

WORKERS' POWER

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Nixon Victory Means New War On Labor

The capitalist press is describing the Nixon vote as a vote for "stability." They may be right, but the voters will not get stability. The American economy itself is unstable. In reality, Nixon's victory represents an important shift in the balance of class forces, in favor of the ruling class.

The landslide vote -- whether or not the voters intended this -- will be used by Nixon as giving permission for the policies he wishes to pursue.

Nixon has already promised "an end to permissiveness" -- which means a crackdown on strikes, welfare victims, and reform programs. Black people, Puerto Ricans and Chicanos especially are in for a brutal wave of "austerity" and repression in the form of forced-work programs, a tightening employment picture, and forced sterilization of welfare mothers and similar atrocities.

Since Nixon put through the "New Economic Policy" in mid-1971, the capitalist class has been attacking. With mostly ineffective "price controls" providing a cover of "fairness," the owners of industry and transport have

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VIETNAM: MORE WAR

EDITORIAL

The Vietnam war is a long way from being over. It's likely (although not certain) that some kind of peace settlement will be signed soon. But the United States is preparing for the settlement by piling up as much war material in South Vietnam as it can before a cease-fire goes into effect. Nixon and his pals know

that "peace" in Vietnam is just another kind of war.

With his "landslide" re-election victory, Nixon has successfully re-united almost the entire capitalist class in support of his war policies. He has proved he could keep the US in Vietnam and simultaneously maintain stability at home, by appealing to the voters' domestic worries and exploiting the collapse of the anti-war movement.

The capitalists will willingly support Nixon in the months

ahead, as he maneuvers to break his promises to the American and Vietnamese people in order to gain further advantages.

The fighting is supposed to end with a "cease-fire in place." Now someone will have to decide just who controls what territory. All kinds of commissions will be set up to make these decisions but they won't mean much. The real answers will come from men with a flag in one hand and a gun in the other. The Saigon regime will have political control

of only as much territory as it can hold militarily.

This military instability reflects the lack of any political solution to the war, short of total US withdrawal. American intervention in Vietnam has kept the war going on this long. That intervention will continue. Thieu and whatever "neutralist" stooges on the control commission that will oversee affairs in Vietnam have no support from the Vietnamese people. They represent only the

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FUND DRIVE PASSES \$10,500

As we enter the final two weeks of the IS fund drive, contributions are about 5 percent behind schedule. Of the large branches, both Detroit and Seattle have gone over 100 percent, and Detroit hopes to contribute considerably more before the drive is over.

We urge all readers of *Workers' Power* to send a contribution if they have not yet done so. One couple

from the Midwest wrote in this week to pledge \$35 to the fund drive. Explaining that they had both been out of work for five months, they said: "Our pledge would be fulfilled as soon as we become employed."

[Make your check payable to "International Socialists" or "Joel Geier" and send it to IS, 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, MI 48203.]

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Branch	Quota	Amount Raised	% of Quota
Austin			
San Antonio	\$ 75	\$ 0	0
Ann Arbor	100	15	15
Boston	350	144	41
Champaign	60	85	142
Chapel Hill	60	0	0
Chicago	1,200	806	67
Cincinnati	60	0	0
Detroit	2,500	2,534	101
East Bay	2,000	1,341	67
Knoxville	40	15	38
Lansing	60	40	67
Los Angeles	1,500	850	57
Madison	500	358	72
New York	3,500	2,454	70
Pittsburgh	45	5	11
Portland	200	100	50
Rochester	60	120	200
Riverside	40	40	100
San Francisco	600	305	51
Seattle	850	881	104
MAL's	150	175	117
Nat'l Office	1,500	556	34
TOTAL	\$15,450	\$ 10,663	71%

Detroit, Seattle over the top!



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UAW PLANS 'STRATEGY' FOR ST. LOUIS DEFEAT

Jimmie Higgins



On November 2, the UAW Local 25 leadership officially settled its grievances with the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) in St. Louis. However, almost every rank and filer here will tell you the settlement was a sellout. It was clear from the beginning that the UAW leadership was not intent on waging a struggle that could defeat GMAD.

Since GMAD took over a little over a year ago almost 1,200 workers had been laid off, over 13,000 grievances had piled up, and working conditions were becoming increasingly intolerable. (For background, see *Workers' Power* No. 66.)

The announced settlement hired back 800 of the 1,200 laid-off workers, but made no significant gains in the areas of line speed or overloading.

To make the agreement more acceptable to a portion of the work force, wage increases were given out -- except to the assembly line workers, who comprise the largest section of the plant.

Conditions at the St. Louis plant should never have become as bad as they did. The recent struggle could have been avoided if Woodcock had from the first refused to allow GMAD to take over plants.

Eighteen thousand UAW jobs have been lost at GMAD plants because the

Woodcock UAW International leadership has refused to wage a winning struggle. The situation in St. Louis was a classic example of the UAW no-win strategy.

Last May the members of Local 25 voted overwhelmingly for a strike in St. Louis. From that point however, the conduct of the strike demands and strategy was out of their hands.

No real strike occurred in St. Louis because the ranks were not mobilized to fight GMAD and no economic pressure was put on the giant auto manufacturer. What happened here before and after the "hit and run" weekend strike was a series of bureaucratic maneuvers on the part of the UAW leadership to give a public image of militancy and at the same time allow the workers to blow off steam.

The Secret Strike

On the day before the four day work stoppage many Local 25 members did not even know that they were going out on strike the next day. They only learned about it through a leaflet of the Local 25 Rank and File Caucus.

No attempt was made to keep the ranks informed about the nature of the demands, the strike strategy, or tactical questions. The union's only concession was to call a number of special union meetings, after the strike and after the supposed "settlement," to announce to the workers what had been decided for them.

Throughout the strike GM production was not significantly affected and

the UAW was not forced to pay strike benefits. The only economic pressure caused by the strike was put on the workers themselves.

In the St. Louis plant the work force is about 24 percent black. The vast majority of these black workers are concentrated on the second shift. The second shift is also much younger than the first shift.

After model changeover, when there are always many difficulties with faulty machinery and unclear production standards, management maintained severe pressure on the night shift to continue to operate at 100 percent efficiency. The first shift was given "special consideration" and not pushed to the maximum.

While the night shift had to contend with increased discipline and unbending production standards the day shift was often allowed to stop the line so that they could catch up at a leisure pace.

"Sabotage"

A further attempt was made to split the ranks by the company's use of the "sabotage" issue. For a period of almost a month the second shift workers were being sent home early every night because of supposed sabotage. During this time the night shift averaged only 12 to 13 hours of paid time per week while the day shift continued to operate at 40 hours.

None of the workers believe seriously that the sabotage was actual. In one instance a seat that had been slashed managed to find its way back to the line on several consecutive days. The workers could not have done it, as they were sent home early.

The workers were additionally divided by the fact that the St. Louis plant is actually three plants in one with almost no communication between plants.

When the Rank and File Caucus attempted to distribute a leaflet exposing the real nature of the strike strategy and building for a caucus meeting the union responded on three separate occasions with gangster tactics to prevent its distribution.

Last but not least was the union's use of red-baiting to divide the leadership from the ranks. On more than one occasion the first order of business at union meetings was to denounce the caucus leadership as communists.

On the day that the settlement was announced special union meetings were held for each of the three shifts to explain to them the "gains" won and to have them ratify the agreement. The first and third shifts voted for ratification with about 225 members in attendance.

The night shift, however, was a different story. Almost 500 workers showed up and in the words of one caucus leader "there was almost a near riot." Fifty workers spoke from the floor attacking the union bureaucrats and their sellout settlement. The workers were so upset that everyone

on stage who tried to speak was booed off.

That ratification meeting ended when the local president refused to allow a discussion on continuing the strike, after which the workers walked out in a body. The union tried to hide the level of militancy when it announced to the papers that 95 percent of the workers ratified the agreement.

Rank and File Caucus

The fact that no increases were given to assemblers, but to those in classifications below and above them will have significant long term implications. Because the contract does not allow for any job transfer within classification and most classifications have now been brought up to a level equal to the assemblers, this means that almost every assembler will now be frozen at his current job.

With the line speed remaining the same, and no significant additions to the work force, the workers now face intolerable working conditions not only for the present but also for most of the future time that they are employed here.

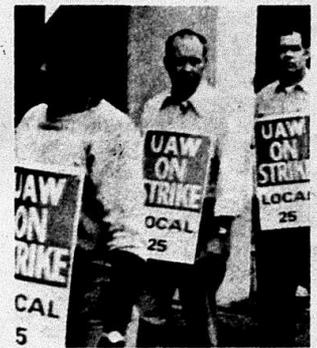
This strategy to let the ranks blow off steam may have backfired, however. Not just steam, but perhaps even the whole boiler may have been blown. Through the clear collaboration of the union leaders with the profit driven motives of GMAD, the ranks have been brought together in the necessity of building their own organizations for struggle.

The ranks have also learned that the enemies are not only the company and the union bureaucrats, but also their own divisions.

In the coming weeks the Local 25 Rank and File Caucus will be holding additional meetings to build a plant-wide caucus that functions on a daily basis defending the needs of the workers.

The caucus is now in the process of issuing a newsletter to all plant workers and of establishing lines of communication among all auto workers across the country. ■

[In the near future, *Workers' Power* will present a special interview with the leader of the Local 25 Rank and File Caucus.]





Editorial

[Continued from page 1]

American interest in Vietnam.

American imperialism will remain as a force in the country, although it will exert itself by different means. As long as the US has any sort of direct or indirect influence in Vietnamese affairs, revolutionary socialists support the victory of the national liberation struggle against American imperialism. We continue to support the military effort of the National Liberation Front, or "Provisional Revolutionary Government" (PRG) in any battles that occur against the US and Saigon either before or after the cease-fire.

The International Socialists recognize that North Vietnam was forced into this compromise -- by its Stalinist imperialist allies in China and Russia as well as by the force of American militarism. As a result Nixon has gotten the best terms he could hope for in Vietnam. He can point to the continued political existence of his stooges in Saigon as the justification of his "peace with honor" program. Further, as mentioned above, the magnitude of his election victory gives Nixon the freedom to manipulate these puppets to the best advantage of American imperial interests.

Without accusing the Vietnamese of a "sellout," however, we reject Hanoi's attempt to call this compromise a "victory." The self-determination of the Vietnamese people will not be accomplished through a deal with imperialism. Attempts to conceal this elementary fact can only mislead both the Vietnamese people themselves as well as those who support their struggle for independence. We demand the immediate end of American involvement in Vietnam; no troops, no puppet commissions, no puppet armies.

George McGovern, whose "peace" and "reform" candidacy collapsed in a mass of compromises, retreats and general lack of credibility, also accepted the basic premise that the US has a right to "negotiate" conditions for US withdrawal and Vietnamese self-determination. Unlike Nixon, he did not think the US could push for such good terms without touching off new massive anti-war protests.

The leaders of the anti-war movement -- Rennie Davis, Tom Hayden, and others -- proved that Nixon was correct, by leading the movement into the McGovern campaign. These supporters of the bureaucratic policies of Hanoi played the leading role in removing the only possible effective opposition to the continuation of the war.

The other wing of the anti-war movement, led by the Socialist Workers Party, played an equally bankrupt role. By consciously suppressing any program to broaden the anti-war movement into a working class movement combining mass anti-war action with workers' struggles against corporate and government attacks on labor, and by openly seeking the maximum participation by capitalist politicians at rallies and on NPAC (National Peace Action Coalition) committees, they effectively handed over the movement to those who turned it into an arm of the imperialist Democratic Party.

The collapse of the old anti-war movement, however, does not end the struggle against this war. American workers have already paid -- in blood -- the costs of US aggression in Vietnam. We have no use for a "settlement" which opens the way to new wars. American workers should support the Vietnamese people's fight for independence and join the struggle against our own imperialist government, which will continue in the future to drag us into new reactionary wars against our own interests and those of all oppressed peoples.

On October 26, the National Action Committee of the International Socialists adopted the following position on the reported Vietnam cease-fire terms:

The International Socialists welcome a cease-fire in Vietnam, but oppose the political terms of the cease-fire. American intervention in Vietnam is imperialist. The United States has no right to be in Vietnam, and no legitimate rights to negotiate for.

We demand the unconditional withdrawal of US troops and the end of all US interference in Vietnam. We oppose the settlement, which grants the United States the continued right to interfere in Vietnam through its puppets.

We oppose the imperialist "National Commission" and the imperialist coalition government which seems likely to follow. We also denounce Russia and China for pressuring the Vietnamese to accept this settlement.

We continue to support the military struggle of the PRG/NLF as opposed to the US imperialists. However, we call for full democratic rights for the Vietnamese people. We give no political support to the PRG/NLF which stands for Stalinist bureaucratic class rule.

The Vietnamese workers and pe-

sants must defend their organizations, their land, and their rights and fight for a workers' and peasants' government.

We call for:

Self-Determination for Vietnam!

1. No imperialist deals -- no imperialist concessions.
2. Complete, immediate, and unconditional withdrawal of US troops -- disarm the ARVN.
3. For the military victory of the PRG/NLF insofar as it defends the Vietnamese people from imperialist forces.
4. For the immediate expulsion of the US puppets from the coalition authority.

Full Democratic Rights for the Vietnamese People!

5. Immediate release of all war and political prisoners.
6. Workers' control of production -- land to the peasants.
7. Arm the workers and peasants -- for workers' and peasants' defense guards to defend their organizations and their land.
8. No political support to the coalition authority or the PRG -- for a workers' and peasants' government.

UNC plans Production Workers Conference

The United National Caucus, the major rank and file opposition in the United Auto Workers, is making plans to hold a special Production Workers Conference in early February.

The conference will immediately precede the UAW's Special Bargaining Convention at which the union will set goals for 1973 contract negotiations with the auto companies.

Plans for this conference were discussed at a meeting of UNC members in Detroit on October 29. About 60 to 70 UNC members and friends attended from a dozen Detroit area plants and from as far away as St. Louis and Mahwah, New Jersey.

The meeting first heard local reports concerned primarily with the deteriorating working conditions and speedup in most auto plants. Particular attention was focused on the situation at the GMAD (General Motors Assembly Division) plants.

The reports indicated that the UAW has adopted essentially a weak defensive position and is not effectively fighting the attacks of the auto companies.

Discussion then turned to the Production Workers Conference proposal presented by the UNC Executive Board. As outlined, the conference will center around two issues: "(1) working conditions and particularly the speedup and productivity squeeze now going on throughout the industry, of which GMAD is just the best known example; and (2) unemployment, which can be fought by ending forced overtime and striving for 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay.

UNC leaders hope to get several things out of the conference. The first is a set of contract demands that rank and file UAW members can fight for in their local unions and at the Bargaining Convention.

Another goal of the conference will be to develop ties between insurgent

unionists and the unemployed. To this end, speakers from community and unemployed groups will be invited to the conference.

The leadership of the UNC correctly sees the GMAD speedup as an indication of what is happening not only in all auto plants, but throughout American industry as a whole.

As the capitalist economic crisis intensifies, the industrialists are intensifying their efforts to make up losses at the expense of the working class. This is the reason for layoffs and speedup.

The UNC also has the right idea of what demands to raise to counter the productivity drive. The demand of 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay is a demand that the enormous productive wealth of this society be shared equitably among all workers, without the necessity of those who do have jobs being driven to inhuman levels of productivity.

Unfortunately, at this time the UNC has not been able to move rapidly to take advantage of the GMAD crisis. In every GMAD plant, the rank and file is (1) furious at GM because of the layoffs, speedup, and harassment; (2) angry at the UAW bureaucracy for either selling them out or refusing to wage a serious battle against GMAD; and (3) in many cases confused about what to do given factors one and two.

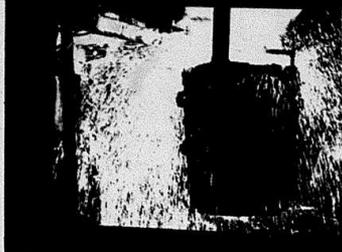
Desperately needed in such situations is a conscious leadership with an understanding of how to fight. That the United National Caucus has not yet been able to provide this leadership is due in large part to its small size and organizational weakness.

An aggressive organizing campaign around the demands in the UNC program could make the Caucus a powerful force in the rank and file struggle.

The Production Workers Conference could be an important turning point, particularly if the UNC is able to attract rank and file leaders from auto plants around the country. ■

Labor In Brief

Jim Woodward



Fight the Phone Company; Stay out of Phone Booths!

American Telephone & Telegraph hopes to raise charges for a local pay phone call from \$.10 to \$.20 over the next several years.

AT&T has already had its subsidiaries apply for the increases in Washington, Maryland, Oregon, Virginia, and Connecticut. Virginia and Connecticut have turned down the request, but if we know the phone company, they'll keep trying and will have their increase before long.

A phone company spokesman said the raises were needed because "coin-phone revenues as a percentage of total operating revenues have been falling over the years."

In other words, they've been more successful in getting money out of us at home than in the phone booth. The spokesman didn't say anything about AT&T's profits, which are up about 20 percent this year.

Perhaps we should take a lesson from the good people of New Orleans. A pay phone call there is still only \$.05. When the phone company tried to raise it to a dime, a successful boycott of pay phones was organized. Eventually, the company decided it would rather have a nickel than nothing at all.

Teamster bureaucrats continue attacks on Farmworkers Union

The International Teamster reports that Gene Blake, president of Teamster Joint Council in Arizona, has accepted a position on that state's Agricultural Board. The Agricultural Board was established by Arizona's Farm Labor Law -- similar to the anti-labor Proposition 22 recently rejected by voters in California.

The Arizona law makes all boycott activities illegal, empowers state courts to issue sweeping injunctions to end farm strikes, and excludes large numbers of migratory workers from participation in union representation elections.

In accepting the appointment, Blake said he did so in order to help farm workers solve their problems while protecting Teamster jurisdiction. The Farm Workers will certainly appreciate his "help." The UFW earlier turned down a seat on the board and announced that they would

refuse to cooperate with it.

Meanwhile the Teamsters Union nationally has announced plans to organize to break the iceberg lettuce boycott by the United Farm Workers. Teamsters have been packing scab lettuce in red, white and blue boxes marked "Re-Elect the President."

Although the AFL-CIO has ordered that the Teamster sweetheart contracts with the growers be terminated and the farm workers' memberships be transferred to the UFW, the Teamsters intend to maintain their fight to destroy the UFW.

One Teamster official was quoted as saying "maybe the growers want their workers organized by a trade union and not by a Civil Rights organization."

In a related development, the UFW has filed suit against a number of New York area supermarkets for using the UFW union label on scab lettuce. The offending stores included ten Sloan's supermarkets, one Grand Union, and one Shop-Rite.

Detroit: Rank and file caucus takes on Chrysler

The United Justice Caucus, a rank and file opposition group at Detroit's Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant, has won a significant victory against the mighty Chrysler Corporation.



Back in July, when the temperature inside the plant soared to over 120°, workers throughout the factory walked out on several occasions. From their air-conditioned offices, Chrysler's bosses said they didn't mind the heat and neither should the workers, so they were instituting disciplinary charges against those who led the walkouts.

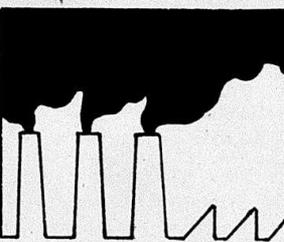
The role of the union, UAW Local 7, has been scandalous. When the UJC submitted a petition, with more than enough signatures to force a special union meeting to discuss defense of those disciplined, local President Bill Gilbert refused to accept it.

The UJC then passed around a leaflet and held a press conference in front of the plant "to publicly denounce the villainy of the Chrysler Corporation for their ruthless actions."

When a local newspaper called Chrysler to find out their side of the story, Chrysler announced it had dropped all disciplinary action against the workers.

The United Justice Caucus draws the following lesson: "With solidarity, shop floor militancy and union democracy we can force the company to treat us like human beings!"

The "War" on Pollution; Making the workers pay



President Nixon recently vetoed a bill which would have provided unemployment compensation for workers affected by layoffs or plant closings due to pollution. The bill would have paid workers 60 percent of their normal wage for 78 weeks plus rental and mortgage payments and moving expenses.

The bill also would have imposed a \$10,000 a day fine on employers who fired or disciplined an employee for reporting his boss' pollution.

A worker cannot be blamed for refusing to report industrial pollution if he knows it might cost him his job, either due to employer reprisals or the plant closing. Any system which forces workers to choose between their jobs and a clean environment is over-ripe for extinction.

Capitalist politicians poisoning job safety act

The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 is faced with a "serious occupational hazard" -- constant exposure to capitalist politicians.

The law's continued existence may be in imminent danger because of a ruling by George Guenther, Assistant Secretary of Labor. The ruling permits returns all the powers of enforcing the law back to the individual states, which have never enforced occupational health and safety laws in the past.

This ruling should come as no surprise to labor leaders who are objecting to it. The law had a built-in "self-destruct" clause, when it was framed by congressional "friends-of-labor" Democrats.

This clause provided that within two years of the bill's enactment, the individual states could submit plans for local regulation of occupational safety and health.

These plans were to be approved administratively by the Department of Labor if they were "at least as effective as" the original federal act. Since very few states have submitted plans, the scenario for self-destruction has not gone as the politicians had hoped.

Nevertheless, the Department of Labor is hurriedly trying to wash its hands of responsibility for occupational health and safety. The quickest way of killing the already very weak law is to hand it over to the states for non-enforcement.

Chicago nurses strike for themselves -- and patients

Registered and licensed practical nurses have virtually shut down Chicago's Cook County Hospital. Except for a few wards where the critically ill patients have been concentrated, the hospital is nearly empty. Patients who could be moved have been transferred to private hospitals.

The nurses, members of the Illinois Nurses Association, an unaffiliated union, struck on November 2. According to one of the organizers of the picketing, the key issue is the right to file grievances over all working conditions, particularly those relating to hospital policy on patient care.

Other issues in the strike include layoffs, transfers, wages, and contract length. The hospital is claiming the right to lay off nurses, regardless of seniority, for up to five days.

In other words, the hospital wants the right to discipline nurses without going through the grievance procedure. Some nurses feel that this would be used against those who objected to hospital policies.

The nurses are demanding a one-year contract. The hospital is insisting on two years. The nurses would be willing to accept a two-year contract if the hospital offer wasn't so miserable, or they might be willing to accept an inadequate contract for one year.

The news media has ignored the nurses' demands regarding hospital services and patient care. They say that the strike is over wage demands and ridicule the idea that striking nurses could be concerned with the patients' welfare.

Following a mass meeting to decide what to do, the nurses set up a massive picket line on November 2. About 600 people surrounded the hospital.

Later that afternoon, a circuit court issued a temporary injunction forbidding "concerted" strike action and picketing. The nurses responded by changing their picket line to an "informational demonstration" and by continuing to stay off work, as individuals.

Like the day before, they sent in about 45 nurses to care for the critically ill and kept others on call for emergencies. Very few others were working.

The "demonstration" is being supported by the resident doctors' and interns' organizations, and by the Illinois Union of Social Service Employees.

[Thanks to Lois Aarons for the above item. The note on the Occupational Safety and Health Act was submitted by Dr. Alice Watts.]



Nixon's Capitalist 'Mandate':

Abortion Reform Defeated In Michigan

Marsha Lind

The vote is in and Proposition B, which would have meant legal abortion in Michigan, has been defeated by an overwhelming 3-2 margin. The reasons for this setback -- despite the lip-service backing of many organizations like the AMA and UAW -- are many.

In part, the defeat of the measure to permit abortion reflected the strength of the conservative vote and Nixon's victory. There were, however, many mistakes made by supporters of the pro-abortion and women's liberation movements which helped destroy the chances for victory.

All the organization of pro-abortion forces went into getting Proposition B on the ballot, initiating a class action suit, or having an occasional tribunal or march.

The organizations and activities were in large part campus oriented -- and on November 7 it was only in college towns that legal abortion received a majority.

Once the referendum was on the ballot, and early polls showed 59 percent were for passage, the Detroit Women's Abortion Action Coalition (DWAAC) and the Michigan Abortion Reform Committee (MARC) did virtu-

ally nothing to assure passage.

DWAAC, affiliated to the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) which is supported by the Socialist Workers Party-Young Socialist Alliance (SWP-YSA) as the "single issue" strategy for women, virtually disappeared as the SWP-YSA threw its energies into running Linda Jensen for President.

After the vicious, well-financed anti-abortion media campaign by Voice of the Unborn, the Catholic Church, and the Southern Baptist Church got started, support for reform dropped rapidly, reversing in the polls by mid-October.

The so-called "Voice of the Unborn" used ads loaded with misinformation and emotional appeals to reactionary prejudices.

These forces claimed that abortion at 20 weeks would kill viable babies, that women felt extremely guilty after abortions, and even that women's desire for abortions is a passing fancy caused by the "stress of pregnancy." Legal protests against this blatant fraud were filed, but the damage was done.

On election eve and election day, the CBS-TV Detroit station urged a "no" vote -- on the grossly false basis that life at 20 weeks gestation is "potentially viable" (can exist outside the womb). On election day, while the polls were still open, the same station interviewed a Catholic nun who was leafletting polling places with her students.

She said that "abortion is murder" and that her students were "happy to have the opportunity" to hand out Voice of the Unborn literature.

No such free publicity was handed out to supporters of abortion reform,

such as the doctor at the polling place who told me he had watched three women die that morning from botched back-alley jobs.

None of the last-minute efforts of those who supported the reform were enough.

The remnants of MARC and DWAAC emphasized getting out the already pro-abortion vote rather than changing the minds of those who were once for abortion and had switched.

It should be obvious now that getting on the ballot is the beginning of a campaign and not the end of it. Furthermore, a pro-abortion campaign must be carried further than the fringes of campus to working women and men who simply can't afford or don't want more (or any) children.

The immediate future is bleak. The vote has national importance, especially in New York where the anti-abortion forces are preparing a new all-out campaign to repeal the law permitting abortion.

In Michigan, a class action suit is in court and may get the present anti-abortion law repealed. Repeal would allow the doctors to set conditions for abortion, which is bad enough. On the other hand, the legislature could enact another even more repressive law.

Urgently needed is an organization of women (and men) who are willing to do more than sign a petition. We must make our unions, and any other organizations we belong to, take a stand for abortion and help struggle for abortion reform.

This is the only way any woman, regardless of ability to pay, can have an abortion when she wants -- and also not be forced to have one if she doesn't want it. ■

Calif. Voters Ax Prop. 22

Emmett Casey

At the same time McGovern was being whipped by Nixon, and scared liberals began crying about the wave of reaction that was about to flood the country, two union-busting ballot propositions in California were voted down.

The workers whom McGovern left cold defeated threats against two notoriously poorly organized sectors of the working class: public employees and farm workers.

California's "initiative referendum" law was designed to give citizens a means of redress against a government bureaucracy and legislature in the grip of special interests. By collecting approximately 600,000 signatures (10 percent of the electorate), any change in law or declaration of policy can be submitted directly to the voters.

Recently, however, this basically democratic procedure has been subverted by reactionary interests who hire professional signature-collectors and gather signatures with claims which are the exact opposite of what the so-called initiative really intends.

The bills involved in circulating the anti-farmworker initiative (Proposition 22), which would have destroyed all farm workers' basic rights, have already been reported in *Workers' Power* No. 66 and received wide publicity throughout California as well.

Yet the growers and their henchmen still were rude enough (and rich enough) to plaster the state with bill-

boards screaming, "Protect Farmworkers' Rights -- Yes on 22."

Less well publicized were the frauds involved in the State Employee Salary Initiative (Proposition 15). This initiative was started by the Civil Service Employees Association, a long-time "professional organization" which opposes collective bargaining and seeks to establish itself as a company union.

When gathering signatures, the collectors claimed the initiative would guarantee large pay raises for state employees. They kept silent about the parts that outlawed strikes and provided for compulsory arbitration with a board appointed by the governor.

When the billboards appeared, the appeal was quite different: "Keep State Pay in Line -- YES on 15!"

In comparison to the funds spent on billboards and other advertising for these anti-union propositions, opponents of 15 and 22 had only the apparatus of the union movement and radical organizations.

The State AFL-CIO and many county labor councils and local unions recognized that if Propositions 15 and 22 could be passed, their unions could be busted next.

Rank and file workers who didn't vote at all for president, or even voted for Nixon, understood the elementary appeal to class solidarity. Even in areas like San Francisco which went solidly for McGovern, the NO votes on

15 and 22 easily surpassed McGovern's total.

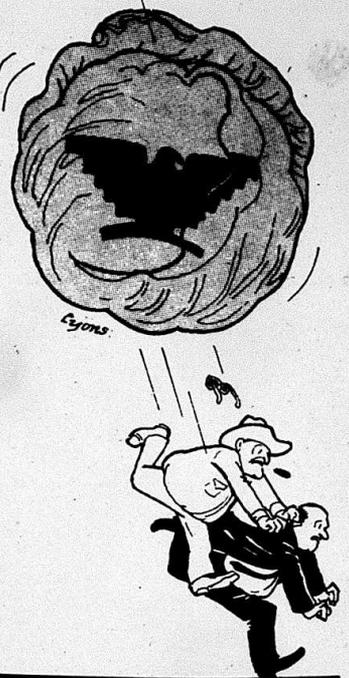
Even after the results had come in, McGovern supporters were unable to grasp the significance of these events. The liberal and ex-radical precinct workers retreated into elitism.

Their basic contempt for working people was plain to see as they complained "The people weren't ready for him" and leveled charges of "racism" at white workers who failed to support McGovern.

But the defeat of the anti-labor propositions point a hopeful way forward, an alternative to the dead end of McGovern and the Democratic Party. It was the power of organized labor which defeated Propositions 15 and 22.

Even the union bureaucrats, including the leaders of the United Farm Workers themselves, were surprised by the strength of the movement they created. Yet if these same bureaucrats had not been relying for years on the worn-out Democratic machine, which always promises reforms for labor and delivers favors for one boss after another, the "initiative" (literally) would not have passed into the hands of the union-busters.

The way forward for the working class lies in its own independent political party, organized along class lines and in the interests of labor. *Boycott the Democrats! Boycott the Republicans! Don't Buy Non-Union Politics!* ■



'Stability' and Repression

Elections

James Coleman

[Continued from page 1]

used wage and productivity controls to continue their attack on workers.

While wage increases have been kept low, millions of workers have been laid off while the rest have been speeded-up. While millions are unemployed, jobs have been filled by putting welfare clients to work for their welfare checks. All this will now increase.

The all-out offensive of General Motors Assembly Division against GM workers (see articles elsewhere in this issue) is a taste of what the new capitalist offensive will be like.

With profit rates falling due to outmoded technology and a bloated credit structure, and with arms production playing less of a stabilizing role than in the past, GM has taken the lead in squeezing its work force to keep profits up.

Others will follow. The powerful corporations represented by the Transport Consumers Association, which almost got through a bill banning strikes in the transport industry early this year, may try again as the Teamster Union goes into contract talks next spring.

If the present upturn in the economy is short and shallow, and if Nixon cannot stabilize the international monetary system -- as the International Socialists believe -- then new inflation is certain. This will bring new controls on wages, new curbs on strikes.

Greater efforts to squeeze out productivity through "rationalizing" work procedures, speeding-up, and laying off workers are certain in any case.

Politics of Fear

Nixon's victory by a lopsided margin leaves the working class badly prepared to face this crisis. The election does represent a choice of "stability," or in plain terms, a shift to the right in US politics.

The shift is not as great as the margin of Nixon's victory. As newsmen have pointed out, Nixon's percent vote this year was not much higher than the combined percent vote for himself and Wallace in 1968. Moreover, the Democratic Party lost only a few seats in the House, and actually gained two seats in the Senate.

Although the Democratic Party itself is as anti-working class as the Republicans, the illusion that it is more progressive remains -- so the heavy Democratic vote in Congress indicates less of a conservative shift than Nixon might wish.

But the shift is real. American voters, fearful of change and striking out at false targets, this year voted down the right of abortion in Michigan, restored the death penalty in California, and refused to increase their tax burden for education in many states (see stories elsewhere in this issue).

That Nixon's victory poses such a

grave threat to American workers is partly the responsibility of the American left. Rather than putting forward an independent political alternative based on working class politics, most radicals attached themselves to McGovern and went down with him.

The fear of instability and change was shown in several areas:

"The economy. The upswing in the economy, though it barely dented unemployment, was enough to make many afraid to risk new policies. The very awareness that the upswing was precarious added to the voters' caution.

"Peace. Nixon's visits to China and Russia, and his last-minute maneuvers in Vietnam, were enough to take the peace issue away from McGovern. Once again, people seemed unwilling to risk a change. The col-

pression was stepped up. Black militants were shot and put on trial, and even when acquitted, their movements were derailed by the cost of defense.

Universities cracked down on student protesters, with Nixon's full approval. The student movement's isolation from the working class, and the radical black movement's inability to build a base among black workers, led to their instability and collapse under the pressure of repression.

So when Nixon piously referred, on election night, to the rewards of "playing the game" of US two-party politics, he was standing on the butchered corpses of those, such as Fred Hampton and George Jackson, who had tried to show their people a way to go beyond the shell game.

Besides the cautious mood of American workers, a second major

... Medicare ... " and so forth.

Fond memories, but not a program. At the same time the Democrats pandered to the racism Nixon stirred up. In Michigan, for example, Republican Senator Griffin and Democratic challenger Kelley competed for the title "Most Opposed to Busing." The prize was a Senate seat, and Griffin won it.

The fact is that the welfare state could not solve the problems of capitalism, and today Democrats remain the defenders of capitalism, no longer through reforms but through more repressive means.

In the primaries this showed itself in the inability of most Democrats to stir a response in voters. This enabled McGovern to win the nomination. But McGovern offered only a slightly updated welfare state.

The traditional Democratic rhetoric -- down to millionaire Sargent Shriver's folksy references to baloney sandwiches -- got a warm response in rallies. But McGovern's gimmick policies were new and untried, and the voters were aware that the old versions of these same policies had merely raised taxes without bringing fundamental improvements.

Calm Before the Storm

This was the first election in which the magic of the post-war prosperity had really worn off. And at least to start with, the working class has responded not by acting on the need for a break from the past, but by pausing in caution.

Underneath the Nixon landslide, American society is crackling with tension. Today the working class, divided against itself, is waiting nervously. Tomorrow the tension could -- and must -- explode. It could explode in any direction.

The popular shift toward conservatism today is itself unstable, based on insecurity about the future. As the ruling class attack increases, the shift could go in the opposite direction.

The possibility of the growing insecurity of white working class and lower middle class Americans being deflected in racist hysteria against those who are not their real enemies -- black workers -- is very great.

In fact, both Nixon's do-nothing policies on race and the liberals' "reforms" which are based on granting token advances to blacks at the expense of whites, make a racist explosion more likely.

It is also possible for the tension to crack in the other direction -- against the real enemies, the employers and their servants in government.

Given the mood of caution in the US working class, a series of defeats in next year's strikes is possible. Even this, however, will only lead to new fights as inflation, speedup and productivity bargains, and wage ceilings eat up negotiated gains, and as the government intervenes to limit the right to strike.

A working class upsurge, and a political movement to form a working class party, are possible. But for this to happen, it is necessary to create an organized rank and file movement, one which sees its tasks as displacing the old union leadership, leading the fight for a labor party, and struggling to unify the working class to meet the ruling class attack.

The tasks are huge, and the time is very short. ■



lapse of the anti-war movement into the Democratic Party left no effective opposition to Nixon's policy of forcing an imperialist "settlement" on the Vietnamese people.

"Race. To many white voters who could understand the uncertainty of American society only in terms of the supposed threat of the blacks, Nixon offered the "issues" of busing and racial quotas. These were "issues" consciously designed to appeal to racism.

The mood of these white voters was not yet one of all-out racist attack on the blacks, of pogrom dimensions. They wished merely to keep the black "threat" at bay -- in the inner cities, in different neighborhoods, in different schools.

Nixon offered them a stand-pat policy on race questions which suited their mood perfectly.

"Social stability" An unspoken factor in the campaign was the death, during Nixon's administration, of the tumultuous radical movements of the 1960's.

In Nixon's first administration re-

factor helped produce Nixon's victory and in fact helped produce the voters' mood. *That factor is the bankruptcy of liberalism as a social policy in the United States.*

On the state and local level, and on election day, voters mainly stuck with their traditional choices. *But it was on the national and international level that neither McGovern nor any other Democrat could offer a coherent policy.*

Bad Joke

The Democratic Party is based on "welfare state" liberalism; today, the "welfare state" is a bad joke. In the last years, the Democrats have turned more and more to repressive "solutions" to its problems. These include support for Nixon's repression of blacks and others, and initiating the proposals for "wage-price controls."

Less and less do the Democrats offer anything but the echoes of yesterday's reforms. On election day the radios blared: "Vote for the party which brought you Social Security

MAX SHACHTMAN

1904-197

Joel Geier

Max Shachtman, founder of the Workers Party (later the Independent Socialist League) died at 68 years of age on Saturday, November 4. For four decades he was one of the greatest spokesmen of revolutionary socialism in America.

Shachtman's parents fled from Poland to the United States after the revolution of 1905 was crushed by the Tsarist Russian regime. As a young man Shachtman, with millions of others, was raised to political consciousness by the Russian Revolution and the workers' revolution in Europe at the end of World War I. He joined the revolutionary left wing of the American socialist movement, and took his stand with the forces who were constructing the new, revolutionary Communist International.

His first struggle was in the fight against the social democratic and trade union bureaucrats who had led the workers into the imperialist slaughter of World War I and were lining up with the old capitalist order to contain and repress the working class revolution in Europe.

While still a teenager Shachtman became a founder of the newly formed Communist Party and its youth group, the Young Workers League. Shachtman rapidly became a leader of the YWL and editor of its publication, the *Young Worker*.

With the major leader of the Young Workers League, Martin Abern, he established a life-long political collaboration. The two young revolutionaries were associated in the Communist Party with James P. Cannon.

Cannon was the major spokesman for the native, trade unionist wing of the CP, and led the fight to transform the CP from an illegal underground sect into an open, legal mass revolutionary workers' party. Together Cannon, Shachtman and Abern built the International Labor Defense, which organized the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, Tom Mooney, Warren Billings and hundreds of less famous working class fighters victimized by the capitalist courts.

Shachtman was the editor of its publication, the *Labor Defender*, in the years when that magazine was the stirring voice of labor's class war prisoners. During the same period Shachtman was briefly editor of the CP's *Daily Worker*, and was an alternate member of the CP's Central Committee.

With Cannon and Abern, Shachtman was expelled from the Central Committee and the CP in 1928 for supporting the Left Opposition's struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the Communist International under Stalin. Among the CP pioneer leaders, these three remained true to the original cause and aims of the Russian Revolution and the Communist International: the rule of workers' councils (soviets), workers' democracy in the revolutionary party and state, workers' control of production, socialist internationalism and world revolution.

When the Communist Parties abandoned these goals to become appendages of the rising Stalinist Russian

bureaucracy, these three joined Trotsky to form a new workers' movement that was both anti-Stalinist and revolutionary socialist.

Throughout the 1930's, under Trotsky's leadership, the Trotskyists attempted to rouse the labor movement to these great aims and the dangers which threatened it. They pointed out the threatening danger of the rise of fascism, and fought against the sectarian policies of the Communist Parties for the only alternative to Hitler's takeover, a united front of the workers' organizations.

The Trotskyists championed the cause of social revolution internationally, in China, France, Spain, where it was destroyed from within by the leaderships of the Socialist and Communist Parties. Internationally they fought for the formation of a new revolutionary International against these betrayals.

When the International Left Opposition was organized in 1930, Shachtman joined with Alfred Rosmer (the founder of the French Communist Party), Andres Nin (the greatest leader of the Spanish working class), Leon Sedov (Trotsky's son), and Kurt Landau in constituting its first International Bureau.

When Trotsky launched the Fourth International in 1938, it was Shachtman who was his personal representative there and the chairman of its founding conference.

While carrying on the struggle to rebuild the international movement, these pioneers never neglected the less glamorous and unheroic work of building a revolutionary workers party and involvement with the daily struggles of the American working class.

Their finest hour was in the Minneapolis General Strike of 1934, which organized the teamsters union in the Northwest. Cannon and Shachtman joined the local Trotskyists who led this magnificent class battle, turning the tide of working class defeats in the Depression years and helping to pave the road to the formation of the CIO.

Shachtman helped to write and edit the strike paper, the first daily strike paper in America, the *Northwest Organizer*.

Throughout the '30's Shachtman was the main popularizer of Trotsky's ideas in the United States, and the major public spokesman for American Trotskyism. He was for many years the editor of *The Militant* and *The New Internationalist*, which were the weekly newspaper and the theoretical organ of the Trotskyist movement. Along with Cannon and Abern he was instrumental in founding the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1938.

Shachtman's most original contributions to revolutionary Marxism, however, were made after he was expelled from the Socialist Workers Party for leading a minority opposed to Russia's role in World War II.

Trotsky and the SWP, while opposed to the Stalin-Hitler pact and the Russian invasions and annexations in Poland, the Baltic States, and Finland, believed that revolutionaries internationally must defend Russia in these wars. Since property remained nationalized, Trotsky held that Russia was still a workers state, however degenerate.

Shachtman and the opposition



which formed the Workers Party in 1940 developed the ideas which are upheld today by the International Socialists. Shachtman labelled Russia's role in the war and its territorial seizures as *imperialist*, different from but similar to the imperialist roles of the capitalist states.

Shachtman's contention was borne out by the end of the war, when Russia and America joined together in the imperialist division of Europe which was the back-drop of the Cold War. Drawing the appropriate conclusion from these events, the Workers Party initiated the call for a working class policy independent of Washington and Moscow and their war camps.

They brought Marxist theory up to date by recognizing that the struggle for the world was now a triangle of contending class forces -- capitalism, Stalinist bureaucracy, and the socialist working class. The Workers Party demanded, as the IS does today, that the working class organize independently of the two imperialist camps, into a third camp -- the camp of the international working class and the oppressed colonial masses.

Shachtman developed the theory that the Communist countries were both anti-capitalist and anti-working class, a new, bureaucratic collectivist,

form of class society. The means of production in the Communist countries became the *collective property of the bureaucracy*, through the bureaucracy's totalitarian control of the state which was the repository of nationalized property.

In this way the bureaucracy became a new ruling class. This analysis of the nature of Stalinism allowed Shachtman to accurately predict in advance the post-war expansion of Stalinism, the forces leading to its breakup into national Stalinist states (under Tito, Mao, etc.) and the coming working class revolution for socialism in the Communist countries.

This analysis also led Shachtman and the Workers Party to a new appreciation of the working class and democratic nature of socialism. Recognizing that nationalization of property while necessary is not sufficient for socialism, Shachtman and the Workers Party recognized that socialism can only exist when the workers *collectively and democratically* control both the state and the economy.

To achieve socialism nothing can substitute for a conscious revolutionary working class, led by a revolutionary party which is thoroughly democratic internally and in its relationship to the working class. These were Shachtman's greatest contributions

to the arsenal of revolutionary Marxism.

Shachtman theoretically wiped away the revisionist overlay, produced by the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, on the revolutionary democratic socialism of Marx and Lenin.

This revisionist overlay which Shachtman fought continues to infect even the anti-Stalinist left -- which has failed to understand the revolutionary democratic content of socialism, which sees "workers' states" even where workers have no rights or power, whose internal life violates the norms of workers' democracy, and whose ideas on the relationship of the revolutionary party to the working class are those of command, ultimatum or manipulation rather than democratic leadership.

Armed theoretically, Shachtman helped to lead the fight inside the labor movement against imperialism in World War II and the Korean War, against the class collaboration of the trade union bureaucracy, for independent working class politics and for working class emancipation.

Although Shachtman remained a revolutionary opponent of American capitalism during the Cold War and McCarthy era, the defeat and decline of the workers' movement took its toll. He slowly accommodated himself to the prevailing reaction.

By the end of the 1950's he lost his revolutionary optimism and perspective, and abandoned the fight for revolutionary socialism. To do so he broke with us, with his past and with revolutionary Marxism.

He deserted to the camp of social democracy and Western imperialism, to become a slavish defender of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, the anti-Communist crusade in Vietnam, and the domestic policies of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. He came to the position that the working class must reconcile itself to a decaying capitalist world of war and imperialism.

He spent his later years justifying everything he had originally set out to fight as a young man under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky.

It would be hypocritical for us to cloud these facts over at his death; but it would be petty of us to deny Shachtman's great contributions and four decades of dedicated service to the revolutionary movement because of his later desertion. His tragedy, unfortunately, was not so much personal. Rather, it was the tragedy of a whole generation of revolutionaries who experienced nothing but an endless series of working class defeats, and who eventually abandoned the fight.

We recall this tragedy with sorrow, but also with the recognition that the revolutionary forces which are once again reassembling to give battle to capitalism and Stalinism stand on the shoulders of these defeated pioneers. They were soldiers in the proletarian army of emancipation, and Shachtman was one of the greatest of them.

The International Socialists remain confident in the coming triumph of the ideas which he stood for years ago, the great aims which motivate our movement and which will see their realization in the coming victory of international socialism. ■

Close to a thousand American Indians representing 250 tribes have, in the words of one, "declared war on the United States of America." The first battle took place at the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington and resulted in victory for the Indians.

The Indians took over the B.I.A. building five days before the Presidential elections and issued a list of demands which included:

- *Dismissal of a number of government officials dealing with Indian affairs

- *Return of Indian lands taken from them in the past

- *Return of ownership and control of natural resources on Indian lands

- *More federal aid for the education, health and welfare of Indians.

The government countered the occupation by having a federal judge order the Indians to leave. But the Indians paid about as much attention to this court order as the US government has paid to its treaties with Indians in the past.

One 71-year-old Pawnee expressed her attitude towards the government:

"There are nothing but crooks and liars up here. They'll steal you blind."

Faced with the Indians' refusal to quietly slink away, the government bumbled around for five days, having first one court and then another issue eviction orders with instructions not to enforce them.

The Nixon administration clearly thought an election-eve Indian massacre was not politically wise, but hoped to pass the blame for its inaction onto the courts.

At one point during the occupation, the District of Columbia police tried to slip an undercover agent into the building. The Indians handcuffed him with his own handcuffs and chased him out.

After a week, an agreement was reached with negotiators from the White House. Details of the settlement are unclear, but they appear to be mainly promises from the government to review Indian grievances and make recommendations to President Nixon. The White House aides also promised to recommend that the government not prosecute anyone involved in the takeover.

Promises from the White House are of course worthless in themselves. What the Indians have gained, in addition to invaluable intelligence from the B.I.A.'s files, is a tremendous psychological victory.

They took on the US government and won. In the future the government will have to regard Indians somewhat more seriously. ■

Native Americans Panic 'Indian Affairs' Bureaucrats

Jim Woodward



Native American militants liberating secret documents from the BIA

"Nixonomics" Comes To Britain



Prime Minister Heath

The "New Economic Policy" has come to Britain. The Tory government of Edward Heath, inspired by Nixon's success, has imposed a "wage-price freeze" on the British working class.

Most of the provisions of the freeze are already familiar to American workers. The wage freeze is easily enough enforced -- every employer automatically becomes a policing agent for the capitalist state. But, like the "wage-price freeze" in the US, the price "freeze" in Britain is a complete fraud, as shown by the following facts:

- *Prices of meat, vegetables and fish can be raised without permission from the government.

- *Prices of goods made up of raw materials can be raised, also without permission.

- *Government permission to raise other prices is available to anyone who can show that the "cost of his goods" has been raised "by external forces."

"In the four days before the freeze,

the price of 6,000 consumer items were raised by the manufacturers.

Socialist Worker, the weekly newspaper of the International Socialists of Great Britain, is setting up a special Watchdog Unit to investigate and expose price raises during the 90-day freeze. *Socialist Worker* has also called for trade unionists to unite around the following demands:

- Recall the Trades Union Congress to demand all-out action to smash the wage freeze.

- No more union negotiations with the Tories.

- Industrial solidarity with all groups that fight the freeze.

- Mobilize the entire labor movement to fight now for a minimum wage of \$60 and a pension of \$40 per week, and full equal pay for women.

Hopefully, the response of the British working class will set an example for American workers to follow in their struggles against wage controls here. ■

Permanent Revolution

Jack Trautman

[An article by the same author in Workers' Power No. 65 discussed Trotsky's account of the Russian Revolution of 1905. Here that discussion is extended to the theoretical underpinnings of Trotsky's analysis.]

The task of revolutionaries is not only to lead mass struggles and ultimately revolutions. It is also, as Lenin put it:

"To keep pace with events, to sum them up, to draw conclusions, to draw from the experience of today's happenings lessons that will be useful tomorrow, in another place, where today 'the people are still mute' and where in the near future, in some form or other, a revolutionary conflagration will break out."

Trotsky's 1905 is an attempt to do just that: to grasp and to spread the lessons of the 1905 Russian Revolution.

That revolution marked the beginning of an extended period of working class revolutionary upheaval around the world. Occurring in a backward country barely emerged from serfdom, where industrial capitalism was not preceded by a bourgeois revolution or centuries of gradual capitalist development, it raised important problems for the application of Marxism.

Marx himself had argued that what made socialism (i.e., workers' control of production and the state, full democracy, full equality) possible was the development of the productive forces to a sufficient degree to provide plenty for all for the first time in human history.

Without this affluence any attempt to establish socialism must fail because *"... without it only want is made general, and with want the struggle for necessities and all the old crap would necessarily be reproduced."*

Bourgeoisie and Proletariat

When previous revolutions had occurred in countries which were not industrially developed—such as in France in 1789—all that was possible was for a new ruling class to come to power. These were known as the *bourgeois* revolutions.

The historic task of the new ruling class, the capitalist class or *bourgeoisie*, was to develop the productive resources of the society to a degree sufficient to create a new social order.

This process was carried out by increasing tremendously the rate of exploitation of the proletariat and the peasantry: forcing them to abstain from consuming most of what they produced so it could be invested in productive resources.

At that point when this process produced an industrial working class and a massive productive apparatus, it became materially possible for this working class to seize power in its own name and build a socialist society.

But once that industrialization process had been carried through in Western Europe, did the more backward countries have to mechanically repeat it—or could they benefit from the wealth already accumulated by the more advanced countries?

The question was posed even more starkly in the 1905 Russian Revolution. In the past the class which had led the revolution and which had come to power had been the bourgeoisie, the capitalists. But in Russia that class had been anxious to side with the tsarist reaction. (See the review of 1905 in Workers' Power No. 65.)

Under those circumstances, what should the working class do? Still try to press this capitalist class to take power? Or seize power themselves?

One faction of the revolutionary movement, the Mensheviks, tried to impose a mechanical pattern upon history. The Mensheviks argued that capitalism inevitably follows feudalism, that the bourgeoisie must be the new ruling class after the tsarist autocracy.

Therefore, they said, the task of revolutionary socialists and the work-

ing class was to encourage the bourgeoisie to seize power. This position led the Mensheviks to the reactionary position of supporting the bourgeoisie even in opposition to the working class, and of curbing the struggles of the working class.

In grappling with these questions Trotsky came to a different conclusion, the theory of "permanent revolution." He presented this theory in another book, *Results and Prospects*, and demonstrated its validity in 1905.

This theory pointed to the possibility of Russia's leaping from its backwardness into the future. But this leap was only possible on the basis of the already-developed world economy, and could only be sustained if the revolution spread to industrial Europe and the rest of the world.

Without this development the con-

ditions of which Marx spoke would assert themselves and reactionary class rule would inevitably return to Russia.

Trotsky argued that Russia's development was quite *unlike* that of the West. The backwardness of the Russian economy had forced continual imitation of, and dependence upon, the West for survival.

The development of capitalism in Europe and rapid industrialization demanded a similar development in Russia, if it was to remain a world power. So the tsarist government encouraged foreign investment and it came flooding in. From the late 1880's to 1900 productivity increased in many industries from 1,000 - 2,000 percent.

The special role of the state meant that there never grew up a native bourgeoisie as there had in the West. The Russian bourgeoisie, dependent on the Russian state and on foreign capitalists, was in no position to initiate a struggle against absolutism and the landed aristocracy.

Furthermore, unlike the bourgeoisie in the French Revolution, the Russian bourgeoisie had no *desire* to initiate such a struggle. In part this was because the Russian bourgeoisie itself—what there was of it—came directly from this aristocracy or was related to it.

More significant was its fear of the explosive and concentrated Russian proletariat, which from its origins was far more advanced than the working classes that had provided the mass base for the old bourgeois revolutions in the West.

The foreign importation of capital, based on the industrial development of the West, meant the importation of the most modern technology. Capitalism in Russia did not begin as it had in England, with small workshops and a close relationship between employer and employees, but rather began immediately with giant factories.

In these factories there could be no possibility of confusion of the conflicting interests of employers and workers: the former were out to exploit the latter as much as possible, and that was evident.

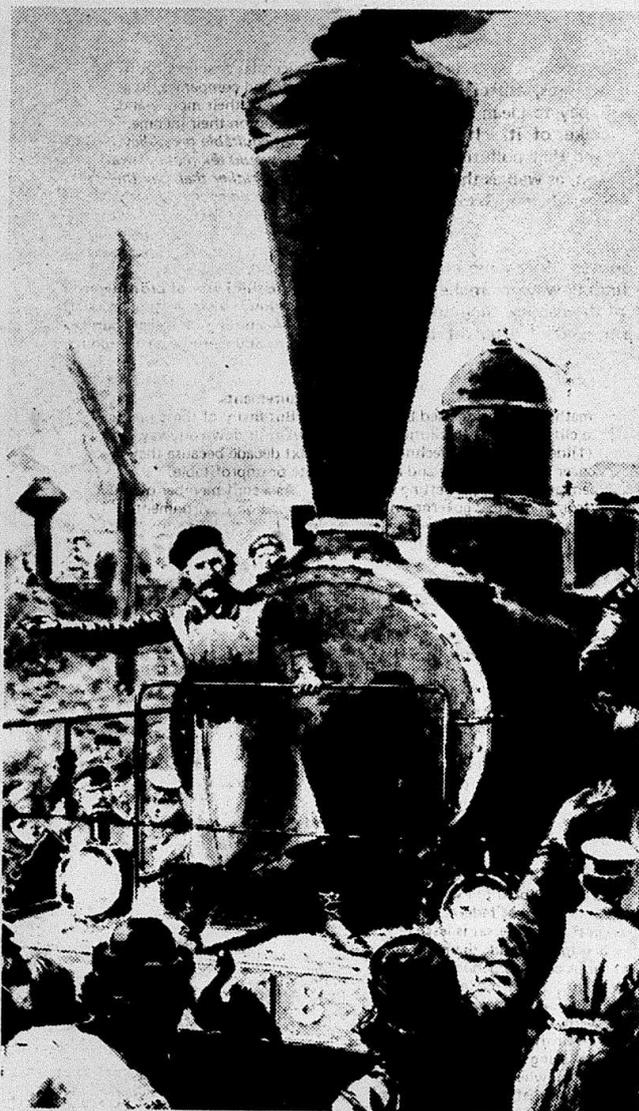
Small though the Russian economy was, it was the most concentrated of all the European economies. This meant that the working class was much larger and stronger relative to the bourgeoisie than in the West, and tended to be more class conscious.

Industrialization in the West took generations to develop the degree of concentration and high-level technology that were imported immediately into Russia. The same was true of class consciousness and organization.

It was 60 years from the first modern outbreak of class struggle, the French Revolution of 1789-1793, to the production of the *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels in 1848. It was decades more before Marxism was commonly accepted by the industrial working class in the West and Marxist political parties had been built.

But in Russia, as the working class was thrown together in the factories, these same ideas and organizations emerged much more rapidly and unevenly, as illiterate peasants became modern proletarians within a single generation.

Industrialization had begun in the



Striking railway workers seize locomotive near Moscow in 1905

late 1880's. By the late 1890's huge mass strikes, both economic and political, were taking place in Russia, and revolutionary parties were in the process of formation.

For the Russian bourgeoisie to lead any struggle against tsarism would have required mobilizing in struggle these masses of class-conscious workers. But once the masses went into motion against the tsar they would continue the fight against their class enemies, the bourgeoisie itself.

Thus, Trotsky argued, unlike in the West, the bourgeoisie in Russia was doomed to play a reactionary role.

He argued further that no other class could play the role the bourgeoisie had carried out in the West, overthrowing absolutism and all remnants of feudalism and reconstructing the society with the exception of the working class.

The peasantry, backward and ignorant, isolated from the centers of power, production and culture, could not construct a new society. They could, however, link up as the ally of an urban class in a revolutionary struggle.

Trotsky saw the working class as that urban revolutionary class. Small though it was, the Russian working class had a power, a social weight, far beyond its numbers. Concentrated in the cities, the working class was capable of paralyzing all life — economic, cultural and political — and of constructing institutions, the workers' councils or soviets, to take it over.

The initial historic task of the Russian workers was the same the bourgeoisie had accomplished in the revolutions in the West: the freeing of society "from the chains and fetters of absolutism and feudal ownership."

But this time, the driving force of the revolution would be not the bourgeoisie but the working class itself. The workers would not be content with constructing a state for the development of capitalism. Conflicts would develop: a struggle for the 8-hour day, or over who should pay taxes. There would be strikes and lockouts.

With which class would the revolutionary state established by the workers side? Obviously, with the working class itself.

A factory lockout would lead to the state taking over the factory and setting it back to work under workers' management. The rich would be taxed and so, immediately, the state would begin to "grow over" into socialism. The backward state of Russia would leap to the forefront of historical development.

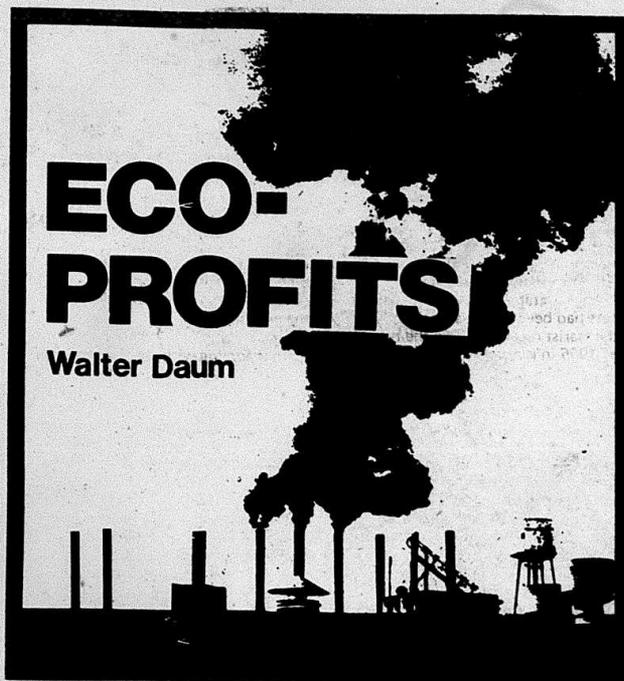
Worldwide Upeheaval

But, such a position could only be temporary. Because of the development of the world economy and its interrelationships, no country, even the richest, could successfully build socialism by itself.

Without European and world revolution and the aid that could then come from the more developed countries, "all the old crap would be reproduced," as Marx predicted.

Trotsky argued, however, that the example of the working class seizing control of the state and demonstrating the advantages of a workers' state even in a backward country like Russia, would have an enormous impact in encouraging the working class of the world to rise up and seize power.

And in fact, it was on the basis of this perspective that the working class under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party successfully seized power in Russia in October, 1917, and gave impetus to the first worldwide chain of working class revolutionary upheavals. ■



ECO-PROFITS

Walter Daum

"Environment" is a dirty word for businesses, especially if they have to pay to clean up the mess they make of it. It is widely publicized that pollution control legislation, as well as the Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1970, threatens to raise industry's costs and thereby cut into its profits. Yet some businesses are finding ways to make money out of the damage they do to the environment — often at the expense of the public and the workers they employ.

Three methods are being used by business to cut the costs of pollution control: (1) developing new technology to recover waste materials and recycling them at a profit; (2) getting handouts from municipal governments or Washington to pay for anti-pollution improvements; and (3) taking advantage of the environmental protection laws to shut down smaller and older plants, in order to raise productivity.

The first method has been used chiefly by the chemical industry, whose waste products are often valuable. Other industries will be less able to profit from their waste products.

The second method, government financing or defraying of costs, is more widespread. One technique is for cities to sell bonds to investors, use the money to buy pollution control equipment, and then rent the equipment cheaply to industrial polluters.

Industries save money this way, because the interest paid to municipal bondholders is free of federal tax, the interest cost to businesses is less than if they had to sell bonds themselves.

Industries can also deduct depreciation and make use of the investment tax credit on pollution control facilities — even those they don't own themselves but rent from local governments.

Without seeing a company's books, it's hard to tell whether the investments they write off for tax credits actually go to combat pollution, or for ordinary capital replacement and expansion.

The tax-free municipal bond is a

device that enables wealthy investors, banks and companies, to get paid for the use of their money and avoid paying taxes on their income.

An equitable tax policy, in contrast, would tax money away from the rich rather than pay them for its use. As things stand, working people and others with low or moderate incomes pay correspondingly higher taxes to compensate for the untaxed income of the wealthy.

The third way of profiting from pollution is by increasing productivity. According to a recent survey, 200 to 300 plants in major industries will shut down by 1976, supposedly in compliance with pollution control requirements.

But many of these plants would have shut down anyway within the next decade because they are obsolete or unprofitable.

As a staff member of the federal Council on Environmental Quality put it, "Pollution control will speed up changes we have to make anyway." Nevertheless, environmental protection can be used as an excuse to shut down factories and deter criticism and opposition from labor.

Some fraudulent "ecological" shut-downs have been exposed. One exam-

ple is the Marietta, Ohio, plant of Union Carbide, which threatened last year to lay off over 600 workers rather than abide by federal air pollution requirements.

Although the workers were under pressure to support the company's claim, the union, an OCAW (Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers) local, refused to give up their demands for both job security and clean air. The company backed down and agreed to continue production using low-sulfur fuel.

But factory closings can rarely be fought on a single-plant basis, especially when a plant is indeed obsolete or in poor condition. A coordinated strategy by the entire labor movement is required to take the burden of "rationalizing" industry off the backs of the workers.

If rationalization is left in the hands of the capitalists, their only consideration will be profits. In some cases, several smaller plants will be replaced by one large one in order to cut the costs of waste disposal and pollution control.

Even if production continues workers will be the first to suffer during the transition period, any many jobs will be eliminated entirely. This danger is particularly acute in dispersed industries such as iron foundries and food processing.

In fighting such maneuvers, labor's principle should be that *no factory has to be closed*. All production is needed to raise the standard of living of people in the US and around the world.

No productive resources shall be wasted, and society cannot afford to keep able workers unemployed. Repairs to factories, if needed, should be paid for out of the profits of businesses that have been polluting the environment for decades.

Industries that are closed down by their owners should be nationalized and put to use under the control of their workers. In this way useful production can be maintained, decent working conditions established, and no jobs need be lost. Such a solution is entirely rational and in the best interests of society.

Yet capitalists have always found it "rational" to keep valuable resources shut down, workers unemployed, and polluting and hazardous facilities in operation.

Rationalization under capitalism's terms will be called "efficiency," "productivity," and even "progress" — but it will always demand growing profits and will always come at the expense of the working class. As long as this capitalist system survives, a truly rational organization of production to meet human needs is impossible. ■



PART TWO

The Perón Myth

Shelley Landau

[This two-part series discusses the myth of the "progressive" regime of Juan Peron in Argentina from 1945 to 1955. The first article (see Workers' Power No. 67) discussed Peron's rise to power and the failure of the left. The following article takes up Peron's suppression of the workers' movement, and explains why he was overthrown by a right-wing military coup backed by the landlord class.]

The large migration of workers from the interior to the cities during World War II provided Peron with an ideal audience. He easily discredited the immigrant "aristocracy of labor" and attacked the "foreign ideologies" of the Socialists and Communists.

Peron developed a very personalistic nationalism for the workers uprooted from the interior, the "descamisados" (or shirtless ones), a style skillfully reminiscent of the landlord "father" whom the migrants had served on the land.

Peron's typical appeal was for total faith in himself:

"In this celebration today I want you to forget that I am General Peron, and that before your conscience, before the conscience of all Argentines, before the conscience of all the world, I might be the material representation, the living incarnation of the Argentine nation."

Peron not only made a nationalist appeal to workers, he also initiated substantial economic reforms which were especially beneficial to the native descamisados, most of whom had been denied the gains of unionization.

He appointed his wife Evita Minister of Labor, with the job of selling the regime to the working class, which she accomplished through extreme demagoguery.

To military critics Peron explained the reason for his supposedly pro-working class policies and rhetoric -- "It is a fact that the army must accept. If we do not bring about a pacific revolution, the people will initiate a violent one."

"Pacifist Revolution"

To make certain that his "pacific revolution" would not spill over into a real, working-class revolution, Peron tried to strip the working class of its independent power.

Workers were not allowed any political alternatives to Peronism. Peron intervened in the unions led by the Socialist and Communist Parties and conducted a "red-baiting" campaign to destroy their influence.

Peron proclaimed that "Foreign ideologies constitute the worst sickness of the working masses," and promised that no "foreign element" would be allowed to develop within the unions. To "guard" the unions he jailed thousands of oppositionists.

Peron did not even trust the *Partido Laborista* which elected him to of-



Juan Peron

ice, because its leadership desired to maintain a semblance of independence. As soon as his electoral victory of 1946 was secure, he disbanded the party, jailing and exiling anyone who resisted.

Peron also took control of the trade unions. The powerful *Confederacion General de Trabajo* (CGT) was stripped of its right to elect its own officers, to carry on collective bargaining with employers, or to administer its own affairs.

What this meant was that the chosen government "interventors" would take over union affairs, expel uncooperative members, and make their own deals with management.

In keeping with his other policies, Peron denied the working class its most basic weapon of defense -- the right to strike.

In 1945, as Minister of Labor, he ruled that any strike declared without government permission was a crime against the state. Participants in illegal strikes were to be punished as traitors.

The 1950 railroad strike was a perfect example of Peronism in practice. At that time railroad workers struck for higher wages. When they saw that their government-appointed leaders would not support their demands, an "Emergency Committee" was formed to carry out the strike.

Peron responded promptly and decisively. He summoned the Central Committee of the CGT, demanded and received its support for a decree which permitted him to draft strikers into national service. Hundreds were arrested; at least 2,000 lost their jobs.

Peron was determined to keep the working class completely dependent

upon his "favors." But by the early fifties, the government's "gift-box" was empty.

The postwar reserves, which had financed Peron's programs, had dried up. The huge costs of the enlarged state and military apparatus; the costs of buying up rather than expropriating foreign-owned industry; low agricultural productivity maintained by the embittered oligarchy (who had been allowed to retain their lands); the absence of foreign investment and loans; and the price of economic reforms required to buy industrial peace -- all these things had taken their toll on the once prosperous economy.

Real wages dropped, and a series of major strikes broke out in defiance of the government's strike ban. The strikers protested not only low wages, but the subservience of their union "leaders" to the government.

The strikes were quickly suppressed, but Peron was forced to grant many wage increases in order to head off further rebellion. Under these circumstances, Peron's support in the army and among the capitalist class began to dissipate.

This support had been based on Peron's ability to guarantee industrial peace and profit. But by 1949 profits were shrinking and workers were fighting to maintain their standard of living.

Peron could not carry his "national revolution" any further. The economic crisis posed two alternative solutions. One solution would serve the interests of the workers, the other the interests of the capitalists and their military defenders.

Either workers could seize land

and industry and produce to meet the needs of their class, or else the capitalists could be counted on to launch an all-out attack on the working class -- its standard of living, working conditions, and few remaining political rights -- in order to safeguard their profits.

Peron would never lead the working class in expropriating industry and placing it under workers' control. As the "defender of capital" he had seen his mission as modernizing Argentina so that it could take its place among the full-fledged capitalist powers.

Although individual capitalists may have been hurt in his attempt, he was always acting in what he considered the best interests of the Argentine capitalist class.

If his "revolution" could no longer serve those interests, Peron was willing to call it off and institute a more traditional form of capitalist class rule -- minus the economic concessions and the nationalist trimmings.

And call it off he did; proclaiming that: "The Peronist revolution has ended. Now begins a new constitutional stage without revolutions, because the permanent state of the country cannot be revolution."

Permanent Repression

The real meaning of Peron's constitutional stage became clear during his second term in office beginning in 1951. Wages were already down below the pre-Peron level and were being kept there to contain inflation.

Productivity drives were in full swing. A wage-price board was established with representatives of business and labor to "end the epoch of struggle and return the labor movement to collaboration with the productive factors of the country."

The government-appointed "representatives" of labor predictably supported the anti-inflation and productivity campaigns which provoked more rank and file strike activity.

To stimulate the sagging agricultural sector Peron allowed the despised landed oligarchy substantial price increases.

Finally, desperately in need of investment capital, Peron -- the "champion of Argentine nationalism" -- began to energetically court foreign capitalists.

Despite his arduous efforts, Peron's policies were not enough. Productivity was not increasing, foreign capital was not materializing, and the working class was not "cooperating."

Faced with mounting criticism from all sides, Peron staged a resignation in 1955, designed to re-enact his 1945 resignation which had brought workers out into the streets in his defense.

Once again, the CGT and the Peronist Party rejected his resignation on cue, but the workers' demonstration was minuscule in comparison to 1945. A few weeks later the army took Peron up on his original offer, overthrew his government, and sent him into exile.

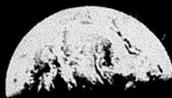
Under military rule, the Argentine working class suffered the beating Peron had planned for it. But because the army insisted on being the one to administer that beating, the myth of "Peron, the workers' friend" persists.

If Peron returns today, at a time when Argentina's limping capitalist economy needs to make demands on -- not concessions to -- the working class, the anti-working class character of Peronism will become painfully clear to all.

The urgency for Argentine workers to organize under their own banners, to rely on their own strength, and to fight for their own rule, is greater now than ever before.

international report

Paul Benjamin



Chile: Allende invites military into "socialist" cabinet

Chile's President Allende has invited the Army into his cabinet. General Carlos Prats, head of the Army, was made interior minister. He now ranks second only to Allende in the government, and is the chief law enforcement official. Several other officers were also brought into the government.

The cabinet reshuffle follows a month-long right-wing strike "in defense of private property" by businessmen and shopkeepers. Allende tried to use the army to defend his government; instead, they have taken him over. This so-called "Marxist" has introduced a new strategy into socialist politics, the "peaceful transition" to militarism.



The Chilean ruling class hopes to knock off Allende peacefully, by impeaching him after the next spring. The army's presence in the cabinet is to make sure the workers' movement in Chile is kept under wraps in the meantime.

Clearly the movement in Chile no longer trusts Allende to take even nominal steps in its defense. They must develop their own means of self-defense against the aggressiveness of the right wing if they are to avoid the repressive measures that will follow a right-wing return to power, either by election or by military coup.

Argentinian police battle Peronista demonstrators

Police used tear gas in Buenos Aires and other Argentine cities to disperse demonstrating supporters of former President Juan Peron during October. In the capital city alone 139 people were arrested.

A mass indoor meeting was called off after police blocked marching columns of Peronists commemorating the 27th anniversary of Peron's release from jail (followed by his rapid rise to power) in 1945.

In the central city of Cordoba, where the working class support of Peron is strongest, demonstrations were prohibited.

It remains to be seen whether the conservative leadership of the Peronist movement can keep their working class followers "in line," or whether the workers will begin to launch an independent struggle for their own interests.

Dissident Russian writer dies in forced labor camp

A prominent Russian writer who led the underground literary opposition movement in the Soviet Union has died at a forced labor camp 300 miles from Moscow.

Yuri Galanskov, 33 years old and chronically ill with ulcers during several years of imprisonment, was sentenced to seven years labor "on a strict regime" (subsistence diet and about six visitors per year) in 1968 on charges of "circulating anti-Soviet propaganda."

For ten years before his imprisonment, Galanskov edited a series of "samizdat" magazines -- publications published by the authors and circulated from hand to hand in opposition to the policies of the Stalinist regime.

Japanese export push worries US business

The explosive growth of Japanese export surpluses has attracted the worried attention of the leading organs of American capitalism. In the month of September, Japanese exports rose to a record \$2.73 billion, up 23.2 percent from a year ago.

Automobile exports to the US and Europe led the increases. This imbalance poses difficulties for both the Japanese and other capitalist economies, especially that of the US.

The relative decline in the competitive position of the American economy (which is part of the pressure behind the productivity and speedup drive) is reflected by the ability of Japan to take over the American market in dozens of consumer goods, including electrical appliances and complicated cameras, watches, etc.

On the other hand, the massive export surplus creates speculative pressure on the Japanese currency, as investors anticipate an upward re-valuation of the yen. At the same time inflationary pressures are created in Japan, which spur the struggles of Japanese workers to improve their wage levels.

The Japanese government, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, hopes to cut exports by up to 20 percent, but so far this program has done nothing to solve the growing monetary crisis.

A related item of news demonstrates the integration of Japan into world capitalism. The Ford Motor Company has announced preliminary talks with the Japanese Honda Motor Company aimed at a "potential busi-

ness association," a step toward creating an even more enormous multinational corporation and further economic imbalances.

Like the monetary problems resulting from Japanese exports, this item illustrates that the stability of capitalism as an international system is threatened by the contradictions caused by national political and economic boundaries.

South African racists plan new, more brutal apartheid

The white-supremacist regime of South Africa is proceeding with plans to establish "self-government" for the black bantustan areas of the country.

This means that every black person born in South Africa will be "assigned" to one of eight such bantustan areas. In the rest of South Africa, where most blacks must work to survive, he or she will have no political or social rights whatever. Black workers who strike can be summarily deported to the bantustan areas.



The government scheme represents an even more brutal form of apartheid than that now in practice, since it means forcing blacks to live in areas which cannot possibly support the black population. The blacks, who make up 70 percent of the population, will get at most 35 percent of the land, most of it divided into tiny fragments of largely barren territory.

The chief minister of "Lebowa," the newest of the established bantustan areas, has called for a united federation of the territories assigned to the blacks. But only socialist revolution and the thorough destruction of white supremacy will put an end to the virtual slavery to which black South Africans are subjected.

Japan wants a piece of the Indochina pie

On the Vietnam front, Japan has announced plans to deal itself into the "postwar economic reconstruction" and the political division of influence -- of Indochina.

Foreign Minister Masayoshi Chira told a special envoy from Saigon that as a "humanitarian effort in helping other Asians" Japan would commit money and technical aid to rebuilding

the Vietnamese economy.

In addition to the "humanitarian aspects," Japanese officials mentioned on the side that Japanese businessmen foresaw large contracts for steel, machinery, electrical generation equipment, and construction projects.

It was also reported that, just by coincidence, Japanese Premier Tanaka was in the construction business 25 years ago before turning to politics, still owns a construction company, and is "personally attuned to the concept of a large-scale reconstruction program in Indochina."

Besides joining in the profit carnival which the capitalist countries hope will come with peace in Vietnam, Japan cannot afford to be left out of the political maneuvering over the future of Southeast Asia.

Economic expansion into that area is crucial to the hopes of an expanding and reviving Japanese imperialism. As the US, Russia and China jockey for position while trying to maintain the status quo in Asia through imperialist deals, Japanese capitalism can be expected to politely but firmly demand its "fair share" of the proceeds.

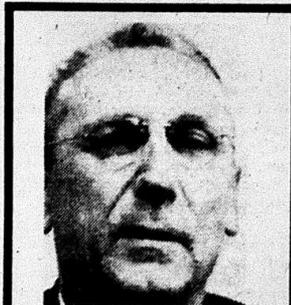
Polish shipyard workers demand genuine unions

Polish shipyard workers, whose protests exploded into the uprising of December 1970, are once again expressing dissatisfaction with their conditions. They are protesting the complete subservience of their trade union "leaders" to the Gierek regime.

In Stalinist societies, the "trade unions" are not workers' organizations but rather agencies of the state for the purpose of disciplining and regimenting the working class.

The right to organize genuinely independent trade unions to defend the workers' interests is completely denied. When workers begin to demand trade union rights and representation, a potentially revolutionary crisis is in the making.

The Polish workers are demanding that the coming Trades Union Congress take up their demands for workers' self-management, adequate holidays and medical care, and the formation of a special commission to investigate their complaints against the bureaucrats.



Edward Gierk



Bahl Humbug!

If the announcement of forthcoming International Socialist christmas cards (*Workers Power* No. 65, October 13-26) was intended as a jest, it could be regarded as best only as unfortunate, and for those who call themselves revolutionary socialists, inexcusably confusional.

If, however, the announcement was intended seriously, as we suspect, it must be condemned all the more.

Such a project could result only in reinforcing, however secularly, the ser-

forms of festival, new holidays rooted in the workers' aspiration toward freedom and the actualization of poetry.

But at the very least revolutionaries should refuse to lend credibility to the crumbling sentimental props of the old order.

We therefore urge the IS to repudiate the frivolous, dilettantish and counter-revolutionary production of "socialist" christmas cards, an enterprise that could only further disorient and demoralize the already too disoriented and demoralized revolutionary forces in this country.

The Chicago Surrealist Group



vile and debasing mythology of christianity -- the most fitting religion for capitalism, as Marx noted in *Capital*.

Any attempt to remove any aspect of religion to an ideologically neutral zone or, still worse, to give its abject symbols and rituals a "revolutionary" aura (e.g., the sickening notions of a "revolutionary" Jesus or "revolutionary" priests or "socialist" christmas cards) only permits reactionary mystifications and superstitions more easily to take root in the deeper recesses of consciousness where inevitably they become obstacles to revolutionary lucidity and consequently obstacles to revolutionary action.

One of the functions of truly revolutionary organizations must be precisely to demystify, denounce and destroy the all-encompassing ideological chains of bourgeois society -- of which religion, in all of its loathsome manifestations, remains a significant and dangerous link.

The degraded holidays exalted by capitalism will inevitably give way, in communist society, to celebrations of splendor and pleasure scarcely conceivable today. Revolutionaries should encourage the creation of new

Vote Stalinist in '72

[The following letter was received too late for inclusion in our last pre-election issue. We are printing it because of the political importance of the issues it raises.]

I was pleased to see that the International Socialists finally have something to say about the 1972 elections, as well as continuing to call for the formation of a Labor Party for elections and struggles of the future. ("Bosses' Parties: No Choice, *Workers Power* No. 65.)

But the narrow interpretation of "vote socialist" which includes the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Labor Party, while excluding the Communist Party, reflects the continuing grip of Stalinophobia on the revolutionary movement, a vestige of McCarthyism.

Does the IS actually consider the SLP's abstention from radical and workers' movements to be some way better than the politics of the Com-

munist Party? Does the IS consider the SWP's pop-front politics to be superior to those of the Communists?

It is the SWP, after all, which baits the CP for "retreating" to the working class. Even Benjamin Spock of the Peoples Party carries his campaign to workers, and calls upon them to "reject the free enterprise system."

Here in Mississippi I am campaigning for the SWP candidates, the only socialists on the ballot. But if the Communists were on and the SWP were not, I would not hesitate to extend my "critical support" to their candidates.

Please don't bait me by pointing out the number of Communists, perhaps even including Gus Hall, who support McGovern and the Democratic Party. I do not. My letter is concerned with those who will vote for Hall, not McGovern.

When the 1972 votes are tallied, the votes "in opposition to the capitalist parties and their system" will include the votes for Gus Hall, as well as the votes for Louis Fisher and for Linda Jenness (and some of the votes for Benjamin Spock).

Ken Lawrence

Rejoinder

Since the "Feedback" column of *Workers Power* No. 67 carried an exchange on the Spock campaign, it is only necessary to comment on the question of support for the Communist Party campaign.

The International Socialists advocate a *protest vote* for candidates of the SLP or SWP, without calling for active political support for these candidates (see my reply to Walt Castle in *Workers Power* No. 67, page 15). We rejected the position of either support or a protest vote for the Communist Party's Hall-Tyner campaign, both because of the nature of that campaign and the nature of the CP itself.

Lawrence gives part of the game away by admitting that many Communists, "perhaps including Gus Hall," support the Democratic Party. We acknowledge that Lawrence is a revolutionary opponent of the capitalist parties, but this does not change the character of the CP campaign itself.

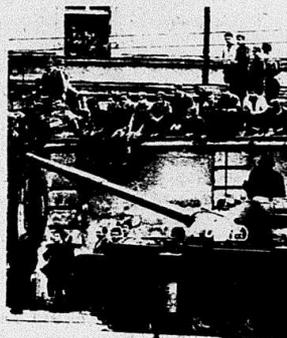
For almost the entire campaign, the CP candidates ran on the slogan "Beat Nixon," which is a code meaning that the real energies of the CP go to support McGovern while the CP campaign itself provides a left cover to attract those (inside and outside the Party) who are more revolutionary-minded.

It is true that in the last few weeks the CP changed its emphasis somewhat and began to put on a more independent face, even raising the slogan "Vote Communist" rather than "Beat Nixon."

In my opinion, however, the reason for this was mainly that the Russian Stalinist rulers, to whom the CP is politically subservient, came out -- almost openly -- for Nixon's re-election! Under these circumstances the American CP had to change its public face to counter its previous pro-McGovern image.

This shift is related to the political character of the Communist Party itself. Lawrence implies that it is "Stalinophobia" and "a vestige of McCarthyism" to point out that the entire history of the CP (since 1935) proves it to be a political appendage of the Russian bureaucracy. This, however, is true not only of the American CP but also of the Communist Parties of Europe, South America and elsewhere as well. As we have pointed out previously, the American CP supports every twist and turn of Moscow's poli-

No Vote for Tanks



Soviet tank in Prague, August, 1968.

cies from "peaceful coexistence" to the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Revolutionary socialists defend the civil liberties of the Communist Party from repression by the capitalist state and defend its right to exist, but we give it no political support whatever.

Lawrence points out -- correctly -- that many people who consider themselves opponents of the capitalist parties voted for the CP or Spock. But many did not vote at all -- and probably even more voted for McGovern as the "lesser evil" or "peace candidate"!

For socialists, the task is to provide a *correct policy* to the revolutionary forces, not simply to note their current behavior. For this reason we emphasize that the crucial task in the coming period is to fight for an independent working class struggle, and the building of an independent party of the working class by the rank and file of the labor movement.

David Finkel

Letter from Prison

After reading an old copy of your paper I find that it has quite a lot of worthwhile reading and all truth.

The reason that I am writing to you is to ask you if my name could be added to the list in receiving your paper. I am serving a term in the Correctional Institute.

And I am without the funds to obtain your paper. If I could I would order your paper. But since I have no funds I hope that you would kindly see your way in sending me your paper.

I thank you kindly for your time on this matter and I hope to be hearing from you soon. I also do a lot of writing and I wonder if you would care to see some of my work? Thank you again.

A Prisoner



[The International Socialists maintain a special fund to furnish free *Workers Power* subscriptions to prisoners on request. We support the struggles of all prisoners to free themselves from the brutality and oppression of the capitalist penal system. Readers who wish to help us continue our efforts to reach prisoners can be assured that any donations they send for that purpose will be set aside and used to send literature inside the prison walls.]



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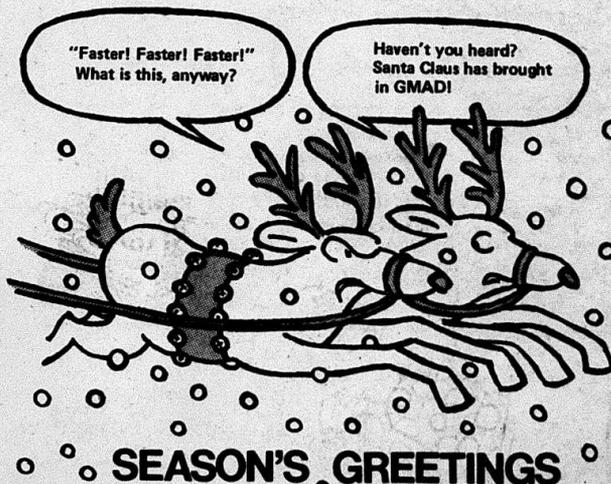


I.S. Greeting Cards

Four designs: 1. Snowflakes (See Issue No. 67). 2. Marx as Skating Santa (See Issue No. 66) with "Revolutionary Greetings." 3. Fist with Holly (See Issue No. 65) with "Revolutionary Greetings." 4. The GMAD Reindeer with "Season's Greetings."

1 and 2: Black on heavy white paper. 3 and 4: Black on heavy red paper. Envelopes are included. \$10 each. Please include 10 percent for postage, \$1.10 minimum.

Order from: IS Book Service, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.



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I would like more information about International Socialism and the I.S.

Name

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Occupation

Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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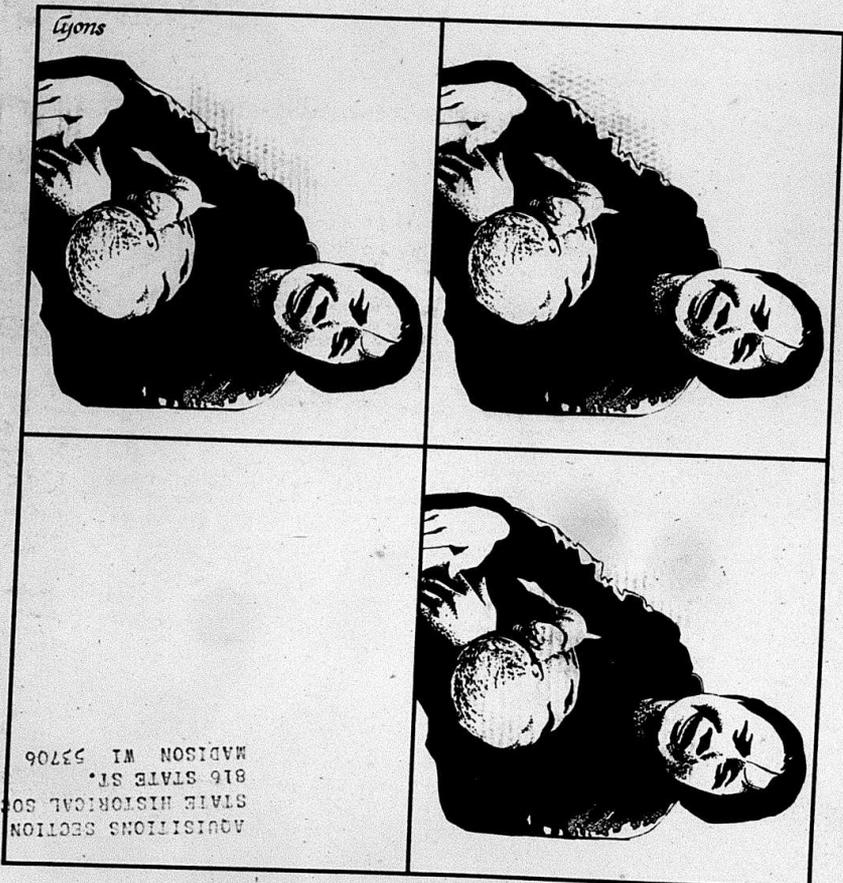
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