

Workers' Power

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Ranks Fight Phase II

President Nixon's program of wage controls has suffered a stinging setback. The authors of the rebuke are the thousands of soft-coal miners who labor in the coalfields of America. During their recent strike, they did much more to fight off wage restraints than George Meany with all his headline-grabbing speeches.

[Also setting an example of militant opposition to Phase 2 were the Meatcutters, whose one-day political strike against wage controls set a precedent that should be followed up by a one-day general strike of all labor. See page 4 for a report.]

After a six-week strike, the United Mine Workers (UMW) settled with the coal mine owners for a contract raising wages by 30 to 39 percent over three years. This increase flew in the face of the government's announced intention to hold wage increases to less than 5.5 percent a year during Phase 2. The Pay Board, as the major Phase 2 agency controlling wages, announced it would investigate.

When word of this decision reached the miners in the coalfields, their response was angry and immediate. Unafraid, despite opposition from both union and company officials, thousands of miners refused to go back to work for one week after the official strike ended — even though agreement on a contract had been reached. Realizing that the strike was not really won until Pay Board opposition was overcome, the miners returned to work only after official Pay

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Miners militancy has broken through Pay Board guidelines

LNS

EDITORIAL

For A Socialist Bengal

The outbreak of military hostilities between India and Pakistan has raised once again the question of a political solution to the crisis of the Indian subcontinent. While details are scarce, it is clear that Indian forces have crossed the border into the East Bengali territory occupied by the Pakistani army, and that war preparations on the Pakistani side have reached the point of nearly total mobilization.

No socialist can take sides in the India-Pakistan conflict itself. The politics of this conflict, on the Pakistani side, are essentially an attempt to regain control of East Pakistan from the Bangla Desh resistance forces fighting for independence.

Although this attempt is proving to be much more costly than any benefits

Pakistan could gain from military success, the Yahya Khan regime is forced to maintain the occupation because Yahya's generals would immediately topple him from power should he even speak of retreat.

On the other side, India's immediate aims are to replace Pakistani domination over East Bengal (Bangla Desh) with its own, and to reduce Pakistan to the status of a small and humiliated state. The political situation is complicated by India's verbal support and limited military collaboration with the Bangla Desh resistance itself.

Despite the propaganda barrage, India has domestically set out to draw the teeth of the Bangla Desh movement. The warm embrace of the Indian government for the tattered remnants of the

Awami League leadership which stumbled over the border to Calcutta, fleeing from the Pakistani army, was designed to smother it. It was also directed at isolating the revolutionary forces to the left of the League.

The Indian government went further, concentrating actual and potential East Bengal guerrillas on Indian soil in special camps under the direction of the Indian army. It took any weapons they brought out of East Bengal lest they fall into the hands of guerrillas in West Bengal fighting the Indian government there. (See *Workers' Power* no. 46.)

Socialists give full support to the independence forces (the Mukti Bahini) fighting the brutal Pakistani occupation of Bangla Desh. It is this struggle which

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Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nor can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans; the liberation of women from subordination in society and the home; the organization of homosexuals to fight their oppression. These struggles are in the interest of the working class as a whole: the bars of racism and male chauvinism can only prevent the establishment of workers' power. Oppressed groups cannot subordinate their struggle to day 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.

Editorial

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holds the key to a revolutionary solution. While this movement is entitled to any and all material support it can obtain from India or anywhere else, it will succeed only through a policy independent of India as well as Pakistan.

The struggle for Bangla Desh depends on its extension to a struggle for a *united revolutionary socialist Bengal*, combining the Indian province of West Bengal with the former territory of East Pakistan. A movement for a socialist Bengal will face the threat of annihilation from both India and Pakistan, and will require the support of both the Indian

and Pakistani working class.

In Karachi in West Pakistan and Calcutta in India are powerfully organized sections of the working class. So far they have not been mobilized in the struggle except as occasional marchers. Their independent action is the key to denying the Indian and Pakistani governments freedom of action in blunting or crushing the struggle. In turn, the victory of the struggle for an independent, socialist Bengal will immensely increase the chances of socialist revolution throughout the Indian subcontinent.

For socialists in the imperialist countries it is particularly important to expose their own governments' roles in the crisis. The US government, while attempting to strike a pose of neutrality and "restraint," is the major supplier of arms used by Pakistan to crush the Bangla Desh forces.

China, looking to Pakistan for leverage against India and as a force for



Mukti Bahini guerrillas

maintaining stability in Asia, condemns Indian aggression against Pakistan and applauds Pakistani aggression against Bangla Desh. Russia, on the other hand, provides arms to India, as a lever against the US and China and to help India keep the Bangla Desh movement from becoming

an independent revolutionary force.

In the last analysis, all imperialist forces will intervene to crush a revolutionary socialist movement in Bengal and throughout the subcontinent. Our task is to fight that intervention *before* it begins to escalate.



Workers' Power 47

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Black And White Woodcutters Strike Against Mississippi Paper Bosses

R.F. Kampfer



Racial divisions are being bridged in Mississippi as black and white woodcutters unite against the paper and hard-board companies.

On September 1, the Masonite Corporation of Laurel, Mississippi, made the woodcutters' situation intolerable by changing its buying system. They previously paid \$20 for a unit of hardwood, calculated at 168 cubic feet to the unit. They have now changed the definition of a unit to 7,100 pounds. The cutters say this means a price-cut of 20 to 25 percent.

This was the last straw for the Masonite woodcutters. More than 250 of them went out on strike, declaring a boycott on wood sales to Masonite. The corporation responded by buying its wood from other mills, so these too were struck.

By now the strike has become statewide. More than 3,500 woodcutters are out, and 200 to 300 more are joining every week. Almost every big lumber yard in Southern Mississippi is being boycotted, and wood delivery has been cut dramatically.

At first the strikers asked only for a return to the old buying system at Masonite. Now they are demanding that all the mills in the state adopt a uniform buying unit. (Currently every company determines its own unit, ranging from 6,800 to 8,100 pounds.)

Dealership System

This may seem like a harmless demand, but the corporations know that once the woodcutters get together and organize they will be asking for a lot more, including an end to the infamous "dealership" situation.

In Mississippi's "dealership" system,

the State mills designate "independent businessmen" in each district to sell them their wood. The dealers buy their wood from the woodcutters, who must in turn buy it from landowners. The woodcutters are considered independent operators, which means they have no job security, no guaranteed income, and no protection by minimum-wage or work-safety laws.

Since the cutters must provide their own equipment, trucks, chain-saws, etc., they are often forced to borrow money from their dealers to be able to work. Needless to say, the dealers set their own interest rates. Sometimes a logger will put in a hard week only to find that the dealer and the landowner have deducted every cent between them.

The dealership system has been described by the cutters as worse than sharecropping:

"A sharecropper could at least get a mess of greens or a piece of meat from his Man, but a woodcutter can't get nothing in a woodyard — not even a drink of water."

Friends and Enemies

Undoubtedly one of the things that has postponed the long-overdue organization of the woodcutters has been racism. Mississippi woodcutters are about equally divided between blacks and whites. Mutual hostility and suspicion prevented joint action in the past. Now stark necessity has forced a change of feelings.

The strikers realize that nobody will get anything unless they stick together. Some of the white strikers once belonged to the Ku Klux Klan. Now they probably find their former Grand Dragons in

the ranks of the wood dealers. Not liberal platitudes about brotherhood, but the realities of the class struggle, are teaching Mississippi workers who their friends and enemies really are.

Race and Red Baiting

Naturally the mill owners are not yet ready to accept defeat. They, and their pet lawmen and newspapers, have been doing everything they can to break the strike. First they tried to pretend that nothing was really happening. When the

strike spread, they tried race-baiting and Red-baiting.

They even dragged the poor old Communist Party out of its senile dotage to brandish like a scarecrow. The CP may be flattered that anyone thinks it is capable of leading such a struggle, but the woodcutters were not impressed.

When these tactics failed, the corporations tried bribery and harassment. Some woodcutters were offered special prices if they would break the strike. One strike leader was offered a job by an organization of wood dealers, who told him he could name his own price.

Other organizers have been followed and have had their tires slashed. The Laurel strike headquarters was recently evicted from its office. Strikers were prevented from getting food stamps.

Outside Help Needed

Fortunately the strikers have been getting some outside help. The Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, an Alabama-based, integrated, woodcutters union, has been supporting the strike wholeheartedly. Help has also come from the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the NAACP, the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, the Selma Project, the Delta Ministry, and others.

Strike support groups have been organized in several Northern and Southern cities. Recently the railroad workers have made a most valuable contribution by refusing to haul wood to the struck companies.

The strikers are holding firm, but a hard fight lies ahead. The companies have settled down to starve them out. Since woodcutters earn only an average of \$3,000 a year, it's not going to be easy to make it through the coming winter.

Strikers and their families need food, clothing, and money. This strike could mark a turning point for the whole Southern labor movement. It must be won.

**Support the Mississippi Woodcutters!
Organize Local Strike Support Groups!
Boycott Masonite Products!**

[Contributions and requests for further information about the strike should be sent to: Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, P.O. Box 754, Laurel, Miss. 39440.]



Strike meeting in Laurel, Mississippi

Rank and File Take The Offensive

Miners Ted Farrow



[Continued from page 1]

Board approval of the first year of the contract.

Directed against the Pay Board and largely unorganized, this one-week strike forced the government to ratify the settlement or face the onset of the winter with dwindling coal reserves. Hogtied by the miners from the day it tried to put Phase 2 into effect, the government had to ignore its own guidelines in approving the coal contract. In so doing, the Pay Board seriously undermined the legitimacy of the new wage controls in the eyes of every organized and un-

organized worker fighting for a better life under Phase 2 of the New Economic Policy.

Not since World War II and the Korean War have American workers faced government-imposed wage controls. In World War II, as now, the coal miners were the first major section of the American working class to break through the restraints. Then, as now, the miners were the first to demonstrate the possibility and method of fighting back against a joint government-employer attack on their standard of living. And today, just as during World War II, the continued

existence of the controls will depend on whether or not the rest of the labor movement follows the example set by the miners.

However, in other respects the new miners' settlement is not a model contract. Rank and file miners, particularly in West Virginia, stayed away from work for several days even after official Pay Board approval had been won, because word about the contract had begun to leak out, and miners did not like what they heard. Dissatisfaction among rank and file miners with UMW President Boyle's settlement ran so high that even previously pro-Boyle mining districts were involved in this last leg of the strike.

UMW officials had originally demanded a wage increase to \$50 a day over three years for all miners. At first, union officials claimed this had been won. However, only the most highly skilled (perhaps one-third of all miners) are actually eligible.

In addition, the new contract increases the pay differential between skilled and unskilled work. The old contract provided unskilled miners with 92 percent of skilled miners' wages; the new contract provides only 86 percent.

The worst aspect of the new contract is that only its first year has been approved by the government; a year which provides for a 15 percent increase in wages. Continued alertness on the part of rank and file miners, including strike action if necessary, will be needed to win the full 39 percent increases provided for over the contract's three years.

But rank and file miners are not alone in the need to remain alert to Pay Board encroachments on their wages. Although the miners' settlement will hamper them, Pay Board officials are still expecting that they will be able to make 1972 a more difficult year in which to win large-scale pay increases, and many signs point in this direction.

Now that the hollow stumbling by Meany, Woodcock, and other high union officials about boycotting the Pay Board has subsided, the government can be reasonably certain that they will remain on the anti-labor Board. Initial caution on the part of the wage-control officials, motivated by the desire not to move too fast and force the union officials off the Board, will be replaced by much stiffer opposition to wage increases which exceed the limits.

Having purchased the union officials' cooperation by approving already-existing contracts, the Pay Board can now expect that Meany and the other officials will begin to give ground in 1972 on new contracts. It all adds up to a squeeze on rank and file workers.

Whether or not the wage guidelines are breached again is now in the hands of the unions and workers in industries which will shortly be negotiating contracts, notably longshore and aerospace. It will require a tough stand, with employers, government, and quite possibly high union officials lined up against them.

But these workers now have an important precedent on their side. The controls can be broken. The miners have shown the way. ■

On Monday, November 22, 85,000 packinghouse workers in 40 cities staged a one-day strike to protest President Nixon's economic policies. In Madison, Wisconsin, 3,200 workers at Oscar Mayer & Co., members of local 538 of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen's Union, took part in the work stoppage.

An informational picket at the Madison plant said, "We wish the Teamsters and everyone else in Madison were out with us, but maybe our example will help move others." He indicated that the strike was virtually 100 percent effective in Madison.

Workers here at Oscar's, and around the country, were entitled to a 25 cent an hour wage increase on September 6, and did not receive it because of the President's wage freeze.

Patrick Gorman, President of the national union, spoke to striking Meatcutters across the country via a nationwide telephone hook-up. He told his members that their 25 cent an hour increase was going into the growing profits of the meat packing industry and quoted statistics showing that profits in the industry are up 73 percent over last year.

"Let no one think that the money taken away from us will help stop inflation," he said. "It didn't go to consumers or to meet any national problems. It amounts to \$2 million a week to profits of corporations."

Gary Paske, Secretary-Treasurer and Business Agent of Madison local 538, said that Oscar's reaped \$17 million in profits for the first nine months of 1971,

as compared to \$8 million for the first nine months of 1970.

In his speech, Gorman called upon the AFL-CIO convention, then meeting in Miami, "to take whatever action is necessary, including a national work stoppage or general strike, to secure for all workers wage increases lost during the weeks of the infamous pay freeze."

Gorman promised that the Meatcutters' one-day strike was only the beginning of a long and bitter campaign to win justice for the rank and file. He said that organized labor should "make Nixon and Connally unemployed, come next November." But what is Gorman's alternative — the Democrats, who support the freeze as well?

Any effective struggle to fight wage controls and the economic crisis will need a political alternative to both the Democrats and the Republicans. Both parties support wage controls because their policies are tied to the interests of business, not labor.

If we're to win the fight against the pro-business economic policy, we must demand that Gorman and other union leaders call for a Congress of Labor to launch an independent party of the working class. Such a party would be a vehicle for a successful struggle against Phase 2 — a struggle which the Democrats will never lead because, with minor reservations, they approve of the policy.

The campaign to fight Nixon's economic policy must grow. The actions of the Meatcutters point the way for all of labor — massive strikes to end the wage controls. ■

Meatcutters

Cathy Sheppard Mel Richards



Oscar Mayer workers at strike meeting in Madison arena

Against Phase 2 Wage Controls



Phone Workers

Brian Mackenzie

On Saturday, November 27, 5,000 New York City Telephone workers voted by about 70 percent to continue the 137-day-old strike against the New York Telephone Co. While sentiment was still overwhelmingly in favor of continuing the strike and pressures were strong to show a unified face to the press and public, thousands of members of Local 1101, Communications Workers of America (CWA), could not restrain their anger at Rickie Carnivale, Local President, and frequently booed him.

Carnivale has consistently refused to

put the strike on a militant basis, and fight to win. Instead he has secluded himself in his office and simply wished or prayed for victory. The majority of the Executive Board has followed suit.

Fortunately, many rank and file members, stewards and chief stewards have taken action on their own. The chief stewards have held city-wide meetings among themselves, in spite of an Executive Board motion that attempted to prevent this, and have called a number of actions.

Members of United Action, Local

1101's major rank and file group; proposed and passed a series of motions at the membership meeting supporting and implementing the chief stewards' actions. These motions, in effect, gave union sanction to the kinds of militant actions that the chief stewards have been calling and in which members of United Action and other union militants have played a leading role.

The actions began on November 18, when five bus-loads of 1101 members travelled to Bronxville to picket the home of William Ellinghaus, President of New York Tel. The following Friday and Monday, militants were able to close down the major equipment distribution garage for Manhattan.

Later on Monday morning, about 100 militants descended on City Hall to demand that Mayor Lindsay enforce a city ordinance which prohibits the use of out-of-town scabs. Several times the telephone workers attempted to charge City Hall, by going around the flanks of the police lines.

Before the morning was over, four telephone workers were arrested. Two of these were injured or beaten by the police who, as usual, went crazy in their defense of the symbols of the capitalist system — in this case City Hall.

There is no question that telephone workers have been given a rush course in political education during the strike. Wage controls, the refusal to enforce laws against the company, and extremely un-neutral police tactics have done much to show telephone workers who the government serves.

At least among the activists, few can be found who are still for the war. Lindsay, Rockefeller, and Nixon are universally booed at demonstrations. Nixon and Joe Beirre, International President of CWA, won the unpopularity contest at the union meeting. COPE, the AFL-CIO's kite string on the Democratic Party, was booed almost as fervently as Nixon.

A good deal can be won from this strike. For one, a contract we can live with. For another, a real union with a fighting spirit. The way to get the first is to build the second, right now. On the picket lines and at the demonstrations, the core of a new rank and file base for union organization can be built.

All 1101 members should get behind the attempt of the chief stewards to organize strike action, not only to support them, but also to push them. The bulk of the chief stewards are on the right track, but they are entirely too timid in dealing with Carnivale.

When the organization and the will have been built up to shut down a few major garages, stop a lot of trucks from rolling, and put the scabs and foremen in a state of fear, then the company will settle. *Business Week* and the *Wall Street Journal* have both reported that N.Y. Tel is under pressure from its big business friends to settle.

When the ranks look like they mean business and have the means to carry it out, Ellinghaus will come out hat in hand. ■

In these days of trying times and frozen wages for most workers, it is indeed nice to know that not everyone has been hurt by Nixon's wage controls. The Phase 2 wage controls may be holding down the wages of most union workers, but they haven't affected the President of the AFL-CIO, George Meany.

The cigar-chomping bureaucrat who runs and rules the country's largest labor federation got himself a fat \$20,000 a year raise at the recent AFL-CIO convention in Miami Beach. This raises Meany's basic yearly salary to a whopping \$95,000 — plus the fat executive expense account he gets from the Federation.

A raise like this would be enough to satisfy most folks. But George has many other irons in the fire. The October 15 issue of *Forbes Magazine*, a businessmen's weekly, reports that Meany, along with several other union bureaucrats and staffers, has gone into business for himself. He has formed a corporation to develop a plush tourist resort in the Caribbean nation of the Dominican Republic, a country ruled by a brutal right-wing dictatorship.

So it is nice to know that not everyone is getting screwed by Nixon's policies. Because if people like Meany remain at the helm of the labor movement, Nixon's policies will be with us for a long time to come.

At that same AFL-CIO convention, Meany announced that he planned to remain as a member on the Pay Board — the mechanism by which Nixon hopes

to throttle workers' wage demands — and that he would ignore the demands of union militants that he and other labor "leaders" resign in protest.

Meany's justification for this inaction was that "labor should stay on the Board so long as we have hope." Hope for what, Meany did not say. Precisely what can be hoped for, on a Board stacked with anti-labor votes, is a very interesting question. But that's Meany's program to fight Nixon — *short on wages, but long on hope.*

The next day, as most people know, Nixon himself came to Miami Beach to address the gathering. Hopeful George had the temerity to interrupt Nixon's post-speech round of handshaking by gaveling the convention to order. The press played up the "insult" and made Meany look like a supermilitant; editorials across the country have condemned his "disrespect toward the office of the President."

In reality, Meany and his fellow bureaucrats have cynically betrayed the interests of their own unions' rank and file by tacitly cooperating with the wage controls. If the Pay Board's wage restrictions are not working, it is not because of the Meany's, but because of the aggressive action of workers like the coal miners who broke the controls by militant strike action.

That points up the real lesson for all workers. Nixon will be beaten only by mass action from below, not by trusting our interests to budding capitalists like George Meany. ■

The Great Nixon-Meany Brouhaha

Karl Fischer



Taxi Ranks Gain on Van Arsdale

David Katz



The ballots have been counted in the New York City Taxi Drivers' Union elections, and although incumbent President Harry Van Arsdale received the most votes, the results are a clear victory for the challengers — the Rank and File Coalition.

In the first serious challenge to Van Arsdale's five-year reign over the Taxi Drivers' Union, the Rank and File Coalition had mounted a strong campaign around the issues of union democracy

and the rotten contract — which Van Arsdale negotiated and allowed the fleet owners to put into effect even though it had not been submitted to the ranks for ratification.

Van Arsdale won only 57 percent of the vote, while the Rank and File candidate, Leo Lazarus, got 34 percent. The third candidate, an anti-Van Arsdale independent, received 8 percent. The results of the Vice-Presidential and other races were similar, except that a Rank

and File candidate for a Brooklyn position on the Executive Council came within 100 votes of winning. *This is the first time Van Arsdale has received less than 90 percent of the vote.*

Although the incumbents won, the results prove conclusively that the majority of working fleet drivers want a change. The Van Arsdale slate's margin of victory came on the votes of pensioners and owner-drivers, whose interests are very different from those of fleet drivers.

The Coalition is now filing a complaint with the US Department of Labor, asking that it not recommend certification of the election. (The Labor Department is supervising this election because of irregularities in the last one.)

The 34 items listed in the complaint include: systematic disfranchising of 40 percent of the union's membership by a temporary change in dues collecting policy; violence used against opponents of Van Arsdale; denial of the right of Rank and File candidates to campaign in garages where incumbents were allowed to do so, etc.

It is important for the Coalition to file complaints such as this one in an effort to expose the methods by which Van Arsdale won re-election. Yet on no account should we place our faith in the Labor Department. They ruled against the Rank and File Coalition on almost every conceivable issue prior to and during the election, and there is little reason to believe they will suddenly start playing fair. We should begin organizing for three more years of Harry Van Arsdale.

But although Van Arsdale will prob-

ably retain the presidency for the next three years, they do not have to be the same as the last three Van Arsdale years. The Rank and File Coalition has established itself as a major force within Local 3036. It must now build itself into the kind of group which can contest for leadership of the union on a day-to-day basis.

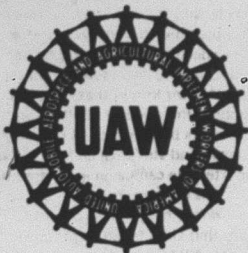
In the coming months, this will mean primarily organizing a solid base in the garages. The goal should be to form garage committees which can fight for our jobs and working conditions on a garage-by-garage basis, as well as joining together to take action on a city-wide level.

The Coalition will naturally continue fighting around such issues as the contract and day-to-day working conditions. Yet the difficulties which face cab drivers go far beyond what happens to be president of the union (even though the complete rottenness of the current officeholders tends to obscure this fact).

We must address ourselves to such issues as the wage freeze, unemployment, and the sad state of the economy. These are problems which affect all of us very deeply. They can only be attacked successfully by a united, militant labor movement, conscious of its own power and potential.

Part of the Rank and File Coalition's task must be to raise the working class consciousness of other taxi workers, and in so doing, help the fight to return militancy and solidarity to the US labor movement. ■

[David Katz is a member of Local 3036, Taxi Drivers Union AFL-CIO, and a member of the New York branch of the International Socialists.]



UAW Steals Eldon Election

The Chrysler Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle Plant is one of the most militant in Detroit; for years, workers have been carrying on a struggle against intolerable and unsafe working conditions, racist company practices, and collusion between Chrysler and the United Auto Workers Local 961 leadership.

Last spring, in preparation for the election of local officers, a group called the "Concerned Leaders of Local 961" was formed around a program of an end to undemocratic practices in the local, elimination of wasteful spending by local officials, and a militant fight to win the numerous grievances over working conditions filed by Eldon workers.

This group ran a slate of candidates in the May elections, headed by Jordan Sims, a black worker with 20 years of experience on the shop floor as a worker and steward, for local president. He

was opposed by Frank McKinnon, a white man with only four years seniority.

McKinnon, a long-time hack in Democratic Party politics in Michigan, was hand-picked by the UAW international leadership to run in an attempt to win back control of the rebellious local.

Sims beat out four other candidates in the primary election, but was forced into a runoff against McKinnon. Sims lost the runoff by only 36 votes out of 2,300 votes cast.

As many as 1,500 Eldon workers were denied the right to vote because they were allegedly in arrears in their union dues. But union by-laws specifically forbid disqualification for this reason when dues check-off is in effect. In addition, none of the workers were ever informed before the election that they

were in arrears.

As a result of intense pressure from the membership, the international was forced to invalidate the results of the runoff. But instead of simply counting the challenged ballots — or ordering a new general election — UAW International President Leonard Woodcock, in a report dated November-8, ordered only a new runoff election.

The whole sordid situation was well summarized by Local 961 Chief Steward Eddie Thomas, a supporter of the Concerned Leaders group:

"Through a systematic, applied, special program, black workers were kept delinquent to perpetuate the power structure."

When Local 961 held its monthly membership meeting on Sunday, November 21, the whole matter came up for review. In spite of his illegal election to the local presidency, Frank McKinnon was chairing the meeting. But of the 125 members in attendance, some 100 or so were supporters of Sims, and were ready to move.

When McKinnon proposed that the membership accept Woodcock's verdict, many people objected on the grounds that the UAW constitution specifically forbids the calling of a new runoff in such a situation, and demanded either a new general election or the counting of the challenged ballots.

Local Vice-President Bennett then made the incredible request that the members accept Woodcock's report "as a courtesy to the President." When this drew an even stronger negative reaction, the leadership then stated that Woodcock's report was a directive, and that the local had no right to pass on it!

The opposition angrily floored a motion to reject Woodcock's illegal and

undemocratic report, and to hold a new general election. At this point, McKinnon freaked out completely. First he attempted to close debate on the question. This failed. Then he attempted to rule the motion out of order, and to move on to the next point on the agenda.

Opposition leaders rose and challenged the chair's ruling, and won this vote easily. At this point, Bennett took the chair, stammered for a few moments, and finally banged his gavel, arbitrarily adjourned the meeting, and fled.

The incredible scene at the meeting highlights two central facts. The first is that, in spite of their carefully constructed veneer of liberalism, the UAW leadership will go to any lengths to crush rank and file opposition when they feel threatened. But the second fact is that the membership of Local 961 is out of their control.

The fiasco on November 21 demonstrated again the determination of these workers to win control of their union, and make it serve their interests. And the Concerned Leaders group has already laid plans for a petition drive in the plant to protest the situation.

What happens next is unclear. No date has been announced for the new runoff; mid-January has been mentioned as a possible date. More important, the fact that the Local 961 membership is so solidly opposed to the leadership opens up the very real possibility that Woodcock will place the local into receivership — which suspends the local constitution, and gives the international the right to run the local's affairs by fiat.

Whatever comes next, the struggle is just beginning for the brothers and sisters at Eldon. ■

[Reprinted from the Fifth Estate, Nov. 25-Dec. 8, 1971.]

CFT: Shankerism Comes To California

California teachers — who in August had seen Albert Shanker keep a tight lid on radical opposition at the American Federation of Teachers convention (see *Workers' Power* no. 41) — saw a repeat performance by their own state leadership, at the October 22-25 convention of the California Federation of Teachers.

In previous years, radical teachers, working through the New Caucus, had been able to mount significant opposition to the leadership of Raoul Teillet. This year, Teillet, a member of Shanker's "Progressive Caucus," came down hard on his left opposition, giving them little opportunity to make any headway.

Teillet, who was up for reelection this year, laid his groundwork well. His first step was to have the convention date moved up, from its traditional five days at Christmastime, to the three-day weekend in October — thus cutting down the time available to organize opposition.

In his "state of the union" address, Teillet echoed Shanker. On the one hand he lauded the CFT for being "the cutting, progressive, left-wing edge of the AFT." At the same time he criticized the "splitters" (in other words, radicals) within the ranks and praised Shanker as "one of the most significant and successful AFT leaders." As with Shanker, "unity" was the line from Teillet — unity with the "experience and expertise" of the incumbent leadership.

The 250,000-member American Federation of Teachers has the rare distinction among unions of having within it a strong opposition caucus. This caucus — called the United Action Caucus — received between 35 and 40 percent of the vote at the last AFT convention, in opposition to the Shanker leadership. It is this caucus which *The Militant*, the newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), has seen fit to attack in its pages.

The UAC has the support of the leaders of the Newark, Washington, and Boston locals, as well as the Black Caucus in the union. It is organized around the following platform:

- (1) Opposition to the wage freeze (expressed by the call for a one-day national strike);
- (2) opposition to anti-public-employee-strike laws (by calling for the organization of coalitions of all public employee unions for joint actions, up to and including state-wide strikes);
- (3) support for mass action to win Federal aid for the schools (instead of relying exclusively on political deals);
- (4) immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and support of the November 6 anti-war rallies (in contrast to AFL-CIO policy on the war, shared by the AFT leadership);
- (5) active union support to efforts of women and minorities in their struggle for equal rights.

On the question of political action, the caucus unfortunately voted 2 to 1 not to call for a labor party at this time. But despite some shortcomings, the UAC has a program revolving about the needs

of its AFT funds if it didn't "unendorse" one of the opposition candidates. Such tactics worked. The opposition was fragmented and demoralized. The "unity" slate swept the election, with the closest opposition candidate losing by nearly 100 votes (out of 400 cast). On balance, the radical teachers can

find little in the outcome of the convention to be optimistic about. The "unity" slate won easily. The leadership was able to push through constitutional changes which further centralize CFT decision making. It was able to defeat or seriously dilute opposition resolutions on support for Angela Davis, opposition to the wage-price freeze, and women's liberation.

Radicals did win significant support for their wage-price resolution, which called on the CFT to work within the AFL-CIO and outside of it to build "massive resistance" to the freeze, and to withhold its support from "any candidate who favors the wage-price freeze."

If the opposition (New Caucus) is going to have any real impact on the CFT, it must be more than a paper organization that only comes to life at convention time. It must develop an ongoing structure based on real organization at the local level.

The New Caucus must also develop a program that not only puts forward a general political strategy for the union, but also presents an alternative program — democratic decision making, different allocation of resources, organizational priorities, etc. — for the day-to-day operation of the union. The ineffectiveness of the opposition at this convention amply demonstrates the need for such a strategy. ■

prepared to surrender the hard-won gains of working women.)

The *Militant* has also charged that the UAC leadership is "anti-Black nationalist." But here the *Militant* was careful not to be specific about any particular policy of the UAC — presumably because even the *Militant* knows that the UAC (a) proposed the election of all school administrators by committees of teachers, parents, and students, and (b) actively supported the campaign in defense of Angela Davis on the convention floor.

The *Militant* has pointed out quite correctly that UAC failed to propose support for NPAC. Internal disagreements unfortunately prevented the caucus from doing so. But at the same time, the overwhelming majority of the caucus plainly voted on the floor of the convention for support for the November 6 demonstrations. The failure to endorse NPAC can hardly justify denouncing the UAC as lacking a class struggle program.

The *Militant's* attack upon the United Action Caucus in the AFT is just the latest indication of the Socialist Workers Party's tendency to ignore key questions facing American unionists. Instead, the SWP is still concerned mainly with non-working class movements, and does not even make any efforts to relate these movements to the working class.

Its uncritical support of ERA, and of the labor bureaucrats who claim to be anti-war (while striking out at their own rank and file) are all of a piece with its attack on the UAC. ■

For example, the *Militant* has consistently covered up for the "anti-war" labor leaders who support Meany's cooperation with the freeze, just because they are willing to talk "anti-war." The SWP, through its control of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), refuses to allow rank and file opponents of labor leaders such as Woodcock to speak at anti-war rallies, for fear of embarrassing their respectable bureaucratic allies.

Last year, the *Militant* covered up for the unanimous refusal of labor's officialdom to support the post office workers' strike.

The *Militant* has tried to substantiate its charges against the UAC by arguing that the UAC refused to support the Equal Rights Amendment for women. This is at best a half-truth — that is, a half-lie. UAC did support ERA, provided that it includes a clause retaining existing protective legislation for working women. (That is, unlike the SWP, UAC was not



Albert Shanker confers with AFT President David Selden

and interests of working teachers and all working people.

All socialists, and all opponents of the bureaucracies which run most unions, should welcome the development of the United Action Caucus within AFT, and work for the creation of similar caucuses within other unions. American labor would be far healthier, and more able to meet the crisis we all face today, if there were a few more UAC's within the AFL-CIO.

But despite its claim to be "published in the interests of the working people," the *Militant* has attacked the UAC for "lacking a consistent class struggle program." Given the UAC's program, it seems doubtful that the *Militant* can recognize a class struggle program when it sees one.

This charge leveled by the Socialist Workers Party seems somewhat ironic when one considers the actual trade union politics of the SWP in the recent per-

SWP Attacks Teacher Militants David Miller

The Chisholm Campaign And Women's Liberation

Shelley Kroll Levine

Shirley Chisholm, a Democratic Congresswoman and a leading member of the National Women's Political Caucus, as well as a member of the Black Caucus in Congress, has recently declared her intention to seek the Democratic Presidential nomination. She promises that through her election, and through the reform of the Democratic Party, women, blacks, and all oppressed groups will achieve the rights which they have been denied until now. She claims that "the American dream would indeed become reality if I were elected."

Both blacks and women have respon-

yard of countless earlier popular movements.

Chisholm has spoken on behalf of many "women's issues" in Congress, including the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), the repeal of abortion laws, and the establishment of child care centers. But although her speeches recognize the real needs of working and poor women, the legislation she sponsors would benefit only the most privileged women.

For example, she introduced into Congress the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, which, although proclaiming equality for women in all

Why does she fail to propose legislation that will advance her stated goals? The reason is simple. Shirley Chisholm is a representative of the Democratic Party, and as with all good Democrats, what she says and what she does are two very different things. The limitations of Chisholm's reform proposals mirror the limitations of the entire NWPC strategy of working within the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party is tied body and soul to the capitalist system. It depends on the financial support of Nor-

malism by instituting various "moral" reforms. Women fit into this scheme because we "possess the qualities of leadership which are greatly needed today... patience, tolerance, perseverance... a spirit of moral purpose." The problem with the Chisholm strategy for women's liberation is that capitalism cannot be rationalized to end the oppression of women or any other group.

It is the capitalist system itself which is at the root of our problems — keeping us in the home or in the most menial jobs, holding our wages down, denying us control over our bodies and our lives. The Democratic Party is tied by a million threads to the capitalist system, and trying to work within the Democratic Party merely perpetuates our subordination within that system.

No-Fight Strategy

What women and all working people need is a mass, democratic organization, which will unite us, and which is powerful enough to force an unwilling system to grant us what we demand and need.

The Democratic Party, though, is nothing of the sort. It is run strictly from the top down by a handful of bosses — bosses tied hand and foot to Big Business and its sympathizers. And far from being a mass organization designed for struggle, it has contact with its "members" only on election day when they may rubber-stamp the nominees of the bosses. On a day-to-day basis — when real ongoing struggles are fought — it has no mass membership at all.

Indeed, it is the special role of the Democratic Party; in contrast to the openly conservative Republican Party, to absorb and atomize movements of opposition, to deflect and defuse resistance to the status quo. And it is the special role of "radical" Democrats — like Shirley Chisholm — to keep pulling people back in, to shore up faith in the Democratic Party, to inhibit the formation of independent mass organizations that could advance struggles rather than undermining them.

To improve the condition of women will require a struggle — a mass, self-confident, powerful struggle against those who profit by our subjugation. Shirley Chisholm's strategy, in contrast, is fundamentally a no-fight strategy.

With all her militant-sounding phrases, she discounts the need for struggle, calling on all groups to simply put their faith in her. She promises that she can unite all people, "crossing color, sex, and economic class lines, who believe that maybe Shirley Chisholm can be that force to turn things around."

Aside from its obvious arrogance, this pathetic "strategy" is so transparently hopeless that even Shirley Chisholm is sometimes forced to admit the fact. When she does, she heaves a dramatic (and heroic) sigh, and says, "I'd like them to say Shirley Chisholm had guts. That's how I'd like to be remembered."

But American women don't need an epitaph. We need victory. ■



NWPC leaders Gloria Steinem, Bella Abzug, Shirley Chisholm, Betty Friedan

ded to the idea of a Chisholm candidacy. It has a particular significance for women because of the state of the women's movement.

The radical wing of the women's liberation movement has reached an impasse. While it has succeeded in spreading the idea of women's rights among large numbers of women, it has failed to offer a strategy for winning those rights — a political approach to the struggle for women's liberation.

The National Women's Political Caucus, on the other hand, has a political strategy. NWPC is a coalition of members of the National Organization of Women (NOW) and of Democratic Party women. It proposes to improve the status of women chiefly by electing more women to public office.

Political Graveyard

Unfortunately this strategy is a completely mistaken one. The NWPC proposes that women, as well as all oppressed groups, place their faith in liberal Democrats to champion their cause. The NWPC and the Chisholm campaign have set out to pull the women's liberation movement into the Democratic Party — the grave-

spheres of life, would in fact permit employers to annul presently-existing protective legislation — on the pretext that this legislation "discriminates" against women. Because most women are not unionized, these laws are in many cases the only provision they have for a lunch period, restrooms, limitations on overtime, breaks, and other working conditions.

Chisholm herself pointed out that "what we need are laws to protect working people, to guarantee them fair pay, safe working conditions, protection against sickness and layoffs, and provisions for dignified, comfortable retirement. Men and women need these things equally." But Chisholm has yet to propose legislation to safeguard protective legislation and extend it to all working people.

Similarly, Chisholm has supported a bill to repeal abortion laws and at the same time, admitted that the high costs of even legal abortions will prevent the poor ("who most often find themselves in crucial need of it") from benefitting from this reform. But she has yet to propose free abortions for all.

thern businessmen and Southern reactionaries.

Ideologically the Democratic Party accepts the capitalist system, proposes (but today less and less) to reform it, but will do nothing to threaten it. Its more liberal and "far-sighted" members, like Shirley Chisholm, seek to modify the abuses of capitalism to safeguard the system as a whole.

Thus, like the Democratic Party itself, Chisholm's reforms can go only so far. Because of the marriage of the Democratic Party to the business class, the reforms which the Democratic Party representatives do propose must satisfy business's interests — and these reforms must be paid for, not by Big Business, but by working people.

Child care centers, as proposed by Democrats, are to be financed by a tax system which weighs heaviest on working people. The ERA opens more jobs to professional women while it allows business to exploit working women more easily. Abortion law repeal excludes poor women from its benefits, because only those who can pay can be treated. Chisholm wants to rationalize capi-



Bread & Roses

Medical School

According to a recent study by the Association of American Medical Colleges, this year's freshman class is the largest ever enrolled in medical school, and includes a record number (11 percent) of students from minority groups. Two hundred, or 23 percent, of black freshmen were women. Women comprised 13 percent of non-black freshmen.

NBC

Radio and television stations owned and operated by the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in Washington, D.C., have been found guilty by the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission of discrimination against women in promotion to managerial jobs, in salaries, and in hiring for non-managerial jobs.

The complaint was made by 27 wo-

men employees of NBC. They said that the company was violating Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which bars discrimination based on sex.

According to one of the women, NBC has promoted and hired several women to job categories previously open only to men, and has changed its policy on maternity leave, but she called the changes "still clearly token."

Equal Rights

On November 22, the Supreme Court unanimously struck down an Idaho statute that gave men preference over women in administering deceased persons' estates. The statute was declared to be in violation of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees "equal protection of the law."

This was the first time since the 14th Amendment went into effect in 1868 that the Court had invalidated a state law on the grounds of sex discrimination. Lower courts are expected to follow the Supreme Court's lead.

Conference

Over 200 women gathered in New Haven, Connecticut, on the weekend of November 13-14, for what proved to be a highly successful and encouraging conference. The meeting was organized by women in economics, but aimed at all women's liberationists.

Workshops were held on women in the labor force; organizing women in unions, at universities, and on welfare; Marxism and Feminism; the treatment of women in orthodox economics textbooks; women and racism, and a number of other subjects.

While most of the discussion centered on theory, most women felt the pressing need to develop a strategy to broaden the women's liberation movement, and get it out of its current crisis. In this sense, they left with the feeling that the conference was only a beginning.

The women tentatively set the weekend of December 4-5 for a conference in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on "Marxism and Feminism."

Black Caucus

At a recent conference in Washington, D.C., organized by the Congressional Black Caucus for black elected officials, Shirley Chisholm, a Representative from Brooklyn, N.Y., who is a candidate for President, complained that she was not being allowed to lead political workshops. (She was assigned to lead a workshop on "early childhood development.")

She said that for the last 21 years, during all her political life, she has been the victim of discrimination both as a black person and as a woman.

Friction between Chisholm and male leaders of the Black Caucus has been increasing for several months.

Child Care

According to a *New York Times* report of November 20, White House sources expect President Nixon to veto a compromise child care plan now pending in Congress.

The original bill would have provided free day care, and other services such as nutrition and health care, for the children of the poor and working poor. Under this plan, children in urban families of four with incomes up to \$6,960 could get free care.

When the Nixon Administration attacked the proposal as "too costly," Congress scaled it down, restricting the free care to families earning under \$4,320. However, even the scaled down plan is not satisfactory to Nixon. ■

Just as there is no country in the world today where the people themselves rule society, there is also no country where a woman has the full right to decide whether or not to have an abortion.

There are, to be sure, countries with far more "liberal" laws than ours. Most of these are countries which call themselves "socialist." But the way in which the abortion question is handled there is one more indication that these societies in fact have nothing in common with socialism.

In Russia and Eastern Europe, official attitudes toward contraception and abortion have always been determined by government population policy, not by any concern for the rights of women.

Both Russia and most Eastern European countries now have "liberal" laws; in Hungary, abortions are performed on request; the same is true in the USSR. But the situation in other Eastern European states shows that women should have no reason to be complacent.

Rumania, for example, once had abortion on request, to be performed without any formalities. Abruptly, in October 1966, this came to an end. A decree was issued restricting abortion to women over 45 years of age and to mothers supporting four or more living children. In addition, the very life of the mother must be in danger (a threat to her health is not enough).

Why the change? The decree was quite clear: the previous policy had led to a "great prejudice to the rate of natural increase" — that is, Rumania had been found to have the second-lowest birth rate in Europe. So much for women's rights.

The history of abortion laws in Russia

is part of the tragic story of the degeneration and eventual defeat of a great revolution. In 1920, abortion became available on demand; this was part of a sweeping set of laws and decrees which the new Soviet government enacted.

After 1928, as Stalin consolidated his rule, the laws and regulations on abortion became increasingly restrictive. Finally, in 1936, abortions were forbidden altogether.

These measures were clearly presented as part of a program to increase the birth rate — medals for "heroine mothers" who produced large numbers of children were introduced at the same time.

One of the judges of the highest Soviet court, a man named Soltz, issued

Abortion In The "Socialist" Countries Louise Mitchell



many official apologies for the new opinion. In a socialist society, he said, a woman has no right to decline "the joys of motherhood!" Another statement was more honest: "We have need of people."

"Then have the kindness to bear them yourselves," might be the answer of millions of toiling women" — that was Leon Trotsky's comment to Soltz on the new philosophy.

In 1956, in the Khrushchev "thaw," abortions were again legalized. But it is generally admitted that illegal abortions continue. (The cost of the treatment of botched illegal abortions was cited as one of the most important reasons for the 1956 reforms.)

Why do illegal abortions persist? One clear answer emerges: Abortions still bear a stigma — and the official procedure is not very confidential.

In China today abortions are readily available (although, it seems, only with the consent of the husband). But there's an interesting twist — apparently, only married women can obtain abortions or birth control pills.

A sympathetic observer who went to China with the first American delegation of the group of Concerned Asian Scholars this summer wrote:

"They were astonished that women [in the US] had to pay for birth control pills and abortions, and that abortions were illegal in most of the country — just as we were surprised that neither birth control pills nor abortions were available to unmarried girls." Since current policy in China discourages pre-marital sex, it apparently assumes there will be no pre-marital pregnancy!

The Scandinavian countries and England used to be considered models, but there, too, there is red tape and delay. Japan turned to abortion because of a population crisis. The policy of abortion on demand has halved the Japanese birth rate. So now there are rumblings about restricting the right to abortions once more.

There are important lessons to be learned from all this. Women themselves must fight for changes in abortion laws. Anything won because of the desires of population-policy makers is all too easily reversible. Abortions must be free and private, and we must fight to see that there is no stigma attached. We cannot look anywhere for a model — we must create our own. ■

Detroit Welfare Employees Fight Back

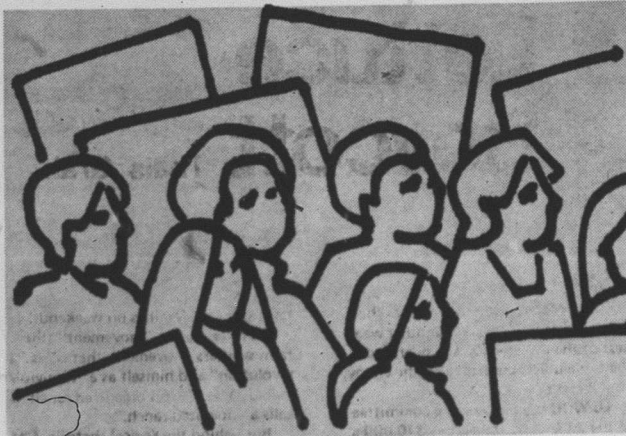
Sue Davis

On November 10, two to three hundred people picketed the Detroit headquarters of the Wayne County (Michigan) Department of Social Services. The demonstration was called by the Welfare Employees Union (WEU) — a militant independent union — to protest the firing of two fellow employees.

Catheryn Durden and Heze Earl, both black caseworkers, were fired after three years of work in the Department of Social Services (DSS). Besides DSS employees, members of the Welfare Rights Organization and other community people joined the picket line.

The dismissals of Durden and Earl took place in the context of a general national crisis of welfare and social services. Funds for social services are being cut back, or at best not expanded, while the need for them rises. Rather than search for new sources of funds, officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare have proposed a lowering of pay scales within social service and welfare departments.

At the present time, many social workers both determine the eligibility of prospective clients and provide service to those judged eligible. The HEW proposal — called "Reorganization" — would separate out eligibility determination from service, reserving professional social workers for service work (thereby



cutting back their numbers) and hiring new, less-trained employees at a lower pay scale to take care of determining eligibility.

Reorganization in Michigan began early this year. DSS heads assumed that room for the new, lower-paid employees would be created by the normal process of attrition. But due to the recession and the high level of unemployment in Michigan, the attrition rate within the

Department dropped dramatically this year.

Higher classification employees are not quitting fast enough to suit the needs of the HEW plan. Thus, despite the fact that the Department is presently understaffed by about 25 percent, the Administration began taking steps to pressure people into leaving.

Durden and Earl were hired in 1968 as "provisional employees" — although

they had failed the Civil Service Examination — as part of an effort to rectify the racial imbalance in the DSS (the civil service exams are biased against blacks and other minorities). Everyone else in their group has quit as a result of Administration harassment. When they refused to leave "voluntarily," the DSS invented a pretext for firing Durden and Earl.

The November 10 demonstration was called not simply to protest the dismissals but also to attract attention to the overall problems of the Social Services Department.

Other demands were made at this demonstration to tie this one incident to a petition presently being circulated by the Welfare Employees Union. The demands include:

Collective bargaining as the first step in the fight for decent jobs with dignity; a minimum wage of \$150 per week; cost of living increases; equal pay for equal work; no layoffs or demotions due to federalization (FAP); 500 new employees immediately as a minimum; improved building conditions; prompt communication between Administration, employees, and clients; and calls for financing these changes through taxing corporate profits.

Included in the petition is the threat that the employees will take a strike vote should the Administration not respond satisfactorily. ■

Led by a dozen striking telephone workers (mostly members of the United Action Caucus of Local 1101, Communications Workers of America), a crowd of 200 anti-war marchers surrounded a scab-manned telephone truck and eventually forced its expulsion from the site of the November 6 anti-war rally in New York. The telephone workers and most of the 200 marchers, including many members of the International Socialists, had been marching as part of the labor contingent of this year's anti-war march.

The New York Telephone Co. truck, manned by two foremen, was a microwave relay center for the police spy camera set-up at the rally. When the Telephone truck finally left, after about an hour of harassment, the police cameras had to be taken down.

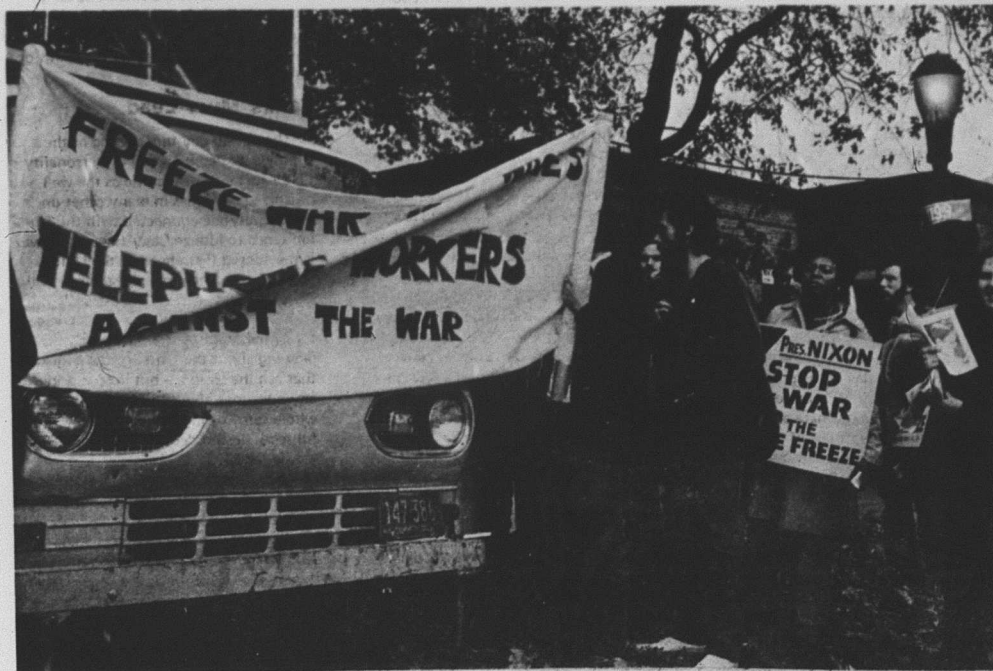
When the telephone workers first saw the scab truck, they broke from the march to confront the scabs, and were quickly followed by other marchers. The truck was surrounded, and chants, speeches, and general harassment commenced. Shortly thereafter, some 40 or more Special Events cops in helmets arrived to defend the nervous scabs.

Somehow, one of the cables from the truck broke itself and had to be repaired under police protection. The crowd made it clear that it was not leaving until the scab truck was removed.

The organizers of the anti-war march begged the police to remove the truck before the passivity of the demonstration was "marred" by an incident. As the crowd seemed to grow angrier with the passage of time, the police gave in and the scab truck and spy-camera set-up was sent packing.

CWA leaders might take a lesson from this incident about how to stop scab operations. ■

Scab Truck Expelled From Anti-War March



BOYCOTT



UFWOC To Resume Lettuce Boycott

Thais Grak

LETTUCE



The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) held conferences of its national boycott staff late in November. Called by Cesar Chavez, director of UFWOC and Marshall Ganz, director of the boycott operation, the meetings focused on the announcement of the resumption of the lettuce boycott, suspended since March.

The struggle with the lettuce growers has been the second major unionization campaign conducted by UFWOC. The lettuce boycott was suspended when the Teamsters acknowledged UFWOC's jurisdiction over lettuce workers and the growers made promises to negotiate "in good faith."

Boycott or Strike

The resumption of the lettuce boycott at this time is in part a reflection of a serious weakness in the way in which the farm workers' struggle is being conducted. Time after time, the Union has given up the chance to lead a significant strike in favor of the less risky tactic of the boycott.

This was evident in the lettuce organizing drive — Chavez went to jail over the issue of whether the Union had the right to boycott, but never protested an injunction against striking. In this second phase of the lettuce struggle, it was announced at the conference that no strikes would take place.

The boycott has virtually taken the place of the strike. Chavez argues that the boycott is more dramatic and effective than strike action.

It is true that a successful strike is difficult to conduct in the fields; growers import illegal scab labor freely from Mexico. But the shift toward total reliance on the boycott marks a real change in the nature of the fight. While the boycott may often be capable of winning contracts, it does not build a strong union and does not involve workers in their own struggle.

The boycott is run primarily by sympathizers who were drawn into the struggle during its heyday — the grape boycott. Originally, striking workers were sent to boycott cities to coordinate activities. This was a valuable means of growth toward political sophistication for the striking workers, but now there is rarely a farm worker organizing a city, or even on a boycott staff.

For the people working on the boycott, there is an obvious contradiction involved in boycotting lettuce in the cities when the Union's members are struggling to make a living wage off that product in the fields.

The UFWOC's over-reliance on the boycott tactic is related to another weakness of the union — its dependence on the trade union bureaucracy, the clergy, and liberal Democrats.

UFWOC is an organizing committee of the AFL-CIO, and enjoys \$10,000 a month for that relationship. However, Meany and Company have time and again betrayed the farm workers.

For example, when the Union was boycotting Italian Swiss Colony in order to win contracts in wine grapes, Meany withdrew the support of the AFL-CIO. His reasoning was that the AFL-CIO had bargained successfully with Swiss Colony's parent company Heublein.

Now Meany is on the Union's back about the secondary boycott, a tactic essential to the strength of the Union. Since farm workers were excluded from the National Labor Relations Act, they were also excluded from the Taft-Hartley amendment which outlaws the secondary boycott. But the AFL-CIO is now taking the line that since UFWOC is an AFL-CIO union, and the AFL-CIO is covered by the NLRA, UFWOC could jeopardize the AFL-CIO by using the secondary boycott.

Apparently Meany has issued a top-down directive on this question, because, in different boycott cities, the local AFL-CIO has come down on boycott coordinators claiming that retail clerks are forced out of work when UFWOC pickets local supermarkets.

The Union's response has been to give up the secondary boycott until UFWOC can obtain its own charter from the AFL-CIO, making it less dependent on the main body. The Union is asking boycott cities to boycott some small wine companies without using the secondary boycott as a tool, and is also stalling on publicly announcing the lettuce boycott until the charter goes through.

Meanwhile, little or nothing has been done to go beyond the labor bureaucrats to win support for the farm workers among the rank and file of the labor movement. There have been a few isolated incidents of rank and file support for the boycott — West Coast longshoremen refused to load scab lettuce which the Defense Department was shipping to Vietnam — but basically, no real solidarity has been built between industrial workers and farm workers.

Chavez pays lip service to a radical concept of the Union. For example, he is talking about starting a "School of Subversion" at the Union's headquarters in La Paz, which would be attended by

farm workers' families on weekends.

He refers to the "movement" (the farm workers' movement, that is) as "a revolution" and himself as a "non-violent revolutionary." An organized ranch he calls a "liberated ranch."

But behind the radical rhetoric, Chavez often retreats to the same old bureaucratic politics and methods of the rest of the trade union officialdom.

For example, when talking about the damage that the wage-price freeze had brought to farm workers' contracts, Chavez announced that UFWOC must "raise hell at the elections." Chavez distributed bumper stickers that he picked up at the AFL-CIO convention in Miami that read, "Nixon Is Thru in '72." Union service centers in California are occasionally used to register workers to vote.

But when Chavez talks about raising political hell, he doesn't mean organizing a political party of the working class, a labor party. Like the other labor bureaucrats, Chavez continues to rely on the Democratic Party to defend labor's interests.

The liberal Democrats were calling for wage controls long before Nixon announced his New Economic Policies. But when questioned about whether the Union would endorse a Democratic candidate as it did Robert Kennedy in 1968, Chavez said he feels that having a Democrat in office is essential to the health of unions.

Ranks Must Lead

The day-to-day functioning of the Union is shaped by a cult of personality that is just as bureaucratic as the well-organized machines in many other unions. Everyone connected with the Union tends to idolize Cesar Chavez. Chavez is the adored figurehead of the Union, and you often hear people say they will do an unpleasant task "for Cesar."

Recently, Larry Itliong, Asst. Director of the union, resigned, bitterly complaining about the "intellectual clique" that ran the Union — but no one asked any questions about his resignation. The whole spirit of the Union is one of cheerful sacrifice and dedication to Cesar Chavez personally.

The boycott committees too are organized in a bureaucratic fashion. At the recent conference, there were almost no opposition questions. No agenda was sent out before the meeting. Agenda items were called for at the beginning, but they were soon erased from the blackboard and forgotten.

The conference consisted of a series

of lectures by Chavez and Ganz, mostly on factual and historical points about the Union. There was time allotted for only one discussion, on whether a few target companies should be selected for the lettuce boycott or all non-union lettuce should be boycotted. After a 45-minute discussion, Ganz announced that Boycott Central had already determined that a general boycott would be more effective.

What the United Farm Workers needs is a new image of itself. It should not see itself as an oppressed minority civil rights type struggle, but as a labor movement. The movement should seek support from rank and file industrial workers rather than liberals, politicians, and clergy.

UFWOC needs a new reliance on the independent strength and determination of the rank and file farm worker. It was this strength and determination that, against all odds, made the building of the union possible in the first place.

The victorious struggle against Interharvest last July shows that the spirit of the rank and file is very much alive, ready to be tapped.

Interharvest is the largest lettuce grower in California, the same folks who rape South America for Chiquita bananas. A contract was won with that company in August 1970 after a card check election came out overwhelmingly for UFWOC.

In July, 1971, the workers organized a slow-down in one of the lettuce fields to protest the firing of a worker, Rocha, who was trying to enforce a portion of the contract on grievances. The slow-down was called *Plan de la Tortuga* (turtle).

Workers have to be particularly well organized to carry off a slowdown in lettuce, because they are paid by piece rates — for what they pick. So even while they are ruining the lettuce harvest, they do so at the expense of their own pay.

The *Tortuga* hit on July 14 and lasted 6 days. Production was cut to 20 percent of normal. Lettuce is on such a tight harvesting schedule that the *Tortuga* cost the company thousands daily.

Interharvest sent a mediator from Boston who offered to meet the demands of the workers fully, with one exception — the worker, Rocha, would remain fired. The *Tortuga* continued. Finally Rocha was reinstated with back pay.

It is the sort of example set by the workers of Interharvest that the whole Union must follow if a way is to be found out of its present impasse.

[Thais Grak is a member of the UFWOC boycott staff.]



Allende Walks The Tightrope

Jose Martinez

Twelve months ago the presidential election in Chile was won by a "left winger," Salvador Allende. Immediately all manner of people claimed that he would be able to prove wrong the classical teachings of Marxism and introduce socialism "peacefully," by parliamentary means.

At first glance it might seem that the last year has born out these optimistic predictions. All sorts of reforms of immediate benefit to the mass of Chilean people have been granted. Wages have been increased by about 30 percent (although to some extent this is to compensate for price rises of 30 percent in 1970). House building plans have been stepped up enormously.

Every child gets a minimum of one pint of milk a day. So far, 100,000 peasants have been given land that previously belonged to Chile's 600 big landowning families. And revolutionaries imprisoned under the previous government have been freed.

For the workers and peasants of Chile such reforms are to be welcomed. But they do not mean that the Chilean ruling class's power has been quietly done away with. Throughout history ruling classes have been prepared to grant reforms to the masses—particularly when faced with movements that might threaten their own power.

Nationalization

The decisive question about Allende is not whether he has been able, temporarily, to improve living standards, but whether he has done anything to end the power of the old rulers and to strengthen the power of the workers.

Some of Allende's actions may seem to have gone in this direction. He has nationalized considerable chunks of in-

dustry. The American-owned copper mines have been taken over by the state and Allende has refused to pay compensation on the grounds that for decades massive profits have been taken out of the country by these concerns.

Who Runs the State?

The major banks have been taken over—in this case by the government buying up shares. And when textile firms tried to close down because they were not making a profit, the government took them over after workers had seized control of the plant to keep it running.

But experiences from all parts of the world show that nationalization is by no means the same thing as socialism.

Nationalization means only a takeover by the state.

The key question is: *Who runs the state?* If it is merely run by the old controllers of industry, now acting in unison instead of in competition with one another, nothing has changed from the point of view of those who actually labor to create the wealth.

Central to Allende's strategy of "peaceful change" in Chile is the idea that nothing needs to be done to alter the basis of control of the state.

Before his election as president was ratified by parliament, Allende signed an agreement with the middle-class Christian Democratic Party in which he undertook not to change any of the key personnel running either the civil service or



Chilean workers play cards in the offices of a Ford assembly plant. They seized the plant when management closed it down after losing \$16-million in two years.

the armed forces. He has kept scrupulously to that agreement.

Both Chile's 40,000-strong army and its 20,000-strong heavily armed police force have a long and bitter record of viciousness against the mass of the population. For instance, when there were strikes in 1967, six people were shot dead and dozens wounded by the police. Yet those responsible for such actions remain in control of the forces.

The only change introduced by Allende in this area was to disband the 1,000-strong special riot police—a mere twentieth of the total police.

When top army officers were implicated in the murder of one of the few leading generals who sympathized with Allende, the president allowed the Supreme Court to stop him from taking any action. The Court is stacked with representatives of the old order.

Wooling the Army

Instead of attacking the power of the generals, Allende has sought to persuade them that he is acting in their interests. The level of arms spending—20 percent of the total government budget—has not been reduced. And army officers have been encouraged to participate in the running of the economy.

While easing the fears of the representatives of the traditional ruling elite, Allende has done nothing to increase the real power of the working class in Chile. He has steadfastly resisted all demands that the workers be given arms. Workers are allowed to "participate" in the management of nationalized concerns—but only as a minority, with majority control firmly in the hands of the old state officials.

The police have been used to prevent moves by peasants to divide the land of the rich themselves. Allende has spoken out on several occasions against workers' takeovers of factories or offices. And under the so-called socialist government, "the authorities have passed legislation that increases the penalties for violation of property rights."

All this means that even if Allende wants to, he cannot take any action that goes beyond what the middle-class Christian Democratic Party and the old controllers of the state machine want. That is why in recent weeks he has made promises to them that he will leave considerable sections of the economy under private control and will keep a close watch on the actions of the "extreme left."

Growing Conflict

He has also made it clear that the period of reforms that favor the workers is past. At a rally to commemorate his first year in office he called upon the workers to show "discipline" and to "limit wage claims," and he criticized workers who have been occupying the pre-

Polish
Revolutionaries
Freed

In an apparent bid to win support on its Left, the Gierk regime has decided to release from prison two of the main opponents of Stalinism in Poland.

The two men, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, both university lecturers, were first jailed in 1965 for publishing a blistering analysis of Poland's new bureaucracy and the widening gap between the elite and the working class.

Kuron and Modzelewski were let out in May and October 1967 respectively, but were then tried again in January 1969 and given 3½ year sentences for organizing demonstrations and

"having contacts with foreign Trotskyist groups."

Both men know what they are talking about. They are sons of the Party establishment. Modzelewski's father was the first foreign minister of "People's Poland."

Now comes news that they were both let out on September 17, a year before their time. ■

[Kuron and Modzelewski's major work, *A Revolutionary Socialist Manifesto*, is available from I.S. Book Service.]



mises of a US-owned bank.

Over the coming months there is likely to be growing conflict between Allende's government and the people who voted for it a year ago.

Although the government has carried out carefully-laid limited actions against the biggest foreign firms in Chile and against certain of the most parasitic of Chile's own wealthy families, it has at the same time been committed to a policy of live-and-let-live with the rest of Chile's traditional rulers and the middle classes.

It believes that it can both give reforms to the workers and satisfy the mass of big businessmen. Increased wages for the workers, it has argued, will help industry's profits by providing a larger market for its goods and enabling factories to work at full blast.

But things are working out rather differently. Industry has not picked up as much as was hoped. Industrialists are unhappy and are smuggling their money abroad to more profitable outlets. And Chile's major export, copper, is suffering as its price on the world market falls.

A situation is being created in which Allende can no longer hope to satisfy the owners of industry (including those middle-class democrats who exercise their ownership collectively through their control over the state) and the working class. He will have to choose to side with one or the other.

But one side is armed, the other not. And Allende shows no inclination at all to break his pledges to the middle class of a year ago not to "interfere" with the state machine.

Instead he will probably use his influence, and that of the bureaucrats within Chile's working-class based parties and trade unions, to persuade workers to put up with harsh conditions and an erosion of last year's reforms.

Such a course will tend to create confusion and a lack of direction among many workers. But it is not likely to lead to any great loss in the spontaneous militancy in the factories and mines. Because of that, it will not satisfy those who continue to hold real power in Chile.

In the past we have seen a number of examples of regimes in some ways similar to Allende's. In Ghana, Indonesia, and the Sudan, for instance, middle-class elements in collaboration with so-called socialists promised reforms and carried out acts of nationalization but left the essential features of state power untouched.

After a period their mass support became demoralized and the governments themselves were easily overthrown by right-wing military coups.

There is only one way in which that sequence of events can be prevented in Chile. A strong, genuinely revolutionary force has to be built up among the workers that is prepared to fight to smash the state machine and to overthrow Allende from the left.

In the past Chile's revolutionary groups have directed their work toward the poor peasants, the students, and the unemployed slum dwellers, while leaving the organized working class in the factories to the almost exclusive control of the parties that support Allende.

But in a country like Chile, where 60 percent of the population lives in towns, it is the organized working class that holds the key to the future. ■

[Excerpted from *Socialist Worker*, the weekly newspaper of the British International Socialists, Nov. 20, 1971.]

British Workers Fight Unemployment

Norah Carlin

Unemployment in Britain is expected to reach over a million by the end of this year. This represents the most serious challenge to working-class organization since the Second World War.

The regional incidence of unemployment — especially in terms of large-scale closures and layoffs — is very unequal. In Glasgow, Scotland, for example, the unemployment rate is around 10 percent, while the national average is 2.5 percent. And with the announcement of large-scale layoffs at the BSA motorcycle factory in Birmingham, the problem of regional differentiation is spreading from the "depressed" areas to a previously prosperous one.

Elsewhere, employment is being steadily eroded by "productivity deals." These are deals in which working conditions (such as manning agreements, tea breaks, right of shop stewards to move around during working hours, etc.) are bargained away for wage increases — increases which in the mid-1960's were often large, but now tend more and more to be paltry in comparison with the annual rate of inflation. Often the numbers squeezed out by these deals are small, or layoffs are not immediate but follow months after the deal.

Overall, the situation is becoming more and more serious. Last year, productivity in industry rose by 7.1 percent, but production only by 2.6 percent, and the total number of jobs fell by 4.2 percent.

Redundancy

The "redundancy payments" scheme, introduced in the mid-1960's, appears to soften the blow for individual workers, especially where the number laid off is small. These payments, based on length of service, can sometimes amount to several hundred pounds, and were designed by the Labor Government precisely to soften the blow of unemployment at the individual level.

But recent large-scale redundancies (factory closures) have sparked off sharp struggles. At Upper Clyde Shipbuilders the Tory Government this summer withdrew its support from the consortium set up two years ago to facilitate "reorganization"; the company went into liquidation and the closure of two out of its four shipyards was announced. The shop stewards' organization in the yards, led by Communist Party members, re-

plied with a "work-in," which is still continuing.

The strategy of the work-in is for the workers to continue in the yards, completing the ships begun — and in theory, taking any new orders — with production organized by the shop stewards and support provided by the trade union movement as a whole.

This strategy illustrates the strengths and weaknesses of rank and file trade union organization in Britain and the role of the Communist Party. It is, first of all, a weak strategy in any real terms: the men in the yards are simply working themselves out of jobs, with a very insecure status (no insurance against accident) and dependent on funds provided by the good will of other trade union bodies and their members over an extended period.

But at the same time, for the work-in to take place at all, the shop stewards' organization must certainly be strong and highly conscious — conscious enough, at least, to use the slogan "Workers' Control," though in a reformist sense. In Britain, Communist Party members often do exercise this sort of leadership in rank and file organization, though without any overall direction from the Party, whose main strategy in industry is fighting union elections and loving up to left trade union leaders. The Glasgow area (where UCS is located) has always been one of their strongholds.

The reformism of the CP shop stewards and the weakness of their links with their union members has been shown in the conduct of the struggle. From an initial refusal to negotiate, they have moved to talks with a possible purchaser for the yards and even with the new company board set up by the government to control the reduced enterprise. Throughout the work-in, they have held very few mass meetings — though in Britain the mass meeting is the main basis of shop stewards' power — and workers complain that labor discipline is harsher than under the old management.

Socialist Worker, the newspaper of the International Socialists of Great Britain, supports the struggle of the UCS workers, but calls for an *occupation* instead of a work-in, and for regular mass meetings. An occupation of the yards would prevent the official government receiver and the new management from getting their hands on even the half-finished ships, whereas at the moment these are

being finished and handed over to their purchasers.

The work-in tactic is also being followed at a nationalized steel industry plant in Sheffield which is threatened with layoffs, and was voted by a mass meeting at the BSA factory in Birmingham, then withdrawn by stewards and union officials who insisted on holding a secret ballot before taking the agreed action.

At Alexandria, however (also near Glasgow), one struggle against redundancy has taken the form of a factory occupation. This is at a torpedo factory recently re-equipped with government aid (because the area is a "development area," that is, a region of run-down traditional heavy industry), and then bought by Plessey's, which proposed to shut down the factory and move the equipment to Southeast England. The workers are determined to prevent this from happening, and are still occupying the factory after several weeks.

Mass Strikes

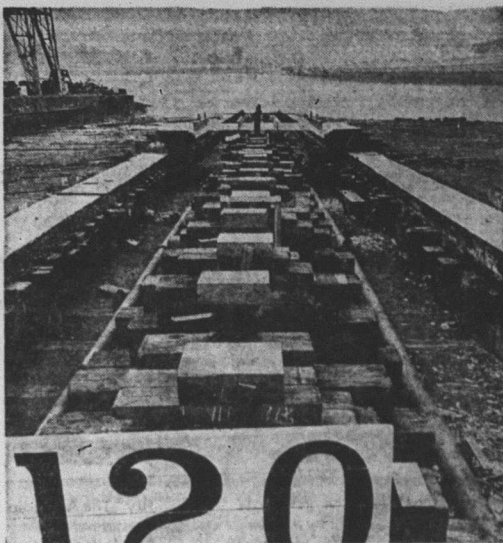
For the struggle against unemployment in Britain to succeed, the links between large-scale layoffs and productivity deals and the general erosion of employment must be exposed. The Trades Union Congress — the central trade union body in Britain — is calling a demonstration and lobby of Parliament on November 24, but firmer action is necessary.

The call has already gone out, from meetings of workers in Glasgow and Liverpool, for a mass strike on the 24th. This demand should be pressed, especially on those "left" union leaders who conducted mass strikes against the anti-trade union legislation last winter.

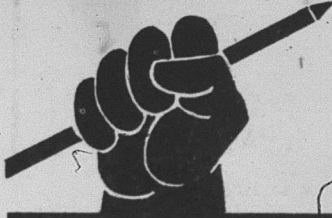
But struggle cannot be limited to one-day actions, however militant. Overtime bans on any firm carrying out redundancies at any of its factories, the demand for work-sharing instead of redundancies, and a firm stand against productivity deals, are demands which must be forced on the trade union leadership by the rank and file.

A revolutionary political movement within the trade unions is necessary, challenging at the same time the right wing union leadership, the individual "left" leaders, and the reformist rank and file leaders of the Communist Party. ■

[Norah Carlin is a member of the International Socialists of Great Britain.]



Clyde shipyards



feedback

Taiwan

I have been reading your paper for some while and I must say that while I usually agree with your emphases on American questions, I hope that your background in Western history is better than that on Asia. I am thinking particularly of your series a short while ago on Korea and, at this point, a brief — and erroneous — reference in your otherwise good editorial on China and the UN in *Workers' Power* no. 45.

You state that the Taiwanese are a distinct nationality from the Chinese. This is thoroughly wrong. Taiwan was settled by Chinese from Fukien Province (the part of China adjacent to the island) as recently as the 17th century.

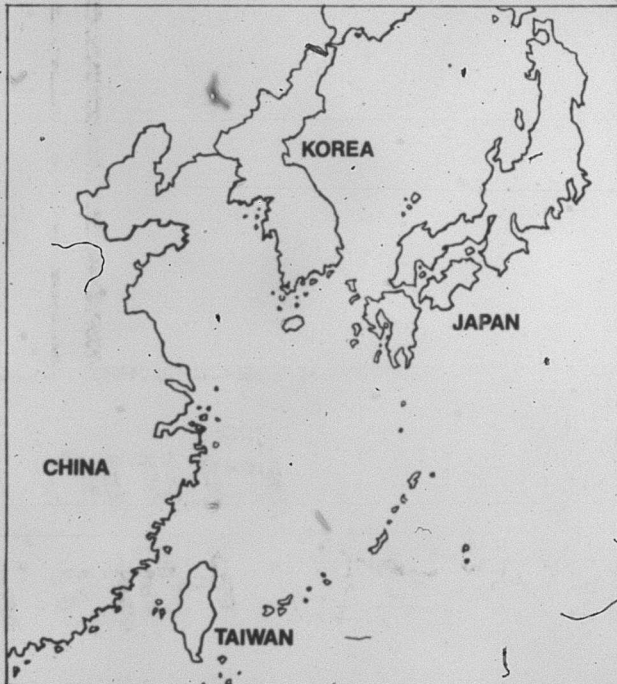
Prior to that time, Taiwan was inhabited by various primitive peoples, mostly speakers of Malayo-Polynesian languages, related to the Indochinese Montagnards. Today, through assimilation and oppression, they number only some 200,000.

But there are 15 million people on the island! Twelve million are descendants of old-time settlers and maybe three million came in with the Kuomintang retreat from the mainland post-1949. Three-quarters of these natives speak Fukienese just like people on the opposite coast. Perhaps one-quarter are Hakka-speakers.

In 1895, Japan seized Taiwan from China and it was not returned until 1945. If Taiwan has a right to independence it must be for some other reason than language, culture, and history — for on these counts, Taiwan is Chinese.

The "Taiwan Independence Movement" must be seen as an effort to establish democracy on the island, to replace the corrupt Chiang regime, but to do so without identification with the Communists on the mainland. Thus they may be anti-Chiang and still hope for support from the US.

All educated people on Taiwan learn



to speak the National Language (Kuo-Yü) which is the property of all Chinese. (Westerners insist on calling the National Language by the long-since anachronistic name of Mandarin.) Because the KMT refugees — who are a favored "caste" under Chiang — do not usually speak Fukienese, an element of "cultural provincialism" enters into the anti-Chiang movement which expresses itself in demands for schooling and administration in the Fukien dialect rather than Kuo-Yü. The Taiwan Hakka — there are millions of Hakka elsewhere — also resent mainland domination but are less enthusiastic for Fukien "supremacy."

In the 17th century Taiwan was once

before a bastion for refugees (the Ming) escaping from a new dynasty on the mainland. A local dynasty was established there by one Koxinga (his European name) which ruled for most of that century. Chiang hopes to be a latter-day Koxinga. It remains to be seen whether the Taiwanese — and the US! — will allow this.

Since Taiwan is beginning to undergo some industrial development, we may hope that a workers' movement may come to take the lead in the democratic struggle there. If there is to be a Republic of Taiwan, may it become a Workers' Republic which may serve as a beacon of democratic socialism to their brother

Chinese workers on the mainland.

On the other hand, if true socialism should be established first on the mainland, I believe that the Taiwan workers will come again to assert their membership in the Chinese nation. Only the bourgeois will then be interested in notions of Taiwanese "nationality."

Feng Da-Hsuan

We accept and appreciate Feng Da-Hsuan's correction on Taiwanese "nationality," and acknowledge our error. Our support for Taiwan's right to self-determination remains unchanged, however. In the 22 years of the Chiang occupation, Taiwan has functioned as an independent state. (Feng's letter itself speaks of "the Taiwanese.")

While we agree with Feng Da-Hsuan's final two paragraphs, the political question he does not examine is that of our attitude should a movement arise for a Taiwan republic (even under bourgeois leadership) before there has been a revolution on the mainland. In this case we defend the right to independence.

Whether to rejoin China should be a matter of free choice — this would be so even if mainland China were a democratic (or socialist!) state.

We will appreciate any further contributions by Feng Da-Hsuan on the history and culture of East Asia.

Workers' Power Editorial Board

Whitman

Now that a benevolent Congressman has proposed to honor the fight for women's liberation by putting Susan B. Anthony's picture on a \$2 bill (*Workers' Power* no. 46), will someone propose to do the same for the gay liberation struggle by putting Walt Whitman's picture on a \$3 bill?

James Coleman

Prison Letter

I am a native of Hartford, Conn. I'm serving a 2 year sentence in the South Carolina Department of Correction. My bust was inevitable, you dig! The reason I'm writing you is, I would like for you to print an ad in your paper for me:

Lonely inmate in the South Carolina Dept. of Correction would like to rap by mail with anyone and everyone. Please be honest.

Sincerely yours,

Jerry Griffin
P.O. Box 3173
Columbia, S.C. 29202

Note

The following paragraph was omitted from my article "Self-Determination and the NLF," Part II, in *Workers' Power* no. 46:

"Despite the collapse of the Buddhist and subsequent opposition movements, South Vietnam's urban population, particularly the working class, remains reluctant to give full loyalty to the PRG-NLF."

James Coleman



Interested?

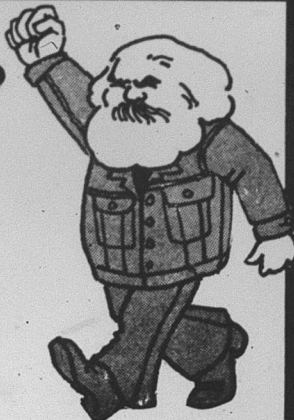
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I.S. GREETING CARDS

Four designs: the above; marchers with "Seasons Greetings" banner; a revolutionary choir with "Revolutionary Greetings"; and radicals on a mountain of "Christmas."

Red and black on heavy cream, red, or white paper. 10¢ each, 10 for \$1.

I.S., P.O. Box 910, Berkeley, CA 94701

Fund Drive Hits 110%

The International Socialists fund drive ended successfully on November 24 after ten weeks of hard work by I.S. members, bringing in a total of \$10,978, 110% of its goal. Fifteen out of twenty-three branches reached or exceeded their quotas.

Thanks are due to all I.S. members, who made sacrifices of time and money to make the drive a success. Special thanks must go to the fund drive directors in each branch who coordinated the drive on the local level—contacting members and friends of the I.S. about the drive, following up pledges, and organizing fund raising projects.

Most of the money was raised through membership pledges; I.S. members pledged an agreed upon fraction of their wages to the drive. Many gave more. In several branches fund-raising projects were carried out to supplement the pledge system.

The rest of the total was raised through the contributions of friends of the I.S., expressing their support of the goals and activities of the I.S. We would like to thank everyone who made a donation to the drive.

The money raised by the drive will be used for expansion of our activities. Increased regional speaking tours, expansion of our national office, and the publication of a theoretical journal are among the projects the drive will help finance.

These are tools we need in our efforts to build a revolutionary, democratic socialist movement in the U.S. The success of the drive represents a

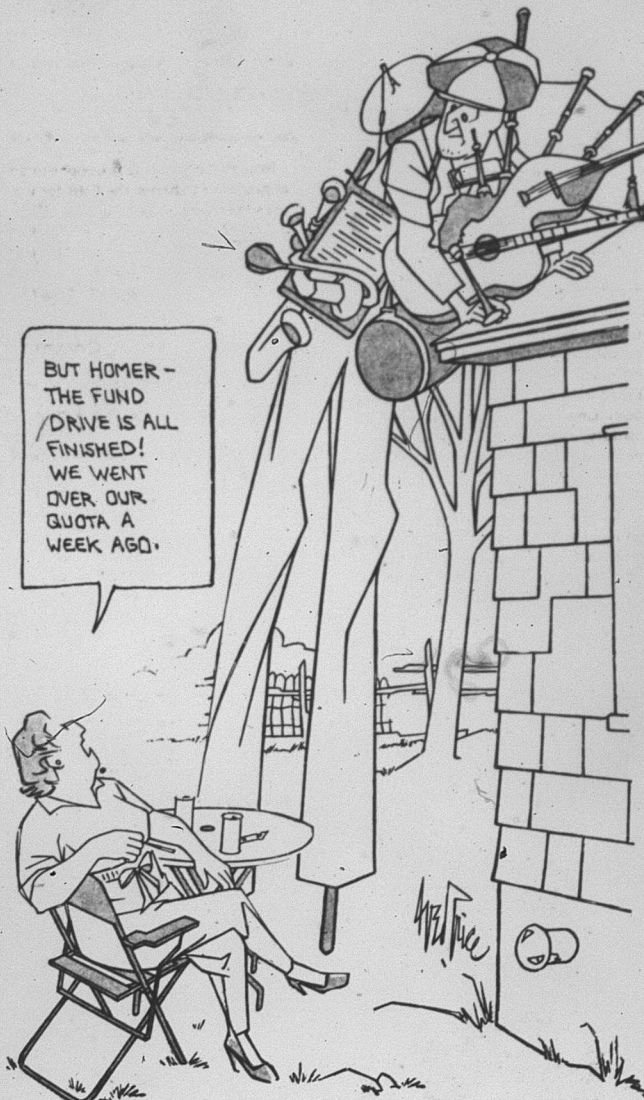
significant step toward building that movement.

[Late contributions will of course be gratefully accepted. Please mail to: International Socialists (or Joel Geier), Third Floor, 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, Michigan 48203]

\$\$\$

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Berkeley	\$2,400	\$2,421	101
Champaign	75	125	167
Chapel Hill	60	65	108
Chicago	600	612	102
Cincinnati	30	25	83
Cleveland	30	30	100
Davis	60	0	0
Detroit	1,000	2,000	200
Eureka	75	75	100
Lansing	30	30	100
Los Angeles	1,000	1,000	100
Madison	100	190	190
New Jersey	400	300	75
New York	1,500	1,550	103
Pittsburgh	45	15	33
Riverside	30	20	67
Portland	30	100	333
Rochester	30	30	100
San Diego	45	0	0
San Francisco	400	207	52
Seattle	600	601	100
Net'l Office	1,120	1,507	135
M.A.L.'s	185	73	40
TOTAL	10,000	10,978	110

BUT HOMER - THE FUND DRIVE IS ALL FINISHED! WE WENT OVER OUR QUOTA A WEEK AGO.



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- UFWOC Boycott Conference /11



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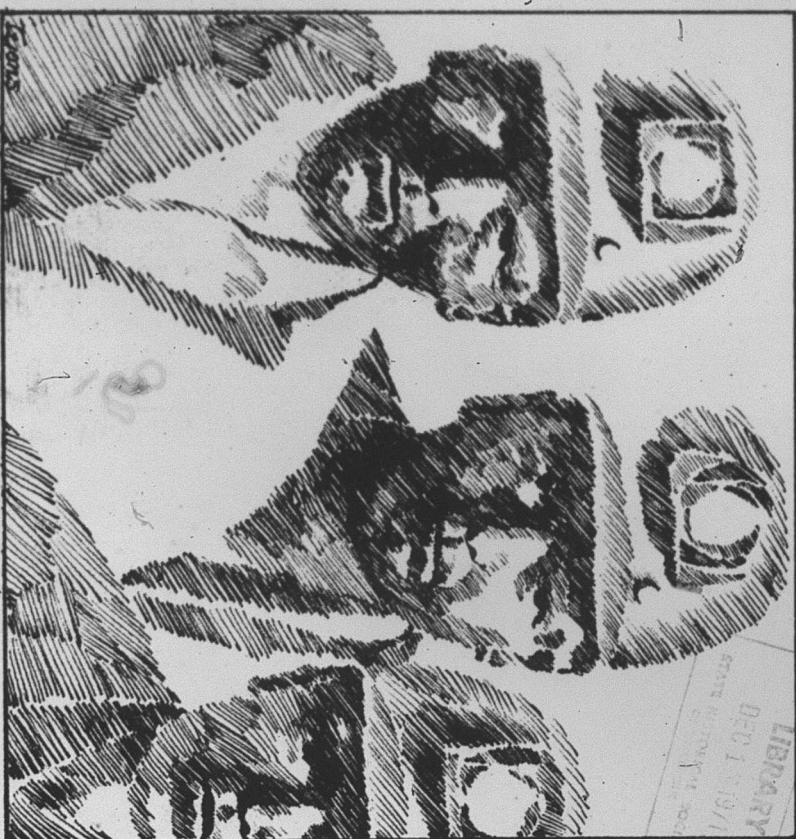
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