nationalist Revival

After World War II, in which many Malagasyans fought "to preserve French independence and democracy," a nationalist revival swept the land. The Party for the Restoration of Malagasy Independence was organized with strong roots in the peasantry.

Party leaders Joseph Andrianavolana and Joseph Raseta demanded independence in the French Constituent Assembly, which was voted down. The Party, re-organized as the Democratic Movement of Malagasy Revival, forged ahead, winning the territorial elections in 1946 and again demanding independence from France.

Failure to win this demand sparked a revolution in March, 1947, which spread throughout the nation. The French brutally suppressed the revolt, murdering over 20,000 and meting out life sentences at hard labor to the leaders of the DMMR. A period of quiet followed, though a smoldering hatred of French colonial tyranny remained.

In 1956, the Social Democratic Party, headed by Philibert Tsiranana, was founded in order to achieve independence "peacefully" within the structure of French colonialism. Since the winning of formal if not real independence in 1960, President Tsiranana, often called "the father of independence and the embodiment of national unity," and his party have dominated Malagasy politics.

The official philosophy of the party is that of paternalistic neo-colonial overseers. The Malagasyans are viewed as "a tradition-bound people" who can only modernize gradually with the guiding hand of French capital, politics, and culture.

4,000 French troops remain on the island ready to crush any domestic unrest, as they did in a southern peasant revolt last year. 33,000 French civilians help French capital dominate mining (mica, uranium), shipping, and the industries which process agricultural products.

French education and culture, of pre-World War II vintage, dominate the schools and Charles deGaulle (sic!) University. Malagasy youth are taught French history, language, culture, and even agriculture to the complete neglect of their own, in a blatant display of cultural imperialism.

Tied to the world capitalist market through France, Malagasy agricultural products such as rice, sugar, coffee, cattle, vanilla, and cloves have fetched low prices. The island has been plagued by consistent balance of payments problems, exports lagging behind imports revenue by a third.

Independence has not improved the lot of the majority of the peasantry in the south or central highlands, where most live in mud huts among rice paddies. Low agricultural prices have forced many peasants into the squalid

slums of the capital and have helped fan the flames of agrarian unrest. The large Merina tribe is discriminated against and has been systematically excluded from political power.

Since the closure of the Suez Canal, the strategic position of the Malagasy Republic as a major link in the Indian Ocean oil pipeline has increased enormously. Japanese, West German, and US big business have begun penetration of this island of seven million. A large new dry dock built by foreign capital to handle oil tankers is planned for the near future.

Part of the touchiness of the large capitalist press (including the *New York Times* and the French *Le Monde*) at the recent revolt is prompted by fear of increasing power, influence, and naval strength of the USSR and China in the Indian Ocean. The prospect of a teetering Malagasyan regime turning to either of these powers, in order to solve its economic crisis by aid and trade transfusions, has triggered calls for protection of their vulnerable oil jugular vein by US and Western European corporations.

The political crisis of President Tsiranana's regime has been festering since last year. The peasant revolt in the south and increased trade with South Africa (the Malagasy Republic has been one of the few African nations to trade with the vicious racist

regime) led to a split in the ruling clique. Vice-President Resampa, who opposed government policy on both counts, was ousted and charged with treason and being an agent of China and the US.

President Tsiranana was elected to another seven-year term as president in the January elections. The official electoral returns, which gave the President close to a hundred percent of the vote, were greeted by universal cynicism.

Soon after the elections, students at the University began pushing for educational reform; dropping the outmoded French curriculum and adding Malagasy courses. Demonstrations were held in the streets of Tananarive.

## Malagasy's May-June

At first the government took a hard line, imprisoning close to 400 students and shooting down over 35. As workers and slum dwellers began supporting the nationalist demands of the students, the government backed down, fearing the revolt would spread.

It did. By May 13, the large trade union federation where the militant nationalist Congress for Independence Party (AKFM), the leading opposition party, has strong support, called a general strike which paralyzed the capital for over a week.

As masses of workers entered the political arena, they put forward their own demands including a higher minimum wage, the ouster of the Labor Minister and President, and the formation of a new national assembly. The trade unionists also supported the student demands and pushed for the release of the AKFM militants who led the 1971 peasant revolt.

On May 22, the labor federation leaders agreed to call off the strike. However, they made their support conditional on the ability of the generals to meet their demands in the coming months.

Lack of a revolutionary leadership has enabled the junta of General Ramanantsoa, who is decidedly pro-French, temporarily to defuse the struggle. But the urban workers will be watching the government's moves.

The workers have learned to use their social power -- to topple the regime, to fight French imperialism and its local brokers, to generalize the demands of the students and peasantry. They have provided a brilliant example to the rest of the African working class caught in the vise of neo-colonialism.

History has played a trick on the Malagasyan rulers. They who imitated the French in all things, even naming their university after DeGaulle, have reaped the harvest of the French General Strike of May-June '68. ■



General Ramanantsoa assuming power in Tananarive



# international report

David Finkel

## Rhodesia: Black Miners killed in White Mines

On Tuesday, June 6, over 450 miners died in an explosion at the Wankie mine in Rhodesia. The US capitalist press, reporting on this disaster (the worst in Rhodesia in ten years), never mentioned that all the victims (except the foremen) were Blacks.

This "tragedy" was no accident, but rather the inevitable product of the mining system of Rhodesia and South Africa, organized on the basis of virtual slave labor by massive business interests in London and South Africa.

Efforts to form an independent black miners' union were viciously smashed by the Rhodesian government in 1964 and 1965. Most of the miners receive wages of less than \$10 per week, while white workers earn ten times more. The deaths of these miners -- like those who died in previous such disasters -- are acts of murder by the rulers of Rhodesia and international imperialism.



## Lithuania: Fighting for freedom, not free love

Reports indicate that the recent demonstrations in Kaunas, Lithuania, against the Stalinist regime were more serious than previously admitted. Two hundred young workers and students are in jail awaiting trial for the demonstrations, which occurred May 18-19 and left two policemen dead. Two young Lithuanians have committed suicide to protest the repression of Lithuania by the Soviet Union.

The revelation that young workers were involved among the several thousand demonstrators contradicts the original version given by the authorities, who claimed that the demonstrations were based on anti-semitism and "free love". The demonstrators gathered in a working class district on



the day of the funeral of Roman Kalanta, who had burned himself to death in a park, and marched to the Communist Party headquarters chanting "Freedom for Lithuania." They then marched to the offices of the secret police and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and fought with several hundred police.

The so-called "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" -- which is neither a union, nor a soviet, nor socialist, nor a republic -- faces continued unrest among the nations imprisoned within it. The struggles of oppressed nationalities under Stalinism are only the beginning of a new working class revolution which will smash the bureaucratic ruling class, re-establish the right of these nations to self-determination and lay the basis for socialism and workers' democracy.

## South Africa: White students vs. apartheid

The South African government has banned all student demonstrations for one month, after white college students staged demonstrations, protest strikes, and sit-ins against the expulsion of 1,100 black university students. The unexpected spreading of the black students' struggle to whites indicates that the moral authority of the policy of apartheid has been deeply undermined.

The white students' demonstrations mark the first time in recent history that any section of the white population has gone into active opposition to the apartheid regime, although whites have been harassed, jailed, and dismissed from their jobs for being sympathetic to the blacks.

## France: Communist union reluctantly calls strike

The French Confederation Generale du Travail (CGT), the trade union federation led by the Communist Party, has again moved in a "militant"

direction to avoid being outflanked by other unions. A series of limited strike actions was called by the CGT in May in the electrical industry and on construction sites, in support for a revision of the wage scales negotiated in 1971. The strikes threatened to disrupt train services dependent on electricity.

The CGT, which betrayed the potentially revolutionary general strike of ten million French workers in 1968, is often threatened by the militancy of the ranks and other unions, but remains the dominant force in the French labor movement. The revolutionary groups in France are very small, not yet able to challenge the Communist Party for leadership of the working class.

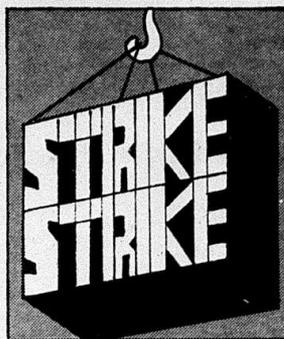
The revolutionary newspaper *Lutte Ouvriere*, however, publishes bulletins at many factories and demands that the CGT and other unions lead a real struggle for decent working conditions and democratic rights.

[Copies of *Lutte Ouvriere* may be ordered for \$.25 from I.S. Books, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203].

## Spain: Shipyard Revolt Grows

Workers in Galicia in northwestern Spain have opened a new front in the sharpening class struggles against the Franco regime. 2,500 shipyard workers in the Barreras shipyards, locked out in May after demanding a wage increase, have gone on strike to demand the release of 15 imprisoned militants. The management has offered a 34 percent increase over two years, far above the government's "norm" of 7 percent per year.

This struggle follows a series of strikes and sympathy walkouts, especially in the growing shipyard industry. In March, a shipyard strike at El Ferrol led to a workers' takeover of the town for several hours, before heavily armed police regained control and killed two workers.



## Northern Ireland: An "Amazing Prosperity?"

An item in *The Worker*, the newspaper of the Irish Socialist Workers' Movement, exposes the economic rot that continues to prevail in the North. While Brian Faulkner (Prime Minister of the Stormont regime before the British takeover) spoke at a London banquet of "the amazingly high level



of material prosperity for all citizens," 11 percent of the employable workforce in Ulster subsists on unemployment relief -- the highest figure in Western Europe.

A letter by an old age pensioner to a Belfast newspaper states that his pension (equivalent to about \$15 per month) does not even allow him to pay his electric bill, so that "I have to half-starve myself and nearly freeze to death in order to save electricity."

"Having done his bit for the Empire," *The Worker* comments, "he has been cast on the rubbish heap. Loyalist workers take note! No banquets in London for you!"

## Namibia: Eight Fined For Leading Strike

In another development in Southern Africa, eight Ovambo tribesmen have been fined and given suspended jail sentences after being convicted of playing a leading role in last year's strike by Ovambo contract workers in South-West Africa (Namibia). The trial lasted five months and resulted in fines of about \$30 and two-month suspended sentences.

## Denmark: Economic crisis threatens

Seven months after the Social Democrats returned to office after three years as a minority, Denmark still seems to be heading as surely as ever for an economic crisis centered around the balance of payments deficit. This at any rate is the judgment of the *Financial Times* of London.

A referendum to be held in October will decide whether Denmark enters the Common Market (European Economic Community, or EEC). The *Times* reports that the "socialist" government is hoping for a "yes" vote, to bring the "benefits" of integration into the biggest capitalist institution in Europe. The government hopes that, for example, large Danish farmers will benefit by receiving higher prices for their goods in the EEC, although this occurs at the expense of smaller farmers who cannot compete.

The *Times* attributes Denmark's problems to "a ten-year period of excessive expansion, generated by a very rapid increase in public expenditure and housing," not to mention higher wages. From this viewpoint the only "solution" would be an attack on social services and the living standards of Danish workers.



Malcolm X

# review: **Malcolm X** **The Only Great American Of Our Time** James Coleman

*We declare our right on this earth to be a man -- to be a human being -- to be respected as a human being -- to be given the rights of a human being in this society, on this earth, in this day -- which we intend to bring into existence by any means necessary.*  
Malcolm X, June 28, 1964

Malcolm X was the only great American of our time. This is the judgment that emerges from his writings. It is reinforced by the ambitious, though somewhat distorted, film documentary of his life.

The documentary consists mainly of film clips. For a new generation of blacks, it is their only chance to see and hear the man who more than any other inspired a sense of struggle and rejection of liberal integrationism.

The footage of Malcolm is interspersed with montages of black life and the backdrop of social violence against blacks in America. The words quoted above, from the founding rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, are used throughout the film as a unifying theme.

There is little in the film on Malcolm's early life. Films of Klan meetings, of black rural poverty, of Marcus Garvey parading in pomp, illustrate brief sections of the *Autobiography* narrated somewhat woodenly by James Earl Jones.

It is with Malcolm's public career that the film comes alive. There are films of Nation of Islam meetings, lectures, news interviews, etc. There is the face of Elijah Muhammad -- somehow shifty -- but above all the face and voice of Malcolm -- the sudden boyish grin, the clipped speech, the lips curling in contempt for liberals and integrationists.

At the mass meetings, before and after his break with the Nation of Islam, Malcolm expounded the basic themes of black self-awareness and pride, rejection of Christianity, the need to discover black and African history, the exploitation of blacks in America by white institutions. Other films are used as illustrations. When Malcolm speaks of blacks' self-image of inferiority created by white culture, clips of Amos and Andy, Steppin Fetchit, and other old-style comics are

shown; when Malcolm speaks of blacks dying in the white man's wars, clips of black soldiers in Vietnam are shown -- making the point that this is still occurring today.

The film covers the assassination, explores and does not resolve the question whether Malcolm's murder was organized by the Nation of Islam or by elements within the government, ends with the faces and voices of Harlem mourners and Ossie Davis's moving eulogy to "our black shining prince" -- and then shows once again the "by any means necessary" speech.

The film is faithful to Malcolm's overall message, and even shows something of Malcolm's contempt for Martin Luther King and other moderates, but it gives a somewhat distorted view of Malcolm's political evolution.

With its montage technique, the film alternates Malcolm's speeches about the necessity for blacks to organize themselves with shots of Jesse Jackson and an election-night rally for Newark's black Mayor, Kenneth Gibson. Malcolm's speeches on the example set by African independence movements are illustrated with shots of Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta and Ethiopia's Haile Selassie. Unless this is meant as irony, the film presents Malcolm as a forerunner of these types.

We cannot be sure what Malcolm would have thought, had he lived, of a Jesse Jackson -- today's integrationist clothed in black nationalist rhetoric -- or of a Gibson, who on the basis of the same rhetoric attempted to break the Newark Teachers Union. One can guess, however, on the basis of Malcolm's known development in a revolutionary direction. There is evidence of Malcolm's contempt for reactionary African nationalists like Kenyatta and Selassie.

## Revolutionary Outlook

It is this development towards a revolutionary outlook which the film omits almost completely. It faithfully presents Malcolm's change of attitude toward whites after his pilgrimage to Mecca, where he travelled and ate with white Muslims and abandoned racism. It documents his rejection of separatism. But it shows little of the political message he put forward in his meetings after returning from Africa.

It does not show the socially radical meaning he came to give to black nationalism, and his acceptance of the idea of cooperation with white revolutionaries. It does not show the questioning of the exclusively black

conception of nationalism which led him, shortly before his murder, to ask:

*"Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of black people in this country."*

There is every evidence that at his death Malcolm was cautiously evolving toward a conception of capitalism as the root of black oppression in America. He had not worked out this idea. But had he lived, his revolutionary instincts alone would have been enough to lead him to reject the posturing of a Jesse Jackson, a Gibson, a Richard Hatcher, or an Imamu Baraka.

This writer met Malcolm X only once -- in July, 1964, in Cairo. Malcolm had come to offer a motion condemning the US government's suppression of the Harlem riots to a meeting of African Foreign Ministers. With lips curled in contempt, he described how the motion was duly passed without discussion at 2:00 a.m. with newsmen absent, and then buried. So we know something of Malcolm's views of these militant-sounding fakery.

In this brief conversation Malcolm accepted me as a revolutionary -- somewhat overgenerously, since I was only in the process of becoming one. He dismissed the current liberal hope -- the 1964 Civil Rights Bill, then pending -- as "crap," a judgment I found hasty but which history has shown to be charitable. And he spoke of the necessity for organized armed self-defense of the black community. "Remember," he said, "there are always more people than cops."

In this brief meeting as in his mass speeches Malcolm rejected completely the idea of freedom through liberal dispensation, and spoke of the need for mass struggle by blacks. He brought these ideas to a political generation of blacks and whites. At the end, he was feeling his way toward farther-reaching conceptions. Even with his development cut short by murder, this alone is enough to guarantee him the place in revolutionary history which liberals will not grant him in theirs. ■

## I.S. Supports Gay Pride Week

The International Socialists support Gay Pride Week and urge the largest attendance at the demonstrations and other public events planned for that week. The anniversary of the 1969 Stonewall riots, which launched the current movement for homosexual rights and freedom, has become the occasion for nationwide marches and celebrations. The gay movement in these years has come far in challenging one of society's deepest prejudices, and the anniversary is a fit time for pride.

It is also time for taking stock. The amorphous organizations characterizing the first period of the gay movement have fallen apart. In their place organizations have grown which campaign for reforms, yet whose strategy is to rely on winning the support

of "enlightened" political leaders through influencing the Democratic Party. This strategy can win no lasting gains.

The gay movement needs strong, militant, direct-action organizations. These should fight for repeal of all anti-homosexual laws and for an end to job discrimination; it is preeminently the fear of losing employment which keeps gay people in hiding and subject to victimization.

The gay movement also needs allies; by itself, it lacks the strength to force all the changes gay people need. In place of seeking the support of "enlightened" leaders, the gay movement should see its interests as ultimately aligned with all groups fighting for economic and social justice -- blacks, women, other minorities, and rank

and file labor. In place of seeking to influence the Democratic Party, it should wage independent political campaigns for gay rights while working toward the formation of a new mass party based on these struggling groups.

Full freedom for homosexuals, however, cannot be achieved in present-day societies. Both capitalist and "Communist" countries oppress gay people -- because both are class systems which exploit the vast majority of people and deny full freedom and individuality. The gay movement should commit itself to fight for a revolutionary socialist society, counterposed to both these exploitive systems, in which the mass of the people have real power and in which the law of society is the free development of all. ■



## bread & roses

Karen Kaye

### Curtailing Welfare By Curtailing The Poor

The Senate Finance Committee voted recently to penalize states that fail to provide birth control counseling, devices, and pills to the poor. The Committee has been rewriting the Administration's welfare reform and Social Security bill, which was already passed by the House.

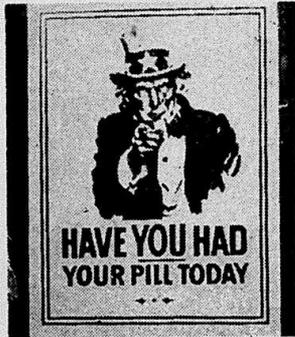
According to the *New York Times*, the Committee "Hopes to curtail potential increases in the welfare rolls," with this provision. The bill says that

living, a woman is still left without much of a choice, even if she isn't "coerced."

*Of course, providing this half of the right to choose would be a lot harder for the government than dispensing free birth control pills. For it means that jobs and education must be available both for women and for the children they bear and raise. It means that there must be quality childcare for women who work and that women must have equal access to jobs, equal pay with men, and wages that provide a decent standard of living.*

Another part of the right to choose is making sure that the victories women win are permanent; that when we win the right to equal pay and equal work, for instance, we will be adding it to the right to free access to contraception, and won't have to start that battle all over again. When a government begins a program like this one because it wants to reduce the population, or a part of the population, the decision could always be reversed if for some reason the state wanted more population.

This has happened in many countries; a good example is Rumania. For many years women had the right to abortion, contraception, and divorce. But in 1966, after the fertility rate had fallen below the replacement level for five straight years, the government suddenly drastically limited abortions, restricted divorce, banned importation of contraceptives, and increased taxes on the single and childless.



the Federal government would finance 100 percent of the cost of providing birth control services to all poor women of child-bearing age, both those on welfare and those who might become eligible if they had a child. States failing to set up adequate programs within a year would lose up to 2 percent of their total Federal welfare payment for families with dependent children.

Under this bill, the services would be made available to the poor free of charge, and according to the *Times*, no one would be coerced into using birth control devices; the services would be available to those who sought them.

The availability of free birth control information and services has long been a demand of the women's liberation movement, as a part of the demand for a woman's right to choose if and when she will bear children. But because the goal of this bill is not to give women this right, but to "curtail increases in the welfare rolls," low income women are simply being encouraged not to have children. And because such a disproportionate number of black, Latino, and other minority women are on welfare, this policy must be seen as being aimed at them.

Although the right *not to have children* is an important part of the right to choose, without the right to *have children*, knowing that she can raise them with a decent standard of

### Abortion still safer for the rich

The first major study of legal abortion in the United States was released early this month and shows that as abortion has become more readily available, it has become safer. The study, performed by Dr. Christopher Tietze and Sarah Lewit for the Population Council, involved over 70,000 abortions performed in 66 institutions in 12 states.

During the one year study, incidence of complications associated with abortions dropped greatly, especially in the case of abortions performed by the suction method, for which complications dropped by 50 percent.

However, non-private patients were more likely than private patients to suffer complications following an abortion. This was true even when women with pre-existing illnesses and women who underwent other operations at the time of their abortion were discounted.

This indicates that the majority of women who need abortions, women who cannot afford a private doctor, are not receiving quality medical care. As women fight for the right to legal abortion we must also demand adequate facilities and quality medical care for all women, regardless of income or status as "private" or "non-private" patient.

### They're Not Unemployed, They're Women

Some members of the Nixon Administration have suggested that one way to deal with the high level of unemployment (5.9 percent in March) is to redefine "full employment" upwards from 4 percent to 5 percent. Why do they consider playing with

numbers rather than providing jobs as a way to relieve unemployment?

Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connolly's recent statement may give a clue. He said:

*"Frankly, we're seeing a new phenomenon in the social structure of America. We're seeing more women and young people entering the work force. I don't know what full employment is any more. So long as we have more and more people entering the labor force in these numbers . . . then I have to say this specific number that we use for the unemployed is going to stay fairly high, higher than we like to see it."*



In other words, it doesn't matter if unemployment is high, as long as it's only women. However, there are many facts which show that unemployment among women does matter very much, both to them and to their dependents.

\*\*Since 1950, the labor force has increased by 7 million men and by 13 million women.

\*\*Four out of five adult women are full-time workers.

\*\*Almost 8 million wives in 1970 earned between \$4,000 and \$7,000 - two-thirds of them were married to men who earned less than \$10,000.

\*\*In 6,000,000 households a woman is the sole means of support.

\*\*Most female breadwinners are poor, and a large percent are black. ■



## Wedding Catchy Tune

Carmen Morgan

I was walking down East 10th Street in the middle of the night,  
When a scary looking man approached, he really was a sight.  
He was about nine feet tall, and all dressed in white,  
His legs were made of steel and his teeth emitted light.

He flashed me a smile that put me to my knees,  
He said if I would not come to him he'd shred me in his legs with ease,  
I said, Oh please Mr. Tallman, I don't know what this is all about,  
But I'll do what you say if you'll let me on my way.

Then he looked into a mirror, he looked into my face,  
He opened up his shirt, there was nothing there but space  
Surrounded by some metal wire just to give him some shape,  
Said he was looking for a girlfriend to fill up that empty place.

Now everything's gotten so twisted and turned,  
I climbed inside that wire cage to keep from getting burned-  
But I'm inside of him and he's inside of me  
And just who is the empty one it's no longer plain to see.



## Sex and Fascism

I would like to append some information to your *Cabaret* review (*Workers' Power* No. 56), even though it has little to do with the movie or its reviewer's frame of reference.

The writer notes: "While homosexuals formed a sizable percentage of the SA and the SS, homosexuality was grounds for being sent to a concentration camp."

Comparing the first half of the 1930's with the second half, the number of arrests for homosexuality in Germany went up 900 percent (from 3261 for the years 1931-34 to 29,771 between 1936-39). The "crack-down" started with the Roehm Putsch, known as The Night of Long Knives (sensationally treated by Viscount in *The Damned*), on June 30, 1934, [in which Hitler purged the leadership of the paramilitary SA]. Hitler announced that he had only just discovered Roehm's homosexuality, and was deeply shocked by it.

The Putsch led to massacres of homosexuals all over Germany which were legitimized with a decree of national emergency -- issued four days after the massacres. In 1935 the anti-homosexual laws were strengthened, and a "clean-up" started (hence the 900 percent jump in arrests of homosexuals). About the same time, the Nazis also passed harsh laws against abortion and the rights of women.

Sex education was not practiced in German schools or in the Nazi youth organizations. The matter was left up to the family, "but should they (the parents) fail to do the right thing, the teacher or school doctor will have to step in" (Education Minister Rust).

Or as Hitler Youth Judge Tetzlaff said on the subject, "The Hitler Youth eschews any mass enlightenment programme but its leaders are instructed about the dreadful consequences of homosexuality at special courses." (And yet, as the reviewer pointed out, treatments such as *Cabaret* suggest that the dreadful consequence of sexual "abnormality" is fascism.)

Once harsh anti-homosexual laws were instituted, they were used for a wide range of purposes. Schools run by the Roman Catholic Church were, or course, frowned upon, since in them the state had less control over subject matter. In its campaign to convert these schools into public schools, teachers who lived in monastic houses were charged with homosexuality.

It has often been pointed out that some Nazi films and literature were tinted with homo-eroticism. This is true only when viewed from outside the culture it came from. This thoroughly male-dominated culture placed a high value upon comradeship between males, which to an erotically a-

ware sensibility can suggest homosexuality, but was intended only to depict an idealization of masculinity.

And yes, homosexuals were sent to the concentration camps. After the war, when survivors of these camps were given monetary compensation, the homosexual survivors were excluded.

The Nazis had much in stake, apparently, in keeping the traditional family structure strong and under control. The fight by women within and without the family for equal rights, the fight for a restructuring of the family system (which, admittedly, is all but impossible until present economic conventions are packed off into history) can never succeed until the state no longer has the right to oppress anything or anyone which it believes threatens that family structure.

David Hirsch

## Berkeley Strike

The article in *Workers' Power* No. 57, covering the strike of Building Trades and other workers at the Berkeley campus of the University of California, was a pretty poor piece of reportage. Because the events at Berkeley were of considerable importance, let me offer a few by-stander's comments.

There was little student support for the strikers. Why? Not just because the SMC/YSA sought to channel all activity into the anti-war movement, although that was a part of it. There were several more important factors.

First, the seeming apathy of most of the students to any issue important to the working class, a general indifference to its struggles of its existence. More crucial, if perhaps less forceful, were the anti-working-class attitudes of the students.

These students were opposed to the war and racism, but their shortsightedness and middle class prejudices led them to denounce and oppose the workers who struck, because, rightly or wrongly, they saw them as the perpetrators of the war and racism. The University administration pandered to this sentiment.

On the other hand, what of the thousand or more students who marched around the campus waving N.L.F. flags as part of the anti-war activity? A sure way to create solidarity between the workers and the students. These students were as misguided in their unquestioning support for the enemies of the working class abroad as they were in their equally unquestioning, but objective, support for the enemies of the working class at home.

Wayne M. Collins

## Imperialist China?

I have a negative comment on the Vietnam article by Dave Finkel in *Workers' Power* No. 58. First of all he calls Russia and China "imperialist" in the same manner as the US. China has acquired no new territory since the Revolution in 1949, although she could have intervened several times since then -- Korea (1950), India (1962), Pakistan (1971), and in Vietnam. Instead, in the case of Vietnam, China has given relatively small amounts of aid to the Vietnamese as compared to the US. Where is the Russian or Chinese capital or influence in Vietnam?

Instead of the cartoon on page 7 (showing Mao and Brezhnev serving a Vietnamese head on a platter to Nixon), it would have been more accurate to show Nixon, a giant, attacking a much smaller person (Vietnam), while two large people (Russia and China) stand by saying "Please don't hurt him."

There is also no differentiation mentioned between the social systems of the Soviet Union and China. I feel there are some differences internally; there is some local control in China in the villages, cooperatives, and factories, although the major domestic and foreign policy decisions are made by the bureaucracy. China has an element of decentralization, although I feel that Chinese foreign policy is almost as bad as the Soviet Union's. The Chinese rotten foreign policy showed itself very clearly in East Pakistan and Ceylon last year.

The socialist revolution in China will not be complete until the small amount of local control is extended to the top, so the workers and peasants also control the major decisions and eliminate the bureaucracy.

Ron Swanson

## Finkel Replies

Reader Swanson overlooks several points in attempting to argue that Russia and China are not "imperialist." His statement that China "has acquired no new territory since the Revolution in 1949" is factually incorrect, since China took over Tibet in 1958 and imposed its own rule over the Tibetan people.

This, however, is not the decisive question in any case. Swanson would certainly agree that the United States is an imperialist power. *But the US has gained no new territory since 1949 either!* Britain and France, the other two major capitalist imperialist powers, have *lost* territories during this period! No Marxist, however, would argue that they have thereby ceased to be imperialist. What makes these countries imperialist is that they exercise economic and political domination over other nations.

Neither Russia nor China are capitalist imperialist powers, of course. As for Russia, its rule over Eastern Europe is based on economic mechanisms which are weaker than (although similar to) those of capitalist imperialism, including exploitative export-import relationships and use of satellite countries as cheap sources of materials and goods. To maintain its empire, the Russian regime depends heavily on direct military force, and on the exist-

ence of satellite Stalinist regimes with bureaucratic ruling classes placed in power under the shadow of Russia's armies.

More decisive than economic comparisons or analogies is the *dynamic of struggle* within the Russian Stalinist empire. The struggles of oppressed nationalities are increasingly beginning to undermine the stability of this empire, and opening up the prospect of massive revolutionary upheavals to smash the bureaucracy through working class revolution.

*The attitude of socialists toward these struggles -- in Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere -- is the same as our attitude toward national liberation struggles under capitalism: unconditional support of the right of nations to self-determination.*

As for China, we have never maintained that China is already a full-fledged imperialist power like the US or even the USSR. China today has no far-flung empire or system of world economic domination. There is no doubt, however, that China's ruling class *aspires* to become a world power.

As James Coleman explained in *Workers' Power* No. 53 ("Nixon, Mao Draw New Lines in Asia"), China and the US are now collaborating as the major status quo powers in Asia, each agreeing not to undermine the other's sphere of influence. Having ceased to act as a junior partner of Russia, China is working to carve out an independent great-power role for itself. Thus, China is as much a reactionary barrier to revolution in Asia as is the Soviet Union.

Swanson asks "where is the Russian or Chinese capital or influence in Vietnam?" There is no need to look for "capital" as such, but rather for the fact that Russia and China have always subordinated the Vietnamese revolution and national independence struggle to their own diplomatic and class needs.

Thus, Russia supported the liquidation of the Vietnamese Trotskyists and other revolutionary forces by the Stalinist Viet Minh in 1945, when Russia was for a deal with French imperialism in Indochina. This served a two-fold purpose -- advancing Stalin's immediate counterrevolutionary foreign policy aims and ensuring Stalinist hegemony over the Vietnamese struggle. Moreover, Russia and China both helped to maneuver the Geneva sellout of 1954.

In no way have the Soviet Union or China ever attempted to advance the independent interests of the Vietnamese nation or working class. Nixon's mining of the harbors of North Vietnam and his wholesale bombing campaign were only made possible because he received the blessings of both Russia and China.

Finally, Swanson suggests that the social system in China is "different" from that of Russia because of "local control" in the villages. But whether or not this "local control" is a reality, it has no effect on the relations of production.

The Chinese regime may permit harmless "participation" in village affairs, but it forbids not only workers' control but even *elementary democratic rights and independent trade unions*. To say that China is (even partially) socialist on the basis of village "control" makes as much sense as saying that New England is socialist on the basis of town meetings. ■

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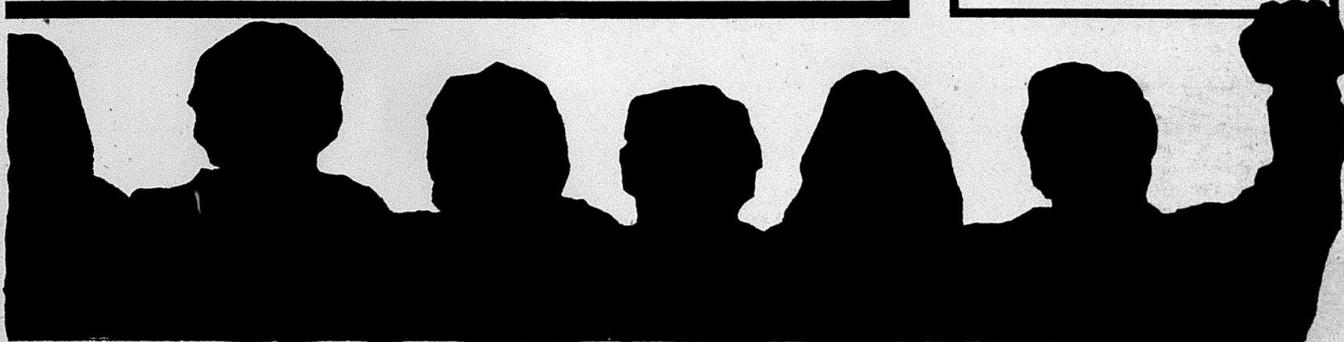
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## Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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