



Labor and McGovern

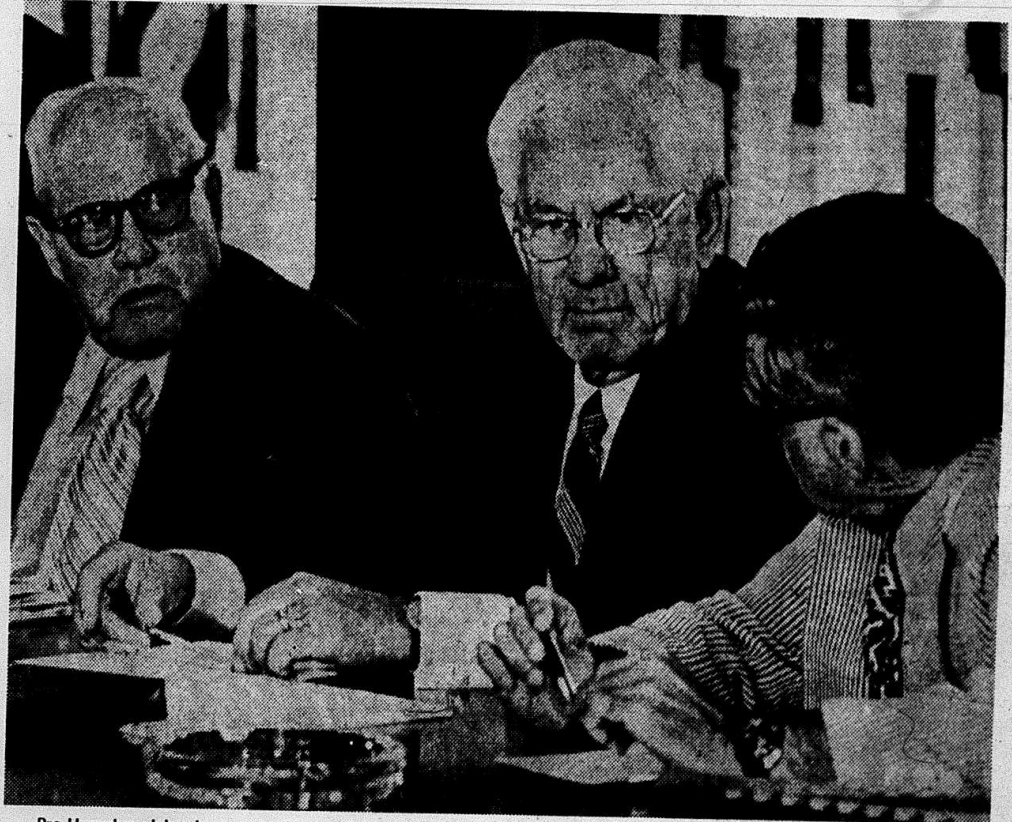
For the first time in recent memory, the organized American labor movement has refused to throw its full weight behind the Democratic Presidential campaign in an election year. But the AFL-CIO's refusal to endorse George McGovern, announced on July 19, simply confirms that the top leaders of labor lack any answer at all to the glaring crisis of America today.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council, withholding its endorsement at the insistence of AFL-CIO President George Meany, was unable to recommend any positive course of action. Its position reflected mainly conservative politics. Meany objected to McGovern's anti-war position, his imperfect voting record on labor issues, and his "softness" on issues of concern to the youth culture, such as homosexual rights.

As McGovern's nomination became unstoppable (see page 10), an open split emerged in the union bureaucracy, with most union heads futilely backing the "stop McGovern" forces, and a few supporting McGovern. These represented two different elements within the union bureaucracy.

The anti-McGovern bureaucrats

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Pro-Humphrey labor bureaucrats Meany (AFL-CIO) and I.W. Abel (Steelworkers) meet pro-McGovern Jerry Wurf (AFSCME)

Editorial

Violence at TUAD

Conflicting reports have emerged regarding the details of the events at the latest conference of the Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (T.U.A.D.), held in Chicago on July 1 and 2. T.U.A.D. was formed two years ago by supporters of the newspaper Labor Today, an organ generally reflecting the views of the Communist Party (CP).

Whatever the details, however, two facts emerge clearly from all accounts. The first is that the conference was sparsely attended, indicating that the attempt

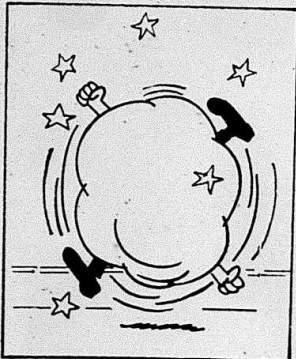
to build T.U.A.D. as a serious force in the rank and file labor revolt has either failed or been abandoned. The second is that the conference organizers employed goon-squad methods, including political exclusion and physical violence to suppress left wing opponents of their policies.

The methods used by T.U.A.D. flow from its political orientation and from the pro-McGovern policies of the CP. Although the majority of Americans have been trained by the establishment media to think of the CP as the "re-

volutionary" or "subversive" organization in the United States, the CP's real role is quite different. In this period of deepening radicalization and ferment inside the working class, the CP aims to capture leftward moving forces in order to chain them to support of the "progressive" liberal wing of the political establishment.

Thus the purpose of the T.U.A.D. conference was not to build any serious rank and file threat to the wage controls, the attack

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NEWS



I.S. Third National Convention Meets

The third National Convention of the International Socialists, held in Detroit July 1-4, was attended by over 200 members and friends of the I.S. Fifty-one delegates, representing I.S. branches and organizing committees around the country, conducted vigorous debates and established policies and perspectives for the work of the organization in the next year. The delegates also elected a new 21-member National Committee to act as the leading committee of the organization

until the 1973 Convention.

The N.C., meeting after the Convention, elected a National Action Committee to establish policy, to edit *Workers' Power*, and to guide and direct the work of the I.S. between N.C. meetings.

The first major sessions of the Convention were devoted to the nature of the current economic crisis of capitalism; the tasks of socialists in the working class and the role of socialist program in this period; and the building

of the I.S. as a revolutionary organization based in the working class. The following sessions discussed I.S. perspectives in the Gay Liberation movement, an analysis of the oppression of black people and perspectives for the I.S. in the Black Liberation movement, and perspectives for the rank and file struggle in the trade union movement. The final sessions discussed the press and publications of the I.S., the election of the N.C., and several amendments to the I.S. Constitution.

During the Convention, time was also set aside for meetings of I.S. members active in unions and other labor struggles. These meetings discussed the details of work in union arenas in the various industries, exchanged the experiences that members have gone through, and attempted to draw the lessons of these experiences and their implications for the overall perspective of the I.S.

I.S. members who attended the Convention felt that its tone, and the level of discussion, reflected the development of the organization since the previous Convention in 1970 and the deeper involvement of the I.S. in working class struggle. While the numerical growth of the I.S. has been modest, given the collapse of the radical New Left milieu which provided the main source of growth for all radical organizations during the 1960's, the I.S. has set itself the task of becoming rooted in the growing workers' movement of the 1970's and embarking on a program of growth through recruitment from this movement.

The training and education in revolutionary Marxism of developing working class militants, who are emerging as the leaders of rank and file rebellions in the shops and the unions, is the critical task of socialists in the period opening up today. Particularly crucial in this respect is the recruitment of revolutionary Black and Third World workers.

With few exceptions, virtually every radical tendency aside from the I.S. has moved away from such a perspective, in the direction either of

sterile abstentionism or toward accommodation to the labor bureaucracy and chasing after the phantoms of the dead middle class radical movements. The rightward shift and stagnation of the Socialist Workers Party, the undiluted opportunism of the Workers League, and the sterile abstentionism of the Socialist League and its denunciation of all union caucuses not based on an abstract "full program," are the signs today of this shift on the Left.

The collapse of most major Maoist groups, and the shift toward the labor bureaucracy of the Revolutionary Union, Youth Against War and Fascism, and others, reflect the same crisis. In these circumstances, the I.S. hopes to become a pole of attraction for radicals and socialists committed to participation in the living workers' movement.

In order to carry out such a perspective, the I.S. will turn in the period ahead to more intensive and systematic activity in the rank and file movement of the working class, especially in basic industry, and toward a major emphasis on the development of Marxist theory. Our aim is a re-statement and enrichment of Marxist theory capable of explaining the critical developments in the world today and of overcoming the stagnation and collapse of Marxist theory itself in the period of post-war counterrevolution. Toward this end, the Convention approved the decision of the Spring National Committee meeting to proceed with plans for publication of a theoretical journal of the I.S.

Fraternal greetings were received from several international groups: the International Socialists of Great Britain, the Tushin Anti-Stalinism Study Group, and Avanguardia Operaia of Italy. ■

[A complete set of political documents passed by the I.S. Convention is in preparation, and will be completed within a few weeks time. Copies may be ordered in advance from I.S. Books, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.]



You better show me the proper respect, sonny! I kissed a lot of ass to get this job!

Workers' Power 61

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NORTHERN IRELAND NEARS CIVIL WAR

Joan
McKiernan

The British Army has mounted massive assaults on Catholic no-go areas in Belfast for the first time since internment was imposed in northern Ireland a year ago. The Provisional IRA bombing campaign has begun again.

The Ulster Defense Association, the Protestant paramilitary force, has become more militant, setting up its own barricades and carrying out massive intimidation of Catholics living in mixed areas. The result has made Belfast an almost totally segregated city, increasing sectarian hatred and bringing Northern Ireland closer than ever to civil war.

The end of the Provisional truce came then at a time when the UDA and the British Army were deliberately provoking sectarian civil war. The incident which directly led to the truce was over the housing of Catholic families who had been given houses by the British government. The UDA refused to allow the families to move in.

Though the British Army had promised to protect the families, they supported the demands of the UDA. They set up a "peace line" at the demand of the UDA. The Provisionals, at the urging of the Catholics in the area, led a massive demonstration to help the families move in. The British Army attacked the demonstration; the Provisionals retaliated by calling off the cease-fire.

When the truce was negotiated, the Provisionals were given guarantees that there would be no further raids into Republican areas by the British Army, that there would be no harassment of the people, and that men on the run could move around so long as they kept in "low profile." The British were to reciprocate for the cease-fire by releasing the internees.

British Provocation

As should have been expected, the British Army kept no part of the bargain. Provisionals on patrol in Republican areas were arrested, Catholics were not protected from harassment, and only 14 internees were released during the three weeks following the cease-fire. Not only did the British Army not live up to its agreement, but it clearly helped provoke sectarian tension and condoned the actions of the UDA.

In the weeks before and during the cease-fire the British have played their traditional role in Ireland — that of dividing the working class. While Provisionals were taking down Catholic barricades in Derry and Belfast, the UDA was erecting Protestant barricades. Unlike the "no-go" areas of Republican areas, which only threat-

en the British demand to control law and order, the UDA barricades were a personal threat to the many Catholic families living in the mixed and Protestant areas.

The British Army not only allowed these barricades, but agreed to "joint patrols" with the UDA. At the same time, the Catholic population in Portadown had put a barricade to prevent an Orange parade from coming through its ghetto. The British Army moved in, smashed the barricade, protected the Orange parade, and allowed the UDA to parade and drill in the Catholic area.

Earlier this year in Belfast a group of men drove through Andersonstown, a Catholic area, and shot five unarmed men, killing one, and quickly drove back to a Protestant area. Both the

The new crisis comes in the midst of escalating Protestant militancy and political strength. July and August are the months of traditional Orange parades in which the Protestant Irish commemorate their ancient victories over the supporters of Catholic King James in the 1680's. Today these parades are an expression of the privileged position over Catholics in the Northern Ireland state. This year over 100,000 Orangemen marched in demonstrations protected by 30,000 British soldiers.

IRA Irresponsibility

It was therefore totally irresponsible of the Provisional IRA to begin their bombing campaign in the midst of such demonstrations. By allowing themselves to be provoked by the Bri-

tain would like to follow the advice of *New York Times* writer C. L. Sulzberger, that the "necessity is to get Ireland off the front pages and out of politics. Britain desperately needs to turn to quintessential problems — like the pound or Europe."

However, Britain is not going to leave Ireland until it is sure it is leaving behind a stable environment for British investment. That kind of stability for Britain means crushing the IRA — either militarily or politically. This explains the present British tactic of alliance with the UDA against the IRA and the Catholic population.

The Ulster Defense Association was formed two years ago by a group of ex-B Specials (the sectarian part-time police force that led the anti-Catholic riots in 1969.) Its purpose was to defend the Ulster state against British government intervention. This year it has appeared on the streets as a para-military organization, and made impressive displays of its strength and organization.

UDA Retaliation

The UDA claims a membership of 43,000, which is almost totally working class. Its members come mostly from the Loyalist Association of Workers, former B Special associations, vigilante groups, and teenage street gangs — the Tartans.

Though the UDA membership is working class, it is still under the political and ideological control of middle class politicians and ex-army officers. This group of Unionist Party supporters needs the return of the Stormont regime which kept them in power. Unionist ideology sees that the only way to protect privilege is through preservation of the sectarian division of the working class, even if this leads to an all out attack on the Catholic working class.

The UDA, therefore, demands the eradication of the IRA, and states that they want to "squeeze the life out of the republican areas." Though the groups in the UDA are united now, there are basic contradictions within the group. Protestant working class members have stated that they can gain nothing from a civil war. Loyalist workers have questioned the link with Britain, and the role of their own ruling class.

One Shankill commander of the UDA was a leader of a tenants association which had links with the Belfast Housing Action Committee which was led by the IRA. He recently described himself as a Connolly socialist. Another Shankill group, the Orange Cross, has a pro-working class outlook.

The Unionist politicians, and more extreme hardliners like William Craig, are trying to increase their control over this potential working class mil-

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TROOPS FIRING AT CATHOLICS' TRUCK IN BELFAST

British Army and the Catholics blamed the act on "Protestant extremists."

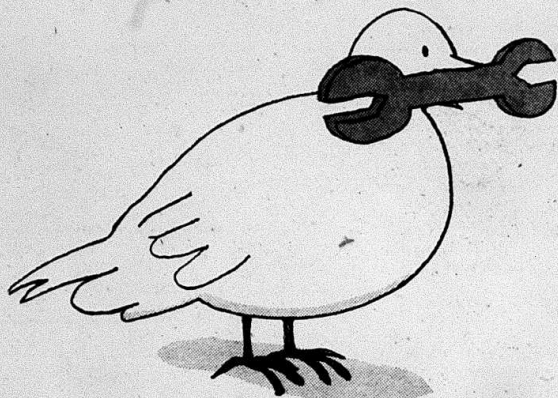
A month later the British Army admitted it had done the shooting. British soldiers in civilian clothes who were patrolling in unmarked cars carried out this unprovoked attack for the sole purpose of further dividing the working class.

In a Catholic section in Belfast, Catholic workers beat off several hundred Loyalists who had crossed the river from East Belfast to attack the isolated Catholic ghetto. The police and army stood by without intervening. Incidents such as these have occurred since the early riots in Belfast in the 19th century which were led by the police and army and laid the basis for the sectarian hatred which exists today.

ish Army they have removed political pressure from British Chief Administrator William White and the UDA, and have given the British Army an excuse to launch a full attack on the Catholic working class.

As Bernadette Devlin states, "The British Army does not act as a mindless militant. In breaking whatever agreement they had with the Provisionals they knew exactly what they were doing. The Catholic community may within the next few days and weeks need defending from concerted sectarian and bloody attack. They can not afford to have this likelihood brought nearer nor have time, men or ammunition wasted in healing Mr. Mac Stiofain's (Provisional Chief of Staff) wounded pride."

The continuation of the bombing campaign has also increased right wing pressure in Britain. 30-40 British MP's are now demanding that Britain



Rank and File Caucus shakes Labor for Peace Conference In St. Louis

Michael Stewart

On June 23-24, the founding conference of "Labor for Peace" was held in St. Louis. The conference was attended by over 900 delegates from 35 unions in 31 states.

Those rank and filers who actually made it to the meeting were in for a bit of a surprise: they were not particularly wanted there. Most of the delegates were union bureaucrats or their handpicked friends. If you didn't have the right connections, if you couldn't persuade your local to send you, or if your local sent no delegate at all, you had to sit in the observers' section, with no vote and no chance to speak.

The outcome of the conference was therefore a foregone conclusion. "Labor for Peace" is not to be a mass organization, but rather an organization of elected delegates from affiliated unions. A steering committee was also elected, composed mainly of the union officials who had called the conference.

Strike Against the War

This was not the only alternative presented to the conference, however. A rank and file caucus of over 80 delegates and observers proposed a clear course of action for the organization. This proposal, presented by Steve Zeluck of the New Rochelle Federation of Teachers, called for the conference to "begin immediately to educate and organize for a one day work stoppage against the war and wage controls, to be held within three months." The proposal went on to oppose any support for the Democratic or Republican Parties, and for building Labor for Peace as a mass organization of the rank and file of labor.

Preparations for building the Rank and File Caucus were begun weeks before the conference. Members of the International Socialists, "We the People" in Madison, "On the Line" in St. Louis, and others, had distributed a call, urging rank and file union members to attend the conference and fight for the proposal eventually presented by the Rank and File Caucus.

Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW and chairman of the conference, attempted to sweep this proposal under the rug by "an old Walter Reuther tactic"—holding a straw poll. To his complete consternation it passed by a two-thirds majority. After making a hurried speech against the proposal, Mazey quickly adjourned the meeting for lunch so that he

could regroup his forces, double the size of the security guard, move the seats occupied by Rank and File Caucus delegates to the rear of the hall, and organize a solid front leadership front against the strike proposal.

Leading the attack was Harry Bridges, whose union, the ILWU, had passed a similar proposal at its own convention. "I used to be considered a radical... even a revolutionary," Bridges intoned. "But there are a lot of doors open to me now, that were closed before." Bridges went on to oppose the work stoppage on the grounds that "we can't tell the rest of the labor movement what to do."

In spite of the fact that the work stoppage proposal had received a 2-1 majority on the straw poll, it was never brought to the floor for a formal vote, nor were any members of the Rank and File Caucus allowed to speak during the rest of the confer-

ence. A policy statement was passed which called for "the immediate withdrawal from Indo-China of every American soldier, every gun, every plane, every tank, every warship, and every dollar."

By shelving the Rank and File Caucus proposal, however, the conference organizers served notice that they intend to do nothing to carry out this policy. They also exposed their real motivations. Labor for Peace was organized, not to serve the needs of rank and file workers, who were largely excluded from the conference, but because of the struggle inside labor's officialdom in this election year. It reflected the political struggle between the UAW, Meatcutters, Longshore, AFSCME, and others who support George McGovern, and the majority of the AFL-CIO led by Meany.

Although no open presidential endorsement was made, major speakers

included such open McGovern supporters as Correta Scott King and Senator Mike Gravel. The Democratic Party was openly discussed only when several union officials were forced to declare their allegiance to it in order to denounce a proposal for a labor party.

The purpose of the conference was the building of a largely paper organization whose only purpose will be to raise money for lobbying in Washington and paying for newspaper ads. Thus will the potential significance of a working class anti-war organization be squandered.

Labor for Peace is not the first organization of its kind. Previously, an anti-war labor organization was begun in 1967, but failed to get off the ground as it submerged itself in the Democratic Party. Labor for Peace has firmly set its direction on the same path to oblivion. ■

Comic Opera Sectarians Denounce Rank and File Caucus

The work stoppage proposal sponsored by the Rank and File Caucus was the major issue of debate at the Labor for Peace conference. Much of the national news media centered their coverage around this debate. The success of the caucus in getting across its message and exposing the bankruptcy of the conference officials far exceeded the hopes of the caucus organizers.

The International Socialists, in collaboration with other radical groups, were able to build the opposition caucus and intervene politically in the conference. The other revolutionary groups present were, unfortunately, irrelevant.

The worst role by far was played by the Socialist Workers Party, whose attendance was solely for the purpose of obtaining more names for its letterhead front organizations, particularly the National Peace Action Coalition. Its report of the conference in the July 7 *Militant*, consisted mostly of empty cheerleading for the labor bureaucrats. Implicitly, the *Militant* criticized members of the I.S. and others for raising the anti-war work stoppage proposal and voting against the spon-

sors' resolution. The significance of the conference for the SWP is to provide "opportunities to gain union support for the July 21-23 National Anti-War Conference."

The "Workers League," ignoring the issue of the war, raised its own single-issue demand, the formation of a labor party. The W.L. deliberately raises this slogan in the most conservative and opportunist fashion, as a program to be carried out by the labor officialdom itself (including the most conservative, pro-war and racist elements in the bureaucracy). W.L. members did not participate in the Rank and File Caucus. Peering through its sectarian looking glass, the Workers League *Bulletin* claimed "Labor Party Fight Rips St. Louis Conference," the absurdity of which was evident to anyone who was there.

The same issue of the *Bulletin* denounced supporters of the Rank and File Caucus as "centrists," claiming that the caucus counterposed the work stoppage proposal to the call for a labor party. This is simply a crude slander, since any honest observer would have known that the I.S. led a

fight inside the Rank and File Caucus to include in its program the call for a labor party.

The "Spartacist League," along with the "Vanguard Newsletter" group, denounced the one day work stoppage proposal as reformist, and demanded instead a "general strike until the war is over." This demand has a militant sound, similar to a demand for the seizure of state power. Such a slogan, however, is simply revolutionary posturing which does nothing to expose the do-nothing policies of the bureaucrats or to force them to take actions against their own will. Like the Workers League, these groups hold their own opportunist impulses in check only by maintaining their pure sectarian irrelevance.

The Communist Party played no independent role at the conference, and was largely indistinguishable from the officials. While the C.P. distributed a petition before the conference calling for a "labor moratorium" against the war, they did nothing to raise this issue at the conference and did not participate in the Rank and File Caucus. ■

The St. Paul convention of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) will have to deal with the biggest crisis that union has faced since its real emergence as a union in 1961. A ten year period of growth, rising teacher employment and salaries, and turbulent, if rarely successful, educational innovation, has come to a close.

Today, 150,000 teachers are unemployed and the number is rising. In Detroit, teachers may be employed for only 25 weeks next year. Similar if less drastic cuts are occurring in other school districts. In contract negotiations, salary increases lag way behind price increases -- raises of 1 to 2 percent are not uncommon. In the name of efficiency (a polite name for speedup), as in industry, school boards are imposing both larger classes and more class assignments.

To top it all off, the government, in addition to the attack on all labor via wage controls, is passing special anti-teacher laws in the state legislatures, withdrawing rights won over the past decade.

As a result of these counterattacks, the teachers union has lost the initiative it held for the past decade, and is now in rapid retreat. One sign of that is the drastic decline in strikes during the past 18 months.

Merger Strategy

In the face of this crisis, a fight has developed in the union around a strategy proposed by Al Shanker, President of the 60,000 member New York City local of the AFT, and leader of the right wing of the union. Shanker's program is Merger-with-the-NEA (National Education Association). This organization, as a result of AFT organizing drives, and the growing pro-strike attitudes within the entire teacher movement, has been evolving from a professional organization into a conservative, independent union. In areas such as Michigan and New York, the NEA is today barely distinguishable from the AFT.

Last May, merger between the New York state affiliates of the NEA and AFT was voted by the teachers of both organizations. This merger has yet to pass the final hurdle of approval by the national AFT.

Shanker's reason for advocating merger is that a larger organization means greater political clout. He sees a potential organization of 2 million with so much political muscle that political lobbying and pressure would largely substitute for strikes. In this, Shanker has adopted the strategy of his mentor, George Meany -- "the age of strikes is over -- the need is for mature, statesmanlike settling of all differences at the table, even if it means accepting binding arbitration of all contracts."

The opposition party in the AFT, the United Action Caucus (UAC), rejects Shanker's "solution," and categorically opposes merger with NEA or any of its affiliates.

Any merger which resulted in a retreat from strike action would indeed be a setback for militant teacher unionism. But the strategy Shanker proposes can not be countered by simple opposition to merger. What is needed is a counter-strategy designed to reverse the tide of defeat facing the un-

ion. Unfortunately, this is precisely what the opposition caucus has failed to provide.

Instead, the UAC limits itself to complaining that merger would only make Shanker stronger (as it would, if it were carried out only on Shanker's program), and that a larger organization is not necessarily a stronger one. (Certainly true. The weak AFT beat the 20 times larger NEA consistently during the 1960's because the latter, at that time, rejected strikes or collective bargaining.)

How then can militants fight to build a stronger teachers union capable of restoring to teachers their lost initiative?

To start with, the willingness of

strike laws and injunctions; and (3) the possibility of a national work stoppage by all teacher organizations for Federal aid to the schools. Such proposals are nothing more or less than the traditional union weapon of mass action adapted to the new and special circumstances of public employees.

Thru such actions -- which AFT should initiate -- carried out jointly, teachers will discover the real basis for unity among all teachers' organizations. It is not difficult to see what the terms for such future unity could be, including (1) support for the idea of regional, statewide or national strikes; (2) a democratic union, not one dominated by a paid bureaucracy; and (3) remain within the AFL-CIO

his election he was party to the strongest attack upon teachers in a generation. In New York City, the Democratic-controlled city council, with Lindsay's approval, passed a bill imposing compulsory binding arbitration upon city employees. The powerful million-member state AFL-CIO has been "seeking" public employees right to strike for 20 years -- to no avail.

Political action supplements; but cannot substitute for, bargaining and strikes which are the main sources of our power.

There is of course a second reason for the failure of our past political efforts. It is the fact that both political parties are really establishment

AFT Leaders Move Right In Face of Teachers' Crisis

David Miller



Michigan teachers demonstrate in Detroit against wage controls

teachers to strike must be restored. The obstacle to teachers strikes is not just anti-strike laws, but the lack of confidence in the ability to win isolated strikes in the face of the retrenching and near-bankrupt cities and school districts, as well as the refusal of the states and federal government to provide the necessary funds.

This being the case, two courses of action become necessary. First, the union needs a more effective strike capability. This requires: (1) the readiness and ability to engage, if need be, in statewide or regional strikes aimed at the state legislators as well as city fathers; (2) united-action coalitions with other teacher organizations and other public employee unions for increased state-aid and against anti-

to fight to rejuvenate it into a democratic aggressive representative of the needs and aspirations of all working people.

No union, especially a public employee union, can really stay out of politics. But the danger exists that political involvement will be seen more and more as a substitute for strikes -- an easy way out. Any political involvement based, even to the smallest degree, upon such thinking would be a disaster. These methods have been tried and failed, time and again.

Recent events in New York bear this lesson out painfully. Thus, in 1971, the New York labor movement endorsed Rockefeller for Governor. In the months immediately following

parties, despite differences in rhetoric and secondary differences in tactics. Thus, during the past 30 years of both Democratic and Republican administrations, not a single pro-labor law has been passed in Congress -- only anti-labor laws such as Taft-Hartley, the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffith Act, and the compulsory binding arbitration laws (supported by Senator McGovern last January 20 in the case of the dock strike). But no anti-injunction laws, or laws giving public employees the right to strike.

In the near future, the labor movement, and the AFT, will have to move toward the formation of labor's own party -- though even then as a necessary supplement, not a substitute for, mass action by the ranks. ■

Two Radical America editors join IS

[The following statement is by Michael Hirsch and Mark Levitan, two members of the group which publishes the magazine Radical America. We are pleased to welcome these two comrades into membership in the I.S.]

Information and subscription rates for Radical America may be obtained by writing to 1878 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140.]

Our decision to join the International Socialists was prompted by the realization that our work as independent radicals was becoming increasingly obsolete. After our years in the student movement we found ourselves functioning in an ad-hoc manner, working on specific projects, this solidarity group, that defense committee, or ill

defined organizing collectives, without any long-term program of working class politics.

Our political interests drew us to Radical America, which over the last two years has steadily developed a proletarian orientation. Yet the limits of our work with the journal soon became clear.

While Radical America was able to articulate a world view in which the self-activity of the working class was a central focus, it remained of necessity an intellectual journal removed from daily practice. With its tremendous strengths, the magazine could not be a vehicle for political struggle.

Several factors impressed on us the practical need to build a revolutionary organization rooted in the working

class. US capitalism is entering a new period, with the N.E.P. seen as an assault by the state on the class as a whole. This offers the possibility for a classwide response.

Working class militancy, sporadic and vaguely defined since the late 1940's, is now emerging in a coherent rank and file rebellion, which presents revolutionary socialists with new opportunities and responsibilities. We need to develop the means of intervening programmatically in these struggles to both build and politicize them.

Secondly, we need to develop a theory of revolution in the advanced capitalist countries. We realize that theory can only be created out of a praxis. We felt increasingly that only a revolutionary organization could finally move beyond a speculative Marxism.

In the last three years, groups we identified with which developed out of the New Left came to see the American working class as the only basis for socialism. With the emergence of a class analysis in the anti-war women's, and gay movement came a major colonizing effort on the part of those who were largely former students.

Community and shop-oriented collectives formed which met with some success. Their limitations, we came to see, lay in part in their local orientations, and the absence of a national and historical focus.

But the decision to take on an affiliated identity for people who have been politically autonomous is a difficult one. It means considering long-term strategy as a question of the moment. It means no longer being satisfied with local organizing or theoretical work simply because it is safe. It means building a national organization for classwide struggle.

We came to see the International Socialists as a reasonable vehicle. The I.S. is neither popular-front-oriented nor sectarian. Unlike many other groups on the Left it does not put its own organizational needs before the needs of the class. It takes the working class seriously.

The I.S. sees the working class as the future ruling class, capable of definitively transforming social relations. It understands that socialism is the institutionalization of workers' power. This ought to be the alpha and omega of a revolutionary theory. Too often it is forgotten.

We see I.S. developing as a focal point for the regroupment of revolutionary forces. Committed, as it is, to extensive internal debate, and most importantly, testing its ideas in the class struggle, I.S. is the one group with the ability to develop the conditions for the formation of a revolutionary party. We feel for all of these reasons, it is critical that revolutionaries join and build the I.S. ■

City Workers On Strike In Berkeley

Garbage flows in the streets of Berkeley, as a strike of city employees moves toward its third week. City employees walked out July 11, when the city council - including its three self-styled "radical" members - rejected the unions' demands. One of the three appeared on a picket line for half an hour, saying she supported their right to strike, but rejected their demands. Bold gesture.

The workers - trash collectors, meter maids, health and social service workers, and librarians are asking for a significant wage increase plus a griev-

ance procedure and the agency shop. Essentially the same demands were granted by the near-by city of Hayward, whose administration has less "radical" pretensions than Berkeley's.

Like the recently settled strike of campus employees at the University of California, the strike was met by a prompt injunction on the grounds that public employees do not have the right to strike. But as one union spokesman put it: "People are not going back to work because of some piece of paper that doesn't have a contract tied up in it." ■

AUTO WORKER FIGHTS FORD



A two-month leafletting campaign by a young Detroit auto worker has begun to attract the attention of rank and filers and groups in the area. It has also caused considerable consternation around the World Headquarters of Ford Motor Company and the offices of the United Auto Workers (UAW) International bureaucracy.

William Harold Russell, who had been working for three weeks at Ford's Woodhaven Stamping Plant, committed the "crime" of asking for a Saturday off in May in order to get married. Accused of lying by his foreman, he was subjected to considerable abuse, transferred to impossible jobs, and fired shortly afterward.

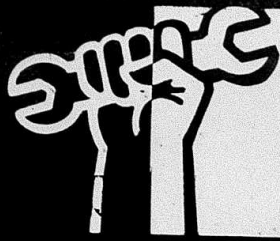
Receiving no support from the union, which refused even to file a grievance in his behalf, Russell began to publicize his case on his own through a series of leaflets distributed to workers at Woodhaven, to busloads of visitors at Ford World Headquarters, and to international reps and other assorted parasites who inhabit the UAW's Solidarity House.

The leaflets, written by Russell himself, detail the circumstances surrounding his firing and the threats he

has received from Ford's Labor Relations Department, the Woodhaven Police, and the International. Repeatedly threatened with arrest and violence for passing out his leaflets, he has so far kept the police at bay because they fear the extent of his support among other workers.

Among the most trenchant of the leaflets is a double-sided "open letter" - one side addressed to Henry Ford II, and the other to Leonard Woodcock. The letter to Ford describes the graves in Woodmere Cemetery of workers killed by the Ford Company during unemployed demonstrations in the 1930's. The letter to Woodcock points out that \$30.00 union dues is deducted from every auto worker's check months before he or she receives any union protection, and that young workers are disgusted by the union's inaction and broken promises.

Russell, who is convinced that his only chance of victory lies in a struggle against both Ford and the policies of the UAW International, is attempting to establish contact with workers throughout Detroit for mutual defense of the human rights of all working people. ■



labor in brief

Karl Fischer

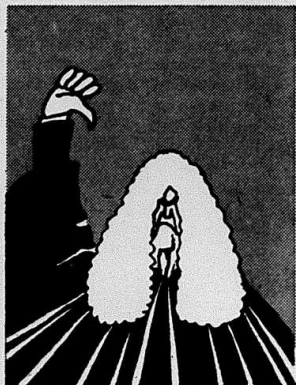
Federal courts lead national attack on workers' rights

A co-ordinated assault on the rights of union workers is being pressed by both the judicial and legislative branches of government in Washington and across the country.

The Federal Courts have been in the forefront of the anti-labor offensive. The Supreme Court has handed down two blatantly anti-union decisions in recent months; one, that companies cannot be compelled by law to bargain over retired workers' benefits, thus endangering union pension plans; and two, that a firm which takes over a contract from another firm is not bound to recognize contractual obligations won by the union from the initial firm.

In addition, a Federal Appellate Court in California ruled last month that four Teamsters, who were fired by the International Van Lines of Santa Maria, California, after walking out in a strike over union recognition, were not entitled to reinstatement.

This fall, the Supreme Court will hear three cases involving basic union rights. The first is the California Teamster case discussed above. They will also hear a challenge to a union's right to fine members who scab during an authorized strike; and an attempt by the Justice Department to apply the Hobbs Act, supposedly aimed at "labor racketeers," against workers who "engage in picket-line violence" during a legitimate strike.



Based on previous decisions, labor's prospects in these cases are not good. "The news from the Supreme Court is bad," commented UAW general counsel Steven Schlossberg, "and it is likely to get worse."

The one victory won by unions recently occurred in the House of Representatives, where the House last month rejected a bill that would have denied striking workers and their families the right to federal food-stamp assistance.

Prison revolts, strikes in Maryland, New York, Michigan

Prisoners in the nation's penal institutions are again on the move, acting to demand some measure of basic rights from the state.



Attica nurse Mary Kingsey

In Maryland, two separate prison revolts occurred over the weekend of July 15-16. At the Maryland House of Correction, located in a suburb of Baltimore, prisoners staged a two-day rebellion to protest mail censorship and forced labor.

The next day, inmates at the Maryland State Penitentiary rose in sympathy with their brothers at the House of Correction, seizing four hostages.

Both revolts were quelled when Maryland's liberal governor, Marvin Mandel, promised the prisoners that there would be no reprisals taken. Whether this promise will be kept remains to be seen.

At Attica State Prison in New York where 43 prisoners and guards were killed by police during an uprising last September, 900 prisoners staged a sitdown-hunger strike on July 17 to protest the firing of a popular nurse.

And at Jackson State Prison in Michigan, inmates are organizing to form a prisoners' union. Pointing to the low wages paid to prisoners -- as low as \$.25 a day -- and the \$250,000 annual profit made by prison industries, Jackson prisoners have filed for collective bargaining status before the Michigan Employment Security Commission, which has agreed to hold a hearing on the case.

Teamster militant in LA survives assassination attempt

John T. Williams, a well-known militant leader in the Teamsters union in Los Angeles and outspoken opponent of the Vietnam war, survived an assassination attempt when his car was firebombed on June 19 outside the union hiring hall.

Williams, currently a candidate for

president of Teamsters Local 208 in Los Angeles, escaped with head and body injuries, suffered when he leaped away from his car. The auto was destroyed in the resulting explosion and fire.

Williams, a vice-president of Local 208, was suspended last year when his local was placed in receivership by high Teamsters bureaucrats for "excessive picketing."

Williams said he was lured into a meeting with a man "who wanted campaign materials" late at night outside the union hall. Williams waited, saw no one, then drove around the block. A car pulled up beside him, and "the man on the passenger side threw what looked like a rock at me. It was a Molotov cocktail."

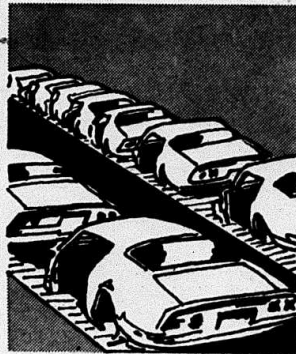
UAW workers continue strike against speedup at GM Norwood

Striking auto workers at the General Motors Norwood (Ohio) plant last month rejected a company offer to cut line speed at the plant, re-elected their present union leadership over a slate urging an end to the walkout, and continued their three-month battle against General Motors.

The 3,900 workers, members of United Automobile Workers (UAW) Local 674, have been out since April 7 in a dispute over a new local contract. The key issues at Norwood -- as in the bitter Lordstown strike earlier this year -- are speedup and company-initiated "efficiency" layoffs.

GM's new offer -- termed "unusual" by Detroit daily papers -- was to cut the line speed at the Norwood plant from 55 to 49 cars an hour for the rest of the 1972 model run, which was scheduled to end around August 1. The offer said nothing about line speed for the new model year, and was also silent on the 700 workers laid off at Norwood this spring.

As a result, the "unusual" offer was flatly rejected by Local 674 officials.



Docks, mills, construction struck in Minnesota

The state of Minnesota has been seething with strike activity in recent weeks. In June, longshoremen and other port workers in Duluth walked off the job to protest rampant safety violations on the docks.

The biggest complaint was over rats. Workers claim that the rat population at the port has expanded recently, and that "big rats the size of dogs" threaten workers there.



In May, 1,700 workers at the big Boise-Cascade paper mill in International Falls struck over a company-enforced speedup. The workers also lodged demands around the deterioration of safety conditions in the mill, and the pollution caused by the operation.

In June, some 2,000 workers at three different plants owned by the Hanna Mining Company (a subsidiary of US Steel) launched a walkout to protest safety conditions in their shops. The strike was sparked by recent accidents, in which four men were killed and two crippled. Hanna has gone to court to seek a permanent injunction against the strikers.

Also, some 15,000 construction workers across Minnesota have been on strike for over a month in an attempt to reverse increasing speedup of production standards. The construction contractors responded with a statewide lockout of all construction workers; over 100,000 are now idled.

[Thanks to Jim Cain for this item.]

Gay worker wins rehiring at colloid plant in Michigan

In Port Huron, Michigan, Bob Reaume has been rehired after being fired twice in the past eight months for his activity in the gay liberation movement.

The latest rehire, with 16 weeks back-pay, was won against the Acheson Colloids Co. by Teamster Local 339.

Bob was first fired in December, 1971, after attending a gay liberation demonstration in Detroit. He was charged with "participating in a fiasco" -- i.e. the gay lib demonstration.

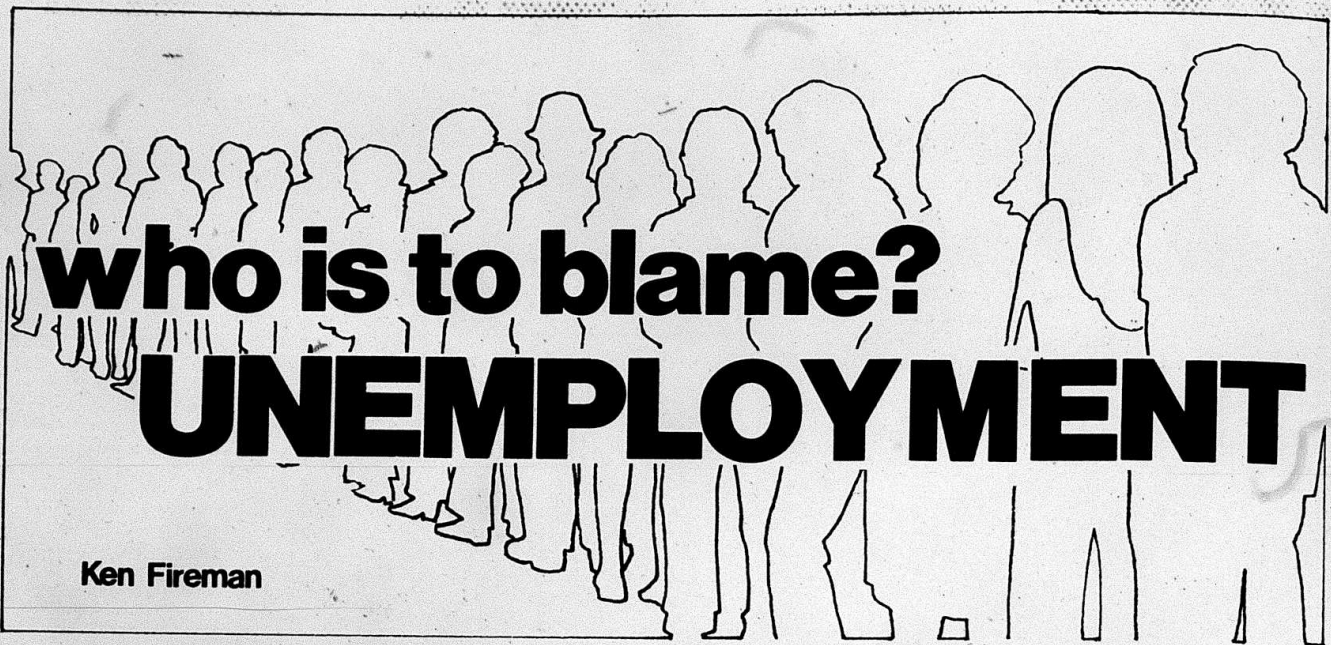
After Bob filed a grievance, Acheson dropped charges and rehired him on January 25. But less than a month later, he was fired again. Local 339 filed a grievance charging the firm with discrimination, and produced evidence to prove that the company's charges against Reaume were groundless.

In early June, an arbitration hearing found Acheson guilty of a "definite pattern of discrimination" and forced Bob's rehire. Four additional disciplinary counts, however, remain in effect against Reaume.

Opportunism has many faces when it comes to an unpopular war.

One of the delegates to the Labor for Peace conference in St. Louis is Frank Salamone, an official of the Barber's Union in Detroit.

Salamone says he's opposed to the war, and wants it ended, because "if the war ends, long-hairs may start coming to barber shops to get their hair cut again."



who is to blame?

UNEMPLOYMENT

Ken Fireman

Unemployment has become a harsh reality of life for an increasing portion of the American working class in the past three years. The so-called "Nixon Recession" of 1970-71 has made unemployment visible; in the sixties, it was usually confined to specific and "invisible" sectors of American society -- ghetto blacks, Southern whites, rural farm laborers.

The recession of 1970 -- in addition to deepening the unemployment rate in these traditional sectors -- reached into all levels of the working class. Skilled diemakers and white-collar engineers became targets, as well as production workers.

The Conner office of the Michigan Employment Security Commission (the state's euphemism for its unemployment office) is well situated. It is located in the very heart of Detroit's sprawling east side factory complex. Chrysler Jefferson, Budd Wheel, Mack Stamping; the giant auto plants that dominate Detroit's economy surround the squat brick office.

Traditionally, these plants feed thousands of autos each week into dealer showrooms. More recently, they have taken to a new form of "production" -- feeding countless numbers of laid-off workers into the Conner office, and others, to apply for unemployment compensation.

The answer of the government economists was that this was a deliberately manufactured recession, of a temporary nature, designed to "cool down" an economy that was superheating with inflation. The fact that the recession did absolutely nothing to halt price increases did not trouble these spokesmen.

Nor did it prevent them, last fall, from proclaiming that "economic recovery" was on the way, and that the jobless rate was about to be reduced significantly.

The results of the "recovery" have

been something less than spectacular. The national unemployment rate for all of 1971 was 5.9 percent -- up from 4.7 percent in 1970. In December, the rate stood at 6.0 percent. And in the first four months of this year, the rate has remained constant; averaging 5.9 percent through the end of April, and fluctuating no more than 0.2 percent during those months.

In addition, the length of time that workers spend jobless is increasing steadily. By April of this year, the national average for the duration of a layoff stood at 12.4 weeks. A year ago, the average layoff was 11.4 weeks, and in 1970 8.8 weeks.

It should be pointed out that these "official" figures on the unemployment rate are notoriously inaccurate; economists concede that they consistently underestimate unemployment by a wide margin. These statistics count only those workers actively looking for work at the time. They miss whole sections of workers who have not registered at a state employment office, or who have removed themselves from the labor market due to lack of work.

A clue to the inaccuracy of these official statistics was provided last year by Detroit Mayor Roman Gribbs. Speaking at a time when the official unemployment rate in Detroit was at 7 percent (it has since risen to 9.7 percent), Gribbs asserted that the true citywide rate was in excess of 10 percent; that the rate in "the inner city" was at 25 percent; at that for males aged 18-25, and women of all ages, the rate of unemployment was nearing 50 percent.

The lines at the Conner MESO office will often start forming even before the office opens at 8:30 a.m. By mid-morning on most days, the barn-like building is filled with people -- mostly black, mostly under 30, but increasingly mixed in composition. The office is poorly ventilated, and the overhead fans do little to clear the smoke from endless cigarettes smoked during the long wait.

By noontime, the hot summer sun has turned the building into an oven.

Even the neatly dressed office workers behind the counter begin to sweat. Their sharply pressed dress shirts begin to wilt and wrinkle. The lines move slowly and stay long.

Part of the cause of this unyielding unemployment has unquestionably been cuts in government spending during the Nixon Administration -- especially reductions in the federal government's defense budget. While these cuts have been small in relation to the total volume of military expenditures, the addictive dependence of the American economy in recent decades on military production meant that even small cuts produced large tremors.

As a result, massive numbers of workers have been laid off in the aerospace industry. Southern California and the Pacific Northwest, the centers of this industry, have experienced their worst unemployment rates since World War II.

But unemployment is not confined to one section of industry. All areas of the economy have slumped -- steel, construction trades, retail services. Even in the giant auto industry, where sales and profits have remained remarkably stable in the past two years, unemployment is rampant -- such that Michigan has the third-highest jobless rate in the nation.

Another common explanation for unemployment is foreign competition; and again, there is some logic to this proposition. European and Japanese corporations in fields like textiles, leather goods, and electronics have taken advantage of lower wage levels and higher productivity rates in recent years, and have undercut American competitors both on the world market and the domestic market.

And many American corporations have responded by closing down domestic operations, and relocating in other countries, to take advantage of these goodies. This mechanism has succeeded in maintaining the profit levels of these corporations, but added significantly to American unemployment.

Yet this explanation only goes so

far. For there is increasing evidence that rising unemployment has become a fixed feature of all the industrial capitalist nations of the world. In 1971, Canada experienced its highest unemployment since 1961; France, its highest since 1960; Sweden, the highest since 1945; and Britain, the highest since 1940. Throughout all of Western Europe, only in Italy did unemployment fail to rise in 1971.

*"Step over to window five, please."
"But I already been there, man."
"Come back next week at 10:30."
"Hey, you told me that last week"*

"We still have not received Form 346 from your employer . . ."

And the most frequently asked question of all: "Are you back to work yet?" the clerk asks all people before they get their checks.

"Would I be standing in this goddamn line if I was?"

Outside, a Black Muslim is cracking jokes with some of the brothers while hawking his newspapers. The store next to the office is doing a thriving business cashing unemployment checks.

The fact is that the roots of unemployment lie in capitalism itself. The basically irrational nature of the capitalist system -- i.e., the allocation of resources for private profit, rather than full social benefit -- makes contradictions like joblessness inevitable.

So long as capitalism remains, there must always be a "reserve army of labor," a section of the working class whose labor power is needed during periods of economic growth to maintain expansion and prevent "excessive" upward pressure on wages. Even when real economic growth slows down, high employment can be maintained for a time by state intervention, through massive military spending and the like. But sooner or later, investment stagnates and the system goes into slump, throwing the "reserve army" (and often broader layers of workers also) back into the streets. As always, the working class pays the costs and bears the burdens. ■

Ireland

[Continued from page 3]

itancy and direct it to support the ruling class. More and more well known Unionist politicians are jumping on the bandwagon, appearing in UDA barricaded areas and trying to sound as militant as the UDA. The British Army has also functioned to preserve this all-class Protestant alliance and its loyalty to British imperialism.

Presently there is talk of a new cease-fire, the conditions surrounding which raise serious questions about the political intentions of the Provisional IRA. The Provisionals have already met with Whitelaw -- while 400 men are still interned -- although the Catholic community in the North was fully in support of having no talks until internment ended. The end of internment is not a negotiable demand and there should be no talks until every internee is released.

Whitelaw has now leaked new conditions under which a cease-fire might be negotiated. The Provisionals would have to dismantle Catholic barricades and end "sectarian assassinations" -- most of which have been carried out by the UDA.

In return for this, Whitelaw is willing to talk of a united Ireland. He has dropped the idea of a plebiscite in the north over the question of union with Britain, and may be ready to

move toward a declaration of the right of the people of all Ireland to decide the future of Ireland.

This would amount to nothing more than an attempt to bring the North into Jack Lynch's sectarian government in the South, forcing Protestants into a United Ireland -- something the Provisionals claim they were not trying to do.

Socialists are completely against forcing Protestants into any form of a united Ireland. If the Provisionals are willing to consider such conditions, what will have become of their expressed aim of a Socialist Republic?

The Provisionals have no political answers to the needs of the working class -- Catholic and Protestant. The Catholic peace movement forced the Provisionals into the first cease-fire. The only time they are able to maintain the support of the population is when defense is necessary. They, therefore, become completely reliant on the military campaign.

Whenever the immediate threat is removed, the Provisionals have nothing more to offer the population because they have no answer except the old dream of a United Ireland -- which under the present control of British and Irish capitalism would only help increase profits for business at the expense of all the workers in Ireland.

The Official IRA, since its own cease-fire, has not compromised on the defense of the Catholic areas and has been consistent in its demands for an end to internment and release of all political prisoners. But it also has been unable to present any political alternative to avert civil war between the working classes in Northern Ireland.

The Officials call for moving the



Children wearing Protestant T-shirts

civil rights campaign "back to the streets." Such a campaign is irrelevant to the present needs of the working class, impractical at a time when there are few unbarricaded streets left, and antagonistic when the state is on the verge of a civil war. At a time when socialists ought to be trying to split the Protestant workers from their ruling class leadership, the Officials are posing middle class civil rights demands only.

Civil rights demands, by themselves, provide no bridge to the Protestant workers. Socialists cannot win Protestant workers by simply saying "we're socialists," and "support civil rights." Civil rights, to the Protestant worker, means simply a more equal share in poverty.

Nor can socialists win Protestant

workers by saying "join us, become Republicans." Socialists must find a link in the common demands made by both sections of the working class. Extending the civil rights demands to include civil rights for the working class is necessary. A demand such as "no factory closings" or "one family -- one house" would be a start in this direction.

Socialists in Ireland must follow the lead taken by the Socialist Workers Movement, in bringing to the working class the idea that only the workers have the power to bring about an alternative to the Orange state in the North and the oppressive green capitalist state in the South. It is only through the workers' struggles in the North and South that the Irish Workers Republic will be achieved. ■

FELICIANO ACQUITTED IN FIRST TRIAL



Carlos Feliciano addressing rally last winter

Over three hundred supporters into jubilant applause as a Bronx jury delivered a verdict of innocent of all charges in the case of Puerto Rican militant Carlos Feliciano on June 22.

The state took two years after his arrest to try Carlos. Sixteen of those months were spent in jail. It took the jury only nine hours to acquit Carlos.

This ended the first act of one of the most vicious political frameups in recent US history. For Feliciano, the case began when he was arrested on May 16, 1970, as he left a Bronx sporting goods shop.

Whisked to a police station, he was charged with possession of explosives, attempted bombings, and arsons of an induction center and various corporate headquarters. The D.A. attempted to link him to a terrorist group and the Cuban government. He was initially held on the highest bail in New York history, \$275,000.

Carlos Feliciano attributed his arrest to his activity as an independence fighter in Puerto Rico in the late 1940's and early '50's. He was imprisoned for several years for "advocating" independence, sharing a cell with the Nationalist Party's courageous President, Don Pedro Albizu Campos.

Despite a long period of forced inactivity in the US, due to family and job obligations, Carlos pointed out that "for the (US) Empire, having once been a Revolutionary is sufficient to warrant a person's being watched for the rest of his life."

The trial vindicated this view. The

wildly contradictory, muddled, and at points comical testimony of the cops consisted of a series of unsubstantiated allegations. "Expert" testimony on bombs was given by a cop involved in the Panther 21 case, which also ended in acquittal. Under cross examination by attorney William Kunstler, the state's case withered.

The victory was achieved by intense defense efforts, engaging in a coalition of the Puerto Rican independence groups in New York. The campaign has combined strong legal defense with mass actions -- demonstrations in the Puerto Rican community and courts -- and gathering support from a wide range of organizations and individuals.

However, Carlos still faces two trials in Manhattan on essentially similar charges. Defense will continue until Carlos is free.

In New York, Carlos Feliciano has come to symbolize the growing Puerto Rican independence movement. For Carlos and his family the price has been enormous. The US government continues its crackdown on militants. But in the face of repression, the movement continues to grow -- as the contingent of 10,000 independence supporters in this year's New York Puerto Rican Day Parade shows.

Carlos Feliciano's victory is a victory for freedom and justice! ■

[To send aid and support, write Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, Box 356, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10003.]

McGOVERN: AN ILLU

In his acceptance speech at the Democratic convention on July 14 George McGovern proclaimed, "This is the people's nomination and next January we will restore the government to the people of the country." Such rhetoric is typical at Democratic Party conventions, but may have been more prominent at this one.

The semi-radical, anti-war rhetoric and the semi-youthful tone of the convention caused many newsmen to describe it as a victory for "the new politics." Underneath, the politics and methods of the past remained, dressed in blue jeans and bell bottoms. George McGovern's victory was not a triumph of principle, but one of maneuver and manipulation.

While putting himself across to voters as a populist, McGovern has la-

bored to present himself to business as a "man of reason." His program has been carefully tailored to be acceptable to business.

The War. McGovern's campaign draws its limited business support mainly from the belief of a large wing of the business community that the Vietnam war is lost and must be ended on almost any terms. These businessmen, of course, are not opposed to American imperialism in general, but only to a futile Vietnam policy.

McGovern's program is tailored to this wing of the capitalist class. His reference on July 10 to keeping a "residual force" in Thailand was mainly a clumsy maneuver aimed at the support of POW relatives; but his acceptance speech contained more substantial imperialist promises. He pledged to maintain military strength and to continue "the shield of our strength"

for "our old allies in Europe"; he pledged to aid Israel.

Israel, of course, is the one foreign-intervention issue which is popular with voters; in pledging to back Israel, politicians give popular cover to their real intention of defending American economic domination in other countries. McGovern's speech contained not one word about ending this system of domination.

Taxes. Since April, McGovern has carefully adjusted his proposals for tax reform to appease business. For example, he pledged in May that he would keep the corporate tax rate at 48 percent, rather than restoring the 52 percent rate which existed before 1960. In the platform debate, McGovern's forces crushed the more specific and far-reaching tax reform proposal offered by Oklahoma Senator Fred Harris -- one of a number of reformers who made the mistake of thinking McGovern's reform rhetoric was meant seriously.

Racism. Though he found time to praise George Wallace, McGovern's acceptance speech contained *not one proposal* for overcoming race oppression in America.

Economics. McGovern pledged employment for "every American able to work," through public works if necessary. As reflected in earlier interviews, his economics is really the heart of his program. Summed up, his economic program amounts to this: *an end to war-induced inflation + tax breaks to create more spending power = a stimulus to end the business slump.*

McGovern, like all classic liberals, hopes to harmonize the interests of business and labor and allow benefits to the worker while stimulating greater profits for business. We will see below that this approach cannot really solve America's economic problems.

If not his program, it was the appearance of the Convention hall which allowed McGovern to talk of a "people's nomination." Blacks and women were more numerous than at previous conventions. Most striking was the large number of young. Beards and long hair were everywhere.

In fact, only their own incredible arrogance allowed these delegates to think of themselves as representing "the people." According to any analyst, the only common thread uniting the diverse elements at the Convention was an average income of well over \$20,000 a year.

The new elements so visible by their youth and hair style in fact represented the suburban middle class. Middle class and professional women, and middle class blacks rounded out the picture. The "reforms" which let these elements onto the convention floor represented a process of bringing the party's structure into line with a shift in the voting base into the suburban, white-collar, less unionized areas.

Within these areas, without exten-

sive union organization, an active role in politics has fallen mainly to the intellectual and professional elements. The "reforms," then, leave the millions of working people who vote Democratic unrepresented -- or *less* represented than in the past, since the unions, which partially represented their interests in a bureaucratic fashion, have proportionately lost power in the party.

The "new politics" in the Democratic Party represent the longing of this suburban middle class, and of middle class blacks, for control in the Party. In many cases, these are mere political manipulators of the old style, with new-style clothing and rhetoric; in others, they are genuine reformers.

At Miami, their hopes allowed McGovern to construct a machine with a different style, but the same method, as the pros he was outflanking. The amateurs who stocked the McGovern seats on the floor were carefully directed by McGovern's core of slick young professionals. Despite the more fluid nature of the rank and file -- partly reflecting their newness to politics -- the McGovern operation was a machine in the making.

Balancing Act

McGovern allowed his rank and file just enough room so that they could satisfy their convictions without endangering his candidacy. When the reformers supported a minority platform report on the right to abortion, for example, McGovern's strategists carefully released from discipline just enough delegates to allow the reformers their say, but kept enough votes to be sure the minority report was defeated.

This was a view in miniature of McGovern's entire political method. Having reached his present position in the Democratic Party on the basis of the reform hopes of young middle class voters, McGovern must bring his ship onto a new tack. The need to win over party regulars and appeal to more conservative voters now dictates a more moderate pitch. But McGovern must hold onto his base of activists. The result is a series of balancing acts like the one on abortion.

This process led to a few squeaks of rebellion in the McGovern ranks. There was an abortive rebellion in the Massachusetts and New York delegations over the compromise of the "reform rules" -- a compromise supported by McGovern, who only moved from his original intention of scuttling the reforms entirely when supporters of the new rules threatened a floor fight.

Similarly, some McGovern delegates sputtered over the nominee's "bossism" in naming his vice-presidential choice. Taking off from this sentiment, Alaska Senator Gravel nominated himself on a platform of openness in government, while women delegates nominated a Texas woman delegate.

None of these half-rebellions had any vigor; in no case did the "rebels" point out the role of George McGov-



VISION OF REFORM

James
Coleman

ern in scuttling or deforming their honest reform hopes. Since they were all committed to crawl through the mud on their bellies for McGovern, an honest exposure would have been politically embarrassing.

Any belief in McGovern as a "man of principle" should have been dispelled by the nominee's treatment of Wallace.

At the convention, the Wallace forces dropped most of the semi-populist rhetoric with which Wallace has often appealed to white working class audiences. Alabama State Senator Bob Silson, making the Wallace nominating speech, made a fairly straight right wing appeal in which he pictured the "average American" in an uneven contest with a few "special groups." The context left no doubt that Wilson was lumping tax-free foundations (Wallace never attacks the corporations themselves) in the same category with welfare recipients.

Such right wing rhetoric was given legitimacy by the convention, the other Democratic candidates, and most of all by McGovern himself.

Before the convention, Humphrey, Muskie, Jackson, and the "radical" Shirley Chisholm had joined forces with Wallace in the "stop McGovern" coalition. In doing so, they treated Wallace as "just another Democrat" rather than a rightist demagogue. With the exception of Chisholm, their behavior was not so unprincipled: impressed by Wallace's ability to stir people up with denunciations of "welfare chiselers," most of the other candidates had adopted the same line themselves long before the convention.

Demagogue to Democrat

The main conflict between the McGovern and Wallace forces was on the platform. The McGovern forces voted down Wallace's platform proposals, as they had to in order to pass their own. The only issue on which this presented any political difficulty was the question of busing.

McGovern is committed, in principle, to token reforms for blacks at the expense of the white working class -- which is what busing would represent. A pro-busing plank at the convention was necessary both to satisfy black delegates and to satisfy McGovern's own liberal middle class supporters, most of whom support busing (it's no skin off their class). However, McGovern has already served notice that he would not attempt to fight court decisions delaying or outlawing busing. Here as on tax reform, he has served notice that the more unpalatable parts of his program can go by the board.

Though Wallace's proposals were defeated, the real moral victory was his. The announcement by his Alabama delegates that their votes for vice-president would go for McGovern's choice, Eagleton, provoked a standing ovation from the rest of the hall. Nothing showed so clearly that the delegates had little political objection to Wallace at all, but were merely terrified of his independent strength. This symbolic indication that he gave

loyalty to the Party was all that was needed to cement his legitimization as a good Democrat.

McGovern himself put the seal on this process in his acceptance speech. For a candidate with the least shred of principle, this would have been an occasion, even if praising Wallace's personal courage, to denounce his politics. McGovern, praising Wallace's "boundless will," said nothing about his politics at all.

Instead, he saw Wallace's support as evidence of "the depth of discontent in this country" -- which is true, but leaves out any mention of the reactionary character of Wallace's appeal to this discontent. Finally, he prayed for Wallace's recovery so that Wallace could continue to "speak out for all of those who see you as their champion."

Thus McGovern himself completed the transformation of Wallace into a good Democrat. It was pure politics, but it was playing with fire. The political cowardice of the party and its candidate will only strengthen Wallacism -- no longer outside, but inside the Democratic Party.

McGovern's victory represents not the revitalizing of the Democratic Party, but the decay of its center.

The inability of the traditionalists in the party -- represented politically by Humphrey, Muskie, etc. -- to come up with any program that would spark the dissatisfaction of the electorate into a vote, was the key to McGovern's victory. McGovern was able to come from behind only because the better known candidates left the voters cold.

The key to the failure of the traditional Democrats is their lack of a pro-

gram to meet the American crisis. While the cities begin to stink and the working class standard of living stalls, the traditional Democrats offer a few traditional welfare state programs while backing curbs on the protests of the young, the black, and increasingly, the ranks of the unions themselves.

McGovern's program has little more to offer. While McGovern may reduce taxes slightly, put through a health insurance plan, and pull out of Vietnam, his program will not reverse the downhill direction of the economy. The business slump represents not just inflation caused by the war, but a long-term stagnation of American industry.

This stagnation began having its effects more than ten years ago in the decay of the non-profit-producing sectors of the economy -- public services and the environment -- while today the low profit rates of US industry take the form of losses to foreign competition. The capitalists' solution to these problems is to sacrifice everything to boosting profit rates; this means continued stagnation of social services, and an attempt to squeeze more productivity out of the work force through speedup, reduction of employment, and streamlining of production which throws more people out of work.

Such are the problems McGovern hopes to solve through some tax relief and a public works program. If these pallid reforms have any effect at all, it will simply be to slow down the rate of decline by a little bit. In any case, some combination of restraints

on strikes and deals on productivity can be predicted.

If McGovern is elected, and cannot reverse the economic and social stagnation of American capitalism, the discontent which has in part sparked his candidacy will continue to grow. The possibilities of a right wing development, which Wallace counts on and which the labor bureaucrats and the Democratic Party center appease, will grow.

The alternative, that of the discontent taking the form of a struggle for the rights and needs of all working and oppressed people, also exists. The social forces to spark it exist -- in the black community; among the students and youth who now can only imagine change on a middle class basis; and among the ranks of organized labor who are now no longer the relative beneficiaries of economic expansion.

But the spark will not be ignited without leadership from the organized sectors of the work force -- those who alone have the power to cohere the diverse elements of protest into one powerful army. This is why the anti-McGovern maneuverings of Meany and Abel, and the pro-McGovern endorsements of Leonard Woodcock and others, equally fail to address the needs of the time. ■



T.U.A.D.

[Continued from page one]

on working class living standards, and the policies of the bureaucratic union leaders. Still less was it intended to build an independent force directed against the capitalist parties. On the contrary, T.U.A.D.'s aim is to provide a rank and file facade for the pro-McGovern wing of the labor bureaucracy.

In this context, it is not surprising that the T.U.A.D. organizers resorted to standard Stalinist hooligan tactics to suppress any discussion or signs of disagreement at the conference. Members of the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), more commonly known as the Labor Committee, which mobilized a large number of members to attend the conference to argue for the NCLC "strike support" strategy, were excluded from the conference,

detained in a side room of the building, and roughed up as they attempted to leave the building.

Several other groups, including the Spartacist League and Workers League, were also reportedly excluded. Workers League members were later admitted to the conference, and entered by crossing a picket line set up by the NCLC to protest the earlier incident.

The Labor Committee itself can hardly be said to have a viable alternative to the pro-liberal bureaucratic strategy of the C.P. Rather than fighting for an independent rank and file movement to fight the bureaucrats within the unions and to take the lead in the struggles of the entire working class, the Labor Committee rejects trade union struggles almost out of hand -- except for those which can be "saved" by "political strike support" organized by the "Promethean intellectuals" of the Labor Committee.

As most observers have noticed, this "political strike support" organized by the L.C. usually consists of holding forums on college campuses and denouncing other socialists -- especially those involved in any rank and file struggle in the unions -- as "criminal idiots." Thus T.U.A.D. and the C.P. had nothing to fear from the

content of the Labor Committee proposals, which leave the stranglehold of the bureaucrats over the unions unchallenged. The Labor Committee posed a threat to the C.P. for only one reason -- namely, that the Labor Committee opposes the McGovern campaign and came to oppose the pro-McGovern T.U.A.D. strategy.

The International Socialists extend solidarity to all socialists and militants threatened by violence from either the capitalist state or hoodlum elements inside the working class movement. As in the past, we insist that the norms of democratic discussion and debate are essential for our movement, in order to achieve its aim of establishing workers' power.

The working class, which can only rule collectively and democratically, can take power only through a democratically organized mass movement, led by a revolutionary force which wins leadership in political struggle through the strength of its ideas and program. It is no accident that the Communist Party, whose aims have nothing in common with political power for the working class, relies on methods which have nothing in common with political debate within the workers' movement. ■

ELECTIONS UNDER CAPITALISM, PART ONE

"Government of, by and for the People"

James
Coleman

"Government of the people, by the people, and for the people" -- no myth about American life is more carefully cultivated than the myth that American government is government by the people. The myth is carefully used by every defender of existing policy -- for example, some years ago the student opponents of the Vietnam war were told that President Johnson could not end the war because the people supported the war.

Each part of American life contributes to this myth, but the election process is at its center. "According to the myth, government of the people is ensured by the fact that the people elect "the candidate of their choice"; every four years comes the opportunity to change government policy by changing the officials who carry it out.

Yet in 1965, President Johnson widened the Vietnam war after campaigning on the slogan "no wider war;" in 1917, President Wilson brought the US into World War I after campaigning on the slogan "He kept us out of war." Examples of the undemocratic nature of US politics occur every day.

At bottom, politics in a capitalist society like the United States is a mechanism for the self-government of the capitalist class. There are important qualifications to be made to this definition, which we will go into later. In fact, the apparent exceptions to the definition are what make the myth of "government by the people" believable. But they are only apparent exceptions.

Class Society

The basic fact of social life in all existing societies is that they are divided. "The people" do not rule -- "the people" are divided into different classes, with conflicting interests. In the United States and other capitalist societies, a small group holds gigantic power by virtue of the fact that it controls the factories, the banks, and so on. The sociologist C. Wright Mills provided a sketch of this group:

"In Switzerland are those who never know winter except as the chosen occasion for sport, on southern islands those who never sweat in the sun except at their February leisure. All over the world, like lords of creation, are those who, by travel, command the seasons and, by many houses, the very landscape they will see every morning or afternoon they are awakened . . . Here are the names and faces that are always before you . . . and also the names and faces you do not know about, not even from a

distance, but who really run things, or so informed sources say, but you could never prove it . . . Here is the money talking in its husky, silky voice of cash, power, celebrity."

These men, on their southern islands -- or at work in Northern office buildings -- make decisions which close plants in Michigan, open plants in Iowa, cause stock prices to rise or fall in New York. Their counterparts in London and Paris make similar decisions, and in the international money markets where all the decisions come together, the price of the dollar and the pound go up and down.

The millions who walk through plant gates every day, who ride the elevators in offices -- and the millions more who sweat in the gold mines of South Africa, the coffee plantations of Brazil -- have absolutely no control over these decisions. At most, after years of fighting and organization, they can squeeze out a few cents more an hour.

This enormous power of the capitalist class over the lives of tens of millions brings with it an enormous power over the political life of society. Later, we will discuss why even political reformers cannot change this fact. The basic fact, however, is that in every society, those who control the process of production also control the framework of politics.

They do not control every political decision. But all politics has to recognize their power. At bottom, the political process is a mechanism through which they seek the best conditions for themselves individually, and for their class as a whole, both domestically and internationally.

In history, the beginnings of the modern forms of capitalist democracy came together with the rise of the capitalist class. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this class rose alongside the older ruling classes of European society. Later, in the English and French revolutions of those centuries, it pushed them aside. In doing so, the revolutionaries of those times designed the forms of modern democracy -- the representative parliament or congress and the Executive of limited power.

These forms are suited to the capitalist method of production because capitalism consists of the *private, separate ownership* of the units of production. This form of production requires a corresponding form of government. This correspondence was first discovered by Karl Marx:

"It is always the direct relationship of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers . . . which reveals the innermost secret, the hidden basis of the entire social structure, and with it the political form of the relation of sovereignty and dependence, in short, the corresponding specific form of the state."

In the older, feudal society, the landed estates were self-contained production units. On the national scale -- modern nations did not really exist -- there was no need for a state to express the collective will of the lords of the estates. At most, when the lords banded together, as in England when they forced King John to sign the "Magna Carta," they acted to limit the King's interference with their own rights.

But as a new form of production

grew, in which commodities were produced for sale on the market, the scale of economic life widened to the national borders, and beyond them. At this point, the growing capitalist class required a form of government providing the best conditions for their form of production and trade. They needed to end the traditional power of landed lords and of royalty; at the same time, they needed a substitute for the old system of a single ruler -- the fact was that in a system of private ownership, no one capitalist was strong enough to rule the others.

Moreover, in the new system of production, the individual producers were not tied to a single lord as they had been on the feudal estates. They were "free laborers" -- "free" to sell their labor power to the highest bidder, or to go without work if they could not sell it. With the direct control of the owners over the producers reduced, the claims of the producers to have some say in the government could not be denied forever.

The modern forms of capitalist democracy were not designed in one night, or by one thinker -- they were worked out through struggle, compromise, and more struggle in a social process that took two centuries. The way the system functioned, however, can be described simply. *Capitalist democracy was a form of government in which the elected representatives of the owners of property sat in parliament or congress and reached collective decisions about economic, social, and political conditions; and in which an Executive, elected by the representatives of the owners of property, but with limited powers, implemented these decisions and used the state power on the international scene to seek the best conditions for the capitalists of the home country.*

Swinish Multitude?

In the beginning, the American "founding fathers" -- who had the advantage of a relatively new society without long-established forms like the European states -- designed the American political system in just this way. They argued about whether the vote should be restricted to "men of property." (Women were not to count for a century and a half; slaves were to continue to exist for nearly a century.)

The conservatives among the "founding fathers," men like John Adams, argued that this restriction was necessary to keep "the swinish multitude" from acquiring political power. The position of the liberals among the "fathers," notably Thomas Jefferson, was more interesting. Jefferson argued that the class of



artisans, unemployed, laborers, seamen, etc., in the cities -- the forerunners of the modern working class -- would gain power unless their weight were counteracted by another group. For this reason he argued for giving the vote to small farmers, believing they would always outnumber wage workers.

Great social changes have occurred since the time of the "fathers." To sum up briefly: (1) the "swinish multitude" -- the common working men and women of America -- indeed fought for the vote, and more than the vote. They fought to gain the rights of free speech and free organization (political and trade union organization) which originally were intended only for the few.

(2) As a result, certain constitutional changes occurred -- Senators are now elected directly instead of by State legislatures; the President is still chosen by the Electoral College, but the Electoral College is no longer an independent body, as the "fathers" intended.

(3) The economic changes of two centuries have reduced the number of farmers and increased the number of wage workers; at the same time, these changes have produced larger and larger giant corporations, which dominate economic life on a national scale. As a result, the Presidency and not the Congress is now the office where the important decisions are made.

Property and Power

Far more than ever in the past, there is now in the United States a single national economy, in which the owners of property bring their influence to bear on the President, or on many Senators simultaneously; and face to face with this, an electorate consisting in the overwhelming majority of men and women who work for wages -- rather than the independent producers and merchants of the past.

But government remains overwhelmingly influenced by the owners of property. At most, the election process offers the electorate a chance, every few years, to operate a kind of negative control -- that is, the electorate can vote one leader out of office, but they cannot really control the policies of the new leader who is voted in.

This process is defined as "democracy" by most American professors of political and social science. For example, one of the leading social scientists, Seymour Lipset, has written that democracy "may be defined as a political system which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials, and a social mechanism which permits the largest possible part of the population to influence major decisions by choosing among contenders for political office." [emphasis added.]

But calling it "democracy" doesn't make it democratic. This is the definition of democracy we all learned in school. But what a limited conception! Democracy, to these writers, means only the chance to exercise limited influence by rejecting one leader and choosing another.

Worse, it is not the voter's choice which issues become the focus of a campaign -- it is the candidate's choice. And as we will see, if he makes the wrong choice, he is in trouble. Even the permissible views on issues can be

limited by the views expressed by the candidates -- there may be no candidate who expresses the voter's opinion. And the parties which choose the candidates may be dominated by political professionals and influenced by business.

The most honest social investigators in America have recognized the lack of popular control in the political system. While naming our undemocratic system "democracy," they at least provide a partly honest picture of how it works.

Minority Rule

Thus, the political scientist Robert Dahl, in *Who Governs?*, a famous study of city politics in New Haven, Connecticut, was honest enough to admit that the majority in New Haven had very little influence. He summed up by associating the stability of the political system with this very lack of influence, and extending his study of New Haven to apply to the United States.

"Let us now imagine a society with a political system approximately like that in New Haven. Suppose the rules, procedures, and essential characteristics of this system are strongly supported by a minority which, in comparison with the rest of the population, possesses a high degree of political skill. Suppose further that a majority of voters would prefer rules different from those prevailing, though they might not all prefer the same alternatives. Suppose finally that the majority of voters have access to fewer resources of influences; that their preferences for other rules are not salient or strong; that because of their relative indifference they do not employ what potential influence they have; and that they are not very skillful in using their political resources anyway. Such a political system, it seems to me, might be highly stable."

"On the other hand, if any of the characteristics of this hypothetical minority were to shift to the majority, then the system would surely become less stable. Instability would increase, then, if the minority favoring the system no longer had superior resources, or if it became less skillful, or if the question of rules became salient and urgent to a majority of voters."

I should like to advance the hypothesis that the political system we have just been supposing corresponds closely to the facts of New Haven, and in all probability to the United States." [Emphasis added.]

There is much wrong with Dahl's description. He does not really ask why the majority of voters are "indifferent"; and his conception of power is that it is wielded by independent "elites," rather than following the interests of a single -- although not always unified -- ruling class.

But these faults do not change the fact that this defender of the American political system has openly described it as a system of minority rule. Beside this fact, his mistakes about the nature of the minority are not nearly so important. ■

[In the following articles, we discuss: the nature of the primaries and the general elections; the nature of the "establishments" influencing political life; the influence of the capitalists as a class; and the nature of capitalist elections in a period of social crisis.]

Labor

[Continued from page 1]

are, in general, those most tied to cold war foreign policy and defense spending. They are motivated in part by hostility to the middle class, to young liberals, to blacks -- sentiments in which they mirror the uncertain feeling of more conservatized white workers in the older unions which constitute their base. Led by Meany, they also see in their traditional ties to "pro-labor" Democrats like Humphrey and Jackson a substitute for their own complete lack of social dynamism.

In the dissatisfaction of these cave dwellers, a few radicals -- such as the minuscule sect called the Workers' League -- profess to see evidence of a move toward forming a labor party. Nothing could be more misleading.

Aside from the fact that the bureaucrats' dissatisfaction is largely conservative in motivation, their range of choices runs from reluctantly supporting McGovern, through sitting out the election, to endorsing Nixon -- the choice of Teamster President Fitzsimons and Longshoremens' President Gleason. Their unwillingness to lead their ranks in struggle means that their only alternative is to cling ever more desperately to the coattails of whichever section of the ruling class kicks them the least. Most individual union heads will probably reluctantly back McGovern.

Meany's strategy has nothing to do with a labor party. It is to demonstrate that the Democrats cannot win without the AFL-CIO -- and thereby to hang onto a "boss" role by blackmail, when he cannot play a leading role through dynamic social policies.

In particular, the Meany wing of the bureaucracy was outflanked by the changes which brought new suburban and black middle class elements

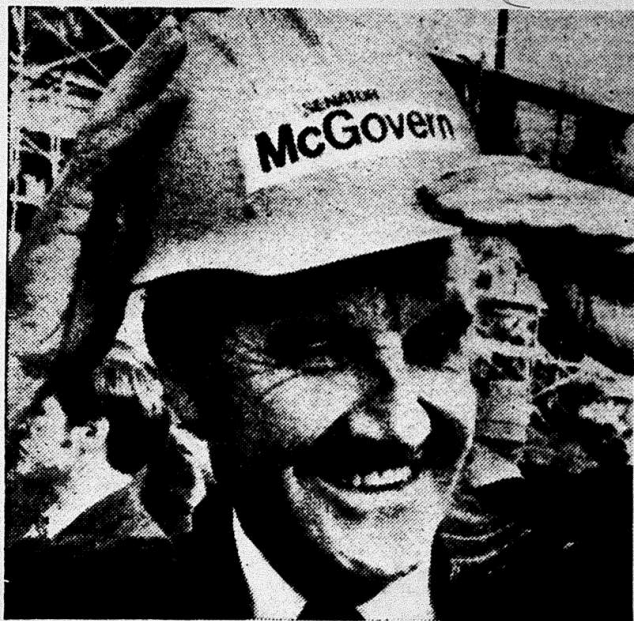
into Democratic Party decision-making. In part, this reflects the union movement's failure to organize the new elements in the work force -- a failure which has left intellectuals, professionals, and middle class political maneuverers to speak for a large section of the youth and the racial minorities.

The pro-McGovern unionists, on the other hand, come from the traditionally liberal unions (United Auto Workers; Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers; Meatcutters, etc.) as well as those (such as AFSCME) with large constituencies among the white-collar and minority-group workers to whom McGovern appeals. More conscious of the social change in the United States, they see that the Democratic Party can only retain its role as "reform" party if the new elements McGovern represents are brought in.



Both wings of the bureaucracy, however, lack any independent answer to the crisis facing America and the labor movement. They agree in relying on a section of the Democratic Party to solve these problems for them; they disagree only on which section it is to be.

Socialists have long called for a political break by labor from the two capitalist parties. The need for this will become clearer as both parties demonstrate that their lack of a solution to America's crisis leads them to sacrifice both the conditions and the rights of labor and minorities. All elements in the union bureaucracies, however, are so tied to the two parties that with few exceptions, the initiative for a break towards a working class party will have to come from the leaders of the rank and file movements.



What is the Common Market?

Paul
Gillespie

Following World War II, European capitalism was in a state of material and moral exhaustion. Industrial production in 1947 stood well below the pre-war levels: 27 percent in Germany; 66 percent in Austria, Italy, and Greece; and slightly higher in France and the Netherlands.

At the same time, there had been an average increase in population in the European countries of 10 percent.

The social discontent which resulted from this situation was sharpened by inflation and unemployment.

Throughout Europe, workers were prepared to fight to prevent any repetition of the war experience. In some countries, such as France, they were armed.

This anger was not channelled politically, however. The blame for this falls primarily on the leadership or lack of it, offered by the Communist and Social Democratic parties who were prepared to join in class coalitions at Stalin's command. The working class militancy could have been organized for a revolutionary overthrow of the regimes that had caused the war.

The Americans were well aware of this instability, and of the possible threats it contained. They set about resurrecting capitalism in Europe through such things as Marshall Aid.

Third Largest "Country"

American enterprises abroad form the third largest "country" in the world, with a gross product greater than that of any country except the USA and the USSR. Many of these companies are based in EEC countries, where 40 percent of total US overseas investments were made in 1966.

International manufacturing enterprises are financed by an appropriately international financial system. Between 1963 and 1968 the international bond market in Europe grew 900 percent.

The concentration of economic and industrial power has been growing rapidly within European capitalism also. 200 British firms produce one half of the country's manufacturing exports; a dozen firms produce as

much as a fifth. In Western Germany the 100 biggest firms are responsible for nearly two-fifths of industrial turnover, employ one third of the labor force, and produce over 50 percent of exports. The picture is much the same in other European Economic Community (EEC) or "Common Market" countries.

As the economic recovery proceeded, it led some sections of European capitalism to think of sharing resources, in particular coal and steel. They aimed also to prevent any independent German development, and to resist the supposed threat from Russia and the Eastern bloc. The Coal and Steel Association, formed in the early 1950's, provided a foundation for the EEC.

At the same time as this was happening, the trend towards massive international companies was asserting itself - especially in the technologically more advanced industries, such as chemicals, electronics, and communications. This can be illustrated statistically. In 1969 a Mr. Peter Parker, chairman of a large British colonial enterprise was able to say that "by 1970 the free (sic) world's economy will be dominated by some 300 large companies, responsible for most of the world's output . . . it is possible that 200 of these companies will be American.

The EEC operates in the interests of the enormous enterprises which

dominate the international economy. The concentration of power is increasing all the time. In 1966 there were 1,600 mergers during the first half of 1966, as against 470 for the whole of 1957.

Some of the largest international firms - Ford, Chrysler, IBM - have branches in most European countries. The effects of Common Market "streamlining" - reducing tariff barriers; providing for free movement of capital and labor; levelling out the different legal systems; moving towards common budgeting arrangements - all fit in with the plans of the corporate giants. However, the operation does not always run smoothly. The economies of the EEC countries are still essentially national economies.

Competition

Capitalism is by nature a competitive system. There is competition not only between firms - which produces mergers and take-overs - but also between states. This is expressed in different rates of inflation, and in balance of payments problems.

During the last fifteen years, the big international companies have had to plan investment ahead for periods up to ten years. The major unpredictable factor in this planning is the cost of labor. Hence their enthusiasm for incomes policies, which they see as a method of ensuring the stability of such "costs."

National and international factors combine in the EEC. Their combination illustrates the fundamentally contradictory character of the capitalist system. It can also help explain some of the failures of the EEC to meet its own goals.

There has never been any shortage of liberals to argue the case for European unity. But there has been very little substantial success in this field. Recent reports on economic integration within the EEC show almost no progress since the mid-1960's. Everybody admits that there is no unified regional policy. There has been little cooperation in research and development - certainly nothing like what was projected.

Agricultural Policy

The main achievement is in the field of agricultural policy. An EEC Commission fixes prices from year to year, and negotiates quota arrangements with countries outside the Community. Agriculture is also the Commission's main source of income.

Under the Common Agricultural Policy farmers are guaranteed a certain level of prices, which may be maintained by the Commission's intervention in the food market, if prices fall. The cost of the Farm Fund has increased as follows:

1962-63	38 million dollars
1964-65	217 million dollars
1966-67	494 million dollars
1968-69	2,437 million dollars
1969-70	3,124 million dollars

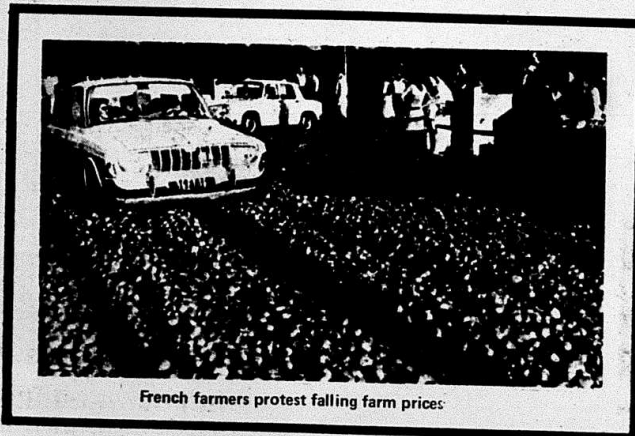
The basis of this expensive agreement is the German capitalists' willingness to subsidize the French in maintaining their peasants, and in maintaining political stability, by a food price guarantee. The Germans were prepared to enter this agreement on the assumption that they would gain an equivalent amount from the sale of industrial goods on the French market.

The policy is based on the balance of political and economic forces within the EEC at the time the agreement was made. It is certain to be changed with Britain, which has had a cheap food policy, in the EEC. German industrialists now recognize that they made a bad deal. Farmers are now less strong as a pressure group within the EEC. The policy is not likely to last more than 5 years at present levels.

This will leave Irish farmers, for one, in a strange position. The decline in food prices could occur in a number of ways. The most likely is a freezing of food prices, while industrial and consumer goods increase. This is already happening to some extent. At the same time, farm incomes will be spread amongst a much smaller agricultural population, as the Mansholt Plan has made clear.

We therefore have a picture of very uneven successes in the EEC, measured against the hopes of its founding years. There has certainly been fairly spectacular industrial growth in Europe during the 1950's and 1960's. One economist has estimated that industrial production in Europe doubled between 1950 and 1963.

Of course, this is not the effect solely of the EEC. It is part of the history of international capitalism since World War II. The most important factor in this has been state expenditure on armaments. Up to 50 percent



French farmers protest falling farm prices

of the annual investible surplus of the USA goes on armaments. State expenditure has been crucial to the development of the most advanced industries, many of which are military suppliers.

The temporary stability which this allowed has begun to break down. The capitalist system on an international scale is affected by the strange combination of inflation and stagnation. Even Western Germany, whose economy has benefited very considerably from the Common Market, has had a 50 percent increase in unemployment in the past year -- admittedly starting from a very low base.

Contradictions

No matter how efficient the international bureaucracy of the EEC is, it can only operate according to the laws of the economic system. That system is riddled with contradictions, between national economies, between different sections of the capitalist class, but, most importantly, between the employing class and the working class. These contradictions are coming more and more to the surface. Workers in Western Germany, which has had a docile labor force for twenty years, have been engaged in militant struggle on wage claims. In Germany, as in Britain and Ireland, the employers and the government have attempted to impose a ceiling on wage increases.

In the EEC countries there have been repeated attempts to tie the trade unions closer to the state, and the union leaderships, as well as the Social Democratic parties, have largely accepted the crumbs from the table which have resulted from this. Unemployment is on the increase in the EEC, too, and it is here that the failure of the regional policies is most obvious. The gap in standards of living between the peripheral, mainly agricultural, areas, has widened steadily.

Nobody should be fooled that the Common Market is a harmonious whole, providing steady wages and steady work for all. The workers in the Common Market countries certainly are not fooled. It is with them that we, the Irish working class, shall have to forge fighting links. ■

[Reprinted from The Worker, the newspaper of the Irish Socialist Workers Movement.]

Comparison of Gross National Products of several European countries in 1969 and Total Sales of leading multi-national corporations (all in thousand million dollars)

GNP	
Holland	28.24
Sweden	27.85
Belgium	22.82
Switzerland	18.82
Denmark	13.99
Norway	9.73
Greece	8.40
Ireland	3.40
Sales	
General Motors	24.30
Standard Oil NJ	14.93
Ford	14.70
Royal Dutch-Shell	9.74
IBM	7.20
Unilever	6.03
Philips	3.60
ICI	3.25

The Industrial Relations Act, which the British Tory government believed would give them decisive victory in their attack on the working class, has already boomeranged on them. Although most of the trade union leadership effectively capitulated to the new law, a number of victories have been fought and won by the organized working class.

The first capitulations were by those union leaders who agreed to register their unions under the Act. Despite fine words at last year's Trades Union Congress, no policy of sanctions against unions that registered had been agreed, so they went ahead and registered.

Among the unions with "left-wing" leadership which refused to register and declared the intention of having nothing whatsoever to do with the new National Industrial Relations Court (NIRC) was the Transport and General Workers' Union under Jack Jones. This was one of the first unions to have a court case brought against it by employers -- the now-famous container dispute. After being fined over \$125,000 in their absence, the union leaders quickly decided to recognize the Court after all in order to defend themselves. And indeed *themselves* they did -- they obtained a decision that the leadership of the union was not responsible for actions of its shop stewards which it had not approved.

Shop stewards in Britain have a unique position: on the one hand, they are democratically elected by the rank and file; on the other, every elected shop steward has to obtain official recognition from the union. The effect of the court decision was to let the union leaders off the hook and throw the responsibility for struggle back onto the shop stewards. It also let the government off the hook -- the Tories had no desire to victimize a union leadership with a left-wing reputation which would certainly have received massive support from the whole British labor movement.

What the government and the union leadership did not realize was that organized working class support for any shop steward victimized by the law would also be massive.

Containerization

The container dispute arose in the port of Liverpool, where dockers boycotted a large container firm with the demand that jobs in the container loading depots should be reserved for laid-off dockers. Containerization in the British docks has in the last five years made ultra-modern mechanized ports out of old dock areas such as Liverpool, Hull, and East London -- at the expense of dockers' jobs. Since Phase I of the Labour Government's 1966 reorganization scheme was introduced, the national dock labor force has been slashed by a third.

In the early stages of the court case the dispute had spread rapidly to other ports as dockers and their shop stewards realized the need for solidarity. After the decision on the leadership, the NIRC chose to make an example of three shop stewards leading a mass picket of a large container depot in East London. When they refused to appear before the Court, their arrest was ordered.

The events of Friday, June 16, were a legal comedy with elements of

tragedy. All the major ports in England were at a standstill, and 1,000 dockers waited at the depot gates to resist the arrest, when a little-known legal official, the Official Solicitor, lodged an appeal on behalf of the three shop stewards. On Monday, the Appeal Court quashed the injunction against the three for "lack of sufficient evidence," and by the end of the next week the East London dockers had reached a settlement with the container firm. It became known that the NIRC itself had requested the appeal to be made.

Amid the formalities of "British justice," the new court had quite simply backed down in the face of mass working class action. It was clear that if the three had been arrested the government would have a national dock strike on its hands; not only that, but other sections of the Transport and General Workers, and even other unions, had promised solidarity action (also illegal under the new law).

Meanwhile, if further proof were needed that the Act would not work as planned, the government suffered a defeat at the hands of a union with right-wing leadership which went through all the procedures required by the Act, but stuck to its wage demand. This was the National Union of Railwaymen under Sir Sidney Greene. (Yes, he has actually been knighted by the Queen for his previous services to the state.)

The railmen's union called off their go-slow on the order of the Court, went through the "cooling-off period" and the secret ballot, and voted (on the leadership's own recommendation)

massively in favor of further industrial action. The Railways Board (a nationalized industry) backed down and granted a bigger increase. Not a complete victory for the rank and file -- the most militant sections would have fought on for more -- but a clear demonstration that even the British trade union knights are prepared to make a militant stand against the Tory legislation.

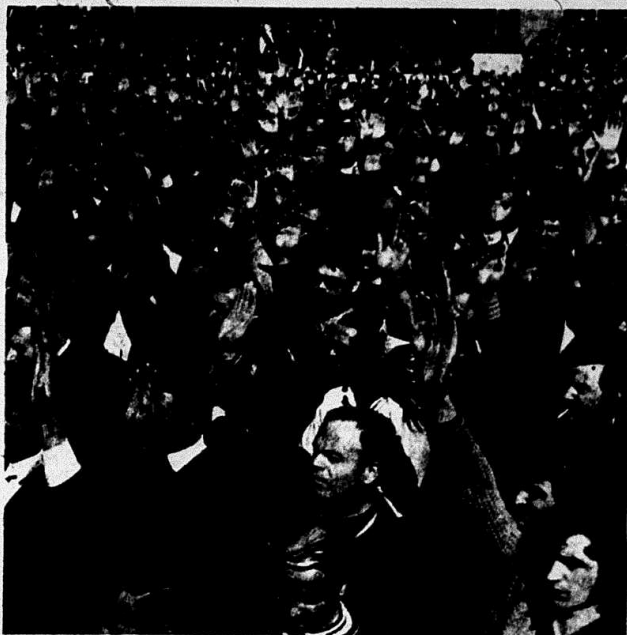
The main effect of the Act up to this point had been on the unions that had not fought it. The thirty-six wage settlements reached since February, when the Act came into force, and mid-June, when these events occurred, had all been lower than the increase won by the miners before it came into force. Most union officials would rather not fight. But the events of June have shown what can be won by fighting back -- a great working class victory against the Tory government and the whole concept of anti-union legislation.

The government may now turn to an incomes policy, for which it needs the cooperation of the union leaders. Since even some of the right wing have the taste of victory in their mouths and words of resistance on their lips, this may be hard for the Tories to get. Prime Minister Heath's present difficulties, including the position of the pound sterling, show that international capitalism doesn't think he can do it. Working class solidarity in action can bring down the Tories. ■

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

British Workers Beat Back Tory Labor Laws

Norah Carlin



London dockers pledge strike action to back workers threatened by Tory law

EDITORIAL: TERRORISM, ZIONISM, AND THE P.F.L.P.

On May 29, twenty-five Israelis and tourists, as well as two members of a guerilla terrorist group, died in a massacre at the Lydda airport in Tel Aviv, Israel. The terrorists were agents of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which claimed the machine-gun and grenade attack was in retaliation for the killing of two Palestinian hijackers by Israeli troops at the airport in early May. The Israeli government has announced that reprisals of an undisclosed nature will be carried out. The surviving terrorist, Kozo Okamoto, has received a sentence of life imprisonment from an Israeli court.

As usual in such cases, the capitalist press used the atrocious murder of innocent civilians and 14 Puerto Rican religious pilgrims as the occasion to denounce the cause of Palestine liberation. In reporting the incident, the press (again as usual) described the Popular Front as the "Marxist wing" of the Palestinian movement, in order to smear and discredit both Marxism and the Palestinian revolution.

For socialists, however, the incident proves once more that the PFLP is neither revolutionary nor Marxist. Rather than building revolutionary organizations among the Palestinian masses, it carries out isolated armed attacks



Okamoto handcuffed to Israeli military police during trial

— not against the Israeli government but against ordinary Israeli citizens (and non-citizens too!). These terrorist exploits have only strengthened both the hold of Zionism on the Israeli masses and that of Arab rulers such as Hussein in Jordan. All the hijackings, bombings, and terrorist raids carried out by the PFLP have failed to bring the Palestinian people one step closer to self-determination and the return of their homelands, which were stolen by Israel and Jordan in 1948 and occupied completely by Israel in 1967.

The moral outrage of the A-

merican and pro-Zionist press over the massacre, however, is a disgusting and cynical shuck.

The raid at Lydda reflected the deep demoralization and disintegration of the movement in Palestine following its crushing defeat in 1970, when Israel gave full political support to its "enemy" Hussein as he bombed Palestinian refugee camps and killed off his revolutionary opponents. (These forces included in particular the Democratic Popular Front, which opposed the terrorism of the PFLP and stood for a policy of class struggle against

both Israel and the Arab regimes.)

The concern of the Israeli government and its supporters for innocent lives — when Zionist policy has murdered tens of thousands of Palestinians and stolen the homeland of millions — is completely hypocritical. The Lydda murders are inexcusable. But it is the continuation of the exclusionist, racist, pro-imperialist policies of the Zionist Israeli state that makes desperate, terrorist responses such as this inevitable. There can be no doubt that similar incidents will occur in the future, as the Israeli government answers atrocity with atrocity in an escalating spiral.

The present situation offers no way out of this impasse. So long as the ideology of the "Jewish homeland" is used to justify the occupation of Arab lands, the rule by military force over the Palestinians and second-class citizenship for Arabs within Israel itself, there will be no peace or security in the Middle East.

Only when a revolutionary left wing re-emerges within the Palestinian liberation movement, along with the strengthening of the anti-Zionist Israeli left and the sharpening of class struggle within Israel, will there be the possibility of a democratic revolutionary socialist solution to the conflict between the Israeli and Palestinian nations. ■

Brazil's Despots Torture Prisoners

Once again the military dictatorship in Brazil has revived the use of indiscriminate physical torture against its political opponents and ordinary citizens. In the past torture of prisoners had been directed primarily against real or imagined participants in urban guerrilla activities such as kidnappings and politically motivated bank robberies; today, reports indicated that arrest and torture is nearly random.

It is not uncommon for people, especially students, to be arrested on the

street, simply for not having the proper identity documents. In such cases arrest is often followed by torture sessions.

The most severe repression is of course directed against workers in industry and in the rural sector. In at least one instance, army detachments, responding to rumored job actions, occupied a factory and forced the workers to keep up the pace at gunpoint!

As President General Medici himself remarked, "The economy is doing well; it's the people who are doing badly."

The following appeal was originally smuggled out of Maranhao in the Northeast to the Maryland-based Committee Against Repression in Brazil (CARIB):

"... Manuel da Conceicao, peasant leader for many years, was the president of the Farm Workers Union of the Pindare Valley, Maranhao. He played an outstanding role of leadership in the fight for land for those who work on it; in the defense of better prices for peasant agricultural pro-

ducts; in the defense of peasant land-holdings against the invasion of their crops by cattlemen; and in the struggle to gain respect for the democratic liberties of our people.

"By doing these things he incurred the fury of government repression; and in 1968 he was cowardly shot and arrested. One of his legs had to be amputated as a consequence of the wounds he suffered and the ill treatment he received in a filthy cell of the prison where he was illegally detained without any medical assistance. Proud, and willing to suffer anything for his people, Manuel replied to this torturer: 'My leg is my class.' This was proven later by the reception he received in Santa Ines, Maranhao upon his return. He was greeted by a gathering of 2,000 people, who, during a popular campaign for his defense, raised enough money to buy him an artificial leg.

"On January 23 of this year, Manuel was once again arrested in the municipality of Pindare, this time with another young man named Luis dos Santos.

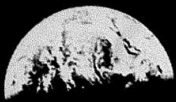
"All of us are aware of the horrible crimes the dictatorship has committed against all those who dare raise their voices to defend our people. Therefore we have reason to fear for what may happen to Manuel and Luis; we know that their lives are in danger . . .

"Thus, we now ask of our North American friends an increased effort to prevent Manuel da Conceicao Santos and Luis dos Santos from suffering the cruelest of tortures and loss of life in the jails of the Brazilian army and police.

"Expecting your great solidarity, we strive for a deepening of fraternal ties in the struggle for our independence and the progress of both our peoples." ■

[Messages in support of Manuel da Conceicao, Luis dos Santos, and other political prisoners in Brazil may be sent to CARIB — Committee Against Repression in Brazil, P.O. Box 426, Hyattsville, MD 20782]

[Thanks to D. Briscoe for this item.]



international report

David Finkel

Chile: Allende cuts back reforms, increases repression

The July 10 issue of the conservative *US News and World Report* reports gleefully on the "Slowdown on the Road to Marxism in Chile": Chilean-style socialism is running into a storm. Takeovers of private property have boomeranged. Many wonder if the Marxist venture can survive."

This report follows a series of developments during which the opposition to the ruling "Popular Unity" coalition have been strengthened, and in which the government itself has intensified the crackdown against workers and peasant takeovers.

US imperialism appears to have good reason for its enthusiasm over the Chilean events. With the government acting to repress rather than mobilize mass action against American and Chilean capital, demoralization and further right wing success is inevitable unless a revolutionary leadership is built to challenge the framework of capitalism itself.

The fact that more than half of US investments in Chile have been nationalized under Allende may prove to be a temporary or meaningless victory.



Salvador Allende

Japan: Riot police rín amok at anti-U.S. demonstration

Three thousand workers and students participated in a rally at Sagami-hara in Kanagawa Prefecture, Japan, at a rally held May 31 to protest the presence of an American military supply base at Sagami-hara. The rally was sponsored by the Japan Socialist Party and another group known as Sohyo.

The revolutionary anti-Stalinist newsletter *Tsushin* reports that the official rally "followed the pattern of a typical Social-Democratic ritual, with insignificant speeches by representatives of Sohyo." It was followed, however, by a militant demonstration led by 400 militant workers and students from the Kanagawa "Tobu Han-



sen" and Zengakuren. The demonstrators clashed with riot police in front of the base.

After the main demonstration ended, riot police went on a two-hour rampage against the Zengakuren students, charging into railway cars to attack students who had gotten on the train to leave.

France: New socialist journal published— "Lutte de Class"

Supporters of the French revolutionary newspaper *Lutte Ouvriere* have begun publication of a monthly mimeographed theoretical organ called *Lutte de Classe* (*Class Struggle*). The organ is bi-lingual, in French and English. The first issue contains articles discussing "The Coming Parliamentary Elections, Revolutionaries and the French C.P.," "Internationalism, Nationalism...and the International"; and "The Labor Party Issue in the United States." Further information about the journal may be obtained by writing to I.S. Books, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.

Canada: Puerto Rican student fights extradition to U.S.

Humberto Pagan won a battle against extradition in Canadian courts. Humberto, a student leader of the independence movement at the University of Puerto Rico, fled to Canada after being accused of killing a police chief during a student revolt against ROTC in 1970. The US government sought his return.

Mass demonstrations in Puerto Rico and Canada pressured the Canadian courts. He still faces a test over supposedly illegal entry into Canada. A number of countries in Latin America and the Mideast which sympathize with Puerto Rican independence have offered political asylum.

Italy: Unions work with bosses to control rank and file

Italian trade unions, which held a "moratorium" on strike action during the recent parliamentary elections, are "under mounting pressure to ensure that the forthcoming labor contract renewal negotiations take place in as relaxed an atmosphere as possible and with strikes reduced to a minimum." This report from the *Financial Times* of London indicates that the unions' "restraint" will be the price of social reforms which they hope to obtain from the Parliament, including measures to relieve unemployment.

The unions' retreat from militancy is, once again, led by the Communist-controlled Confederazione Generale Italiana dei Lavoratori (CGIL), whose leading spokesman Luciano Lama stated that the union had no interest in making the contract renewals for five million workers a "dramatic event."

Ceylon: The trials begin. 13,000 in concentration camps

As the first step toward "normality," following the civil war and massacre of last year, the Ceylon government has brought to trial about 40 of the estimated 13,000 prisoners held without trial in concentration camps. Seven are being tried *in absentia*; two of these were probably killed during the revolt.

Ceylon's "emergency legislation" bars strikes and lockouts in industries "of public utility or essential for the public safety or to the life of the community." These "essential" firms include all industries belonging to rich friends of the Bandaranaike government -- including the Ceylon Pencil Company and other little industries making or distributing ice, soap, bottles, wire, nails, and bicycle tires.



Sirimavo Bandaranaike

Brazil: Economic program makes the rich richer

Elsewhere in this issue, we discuss the use of terror against political opponents by the Brazilian regime. The economic basis for this was revealed by Brazil's Financial Minister Antonio Delfim Neto in an interview with foreign journalists earlier this month.

The official "growth rates" of 9-10 percent in the past few years mask the fact that most of this benefit has gone



to richer income groups and that the poorer masses have actually become poorer. The Minister stated that the World Bank has "never asked us to change anything and I am sure that they will continue to loan in the same way" -- in other words, pouring money into Brazil to line the pockets of the upper class.

Neto outlined a "four-point programme" designed to ease inequality, including a progressive income tax and "education and social welfare improvements." With any luck, he expects the program to begin showing results -- in another ten years or so.

French West Indies: Social Security employees on strike

Social security employees in the French West Indies have been on strike for better pay and other demands since May 8, according to the revolutionary French West Indian paper *Combat Ouvriere*. The strike has remained solid in defiance of police harassment, including a vicious attack on workers who met their negotiating representatives at the airport on their return from Paris.

While trying to turn the strike into a device to divide the social security employees from the unemployed, the government has been unable to hide its own responsibility for failing to do anything whatever about unemployment.

Russia: Bureaucracy can't force workers to meet quotas

Despite the officially reported increase of 7 percent in industrial output in the year's first quarter, Soviet factory managers and the local Party secretaries who keep a weather eye on their progress are being criticized for failing to meet government targets. *Pravda* (the organ of the ruling Communist Party) has stated that "practical conclusions" should be drawn from the fact that Plan quotas in railway goods vehicles, textiles, and fertilizers have not been met.

Disruptions in fertilizer production would, of course, exacerbate the chronic agricultural crisis in the Soviet Union produced by bureaucratic mismanagement and forced concentration on heavy industry. The "practical conclusions" called for by the ruling bureaucracy will no doubt center around getting more work and greater productivity off the workers' backs.



Blatant Anti-Semitism

In regards to your article "Kosher Pig" in paper Number 56, we of Hashachar in Albuquerque find it very disturbing that although you claim to stand "in solidarity with the struggles of all exploited and oppressed people," you continue to express your blatant anti-semitism through such pieces of "socialistic" literature.

If you look at the history of the Jewish people over the past 3,000 years, you will not find a more exploited and oppressed people. Nazi Germany was certainly a fine example of oppression which cannot be paralleled with your modern day "oppression of women."

Modern history of the Jewish people in Israel is a case in point. Women have fought and died beside men in the cause of Jewish Nationalism.

To outline the Orthodoxy is a moot point. Orthodox Jews have a cultural and religious heritage which they wish to preserve. Any attempts to try and impose modern American sociological viewpoints is nothing short of asinine. Orthodox Jews are Jews first and not interested in relating to the modern streams in American political thought.

We have suffered enough. *Never again* are we going to allow anti-semites to spread their hate.

Lauri Sedalnick
President of Hashachar
Albuquerque, New Mexico

[Signed by eleven members of Hashachar.]

Rejoinder

Workers' Power welcomes the opportunity to make our policy on anti-semitism absolutely clear. We do not print any form of anti-semitic literature whatsoever, nor do we print any literature slandering the adherents of any other particular religion.

The article in question (which appeared in "Bread and Roses," *Workers' Power* No. 56) pointed out that a coalition of Orthodox Jewish rabbinical organizations had claimed that the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment would threaten the "uniqueness of the respective roles of men and women" in established Orthodox Judaism, under which boys receive "deeper academic training" while girls learn typing, stenography, and homemaking.

The same rabbi Abraham Gross mentioned in the article also appeared at an anti-abortion rally to denounce abortion as "murder" and to demand the repeal of New York's law permitting abortion.

It is therefore incorrect to claim that the Orthodox Jewish establishment

is "not interested in relating to the modern streams in American political thought." This establishment does in fact "relate to" the most reactionary currents in American politics, especially on such questions as the liberation of women.

As a matter of fact, the Orthodox Jewish establishment plays exactly the same role on these questions as does the Catholic Church.

The myth cited by Hashachar, that women in Israel have equality with men, is one of the many lies used by Zionism to win liberal and radical support. Israeli women, including those not of Orthodox Jewish religion, are oppressed by religious laws imposed by the Orthodox establishment which plays a key role in the ruling coalition.

We defend unequivocally the content of the article in question. We apologize to any readers who may have been offended or confused by its title into thinking it was an attack on Jewish people, which was in no way the case.

More on Nazi Gays

David Hirsch in his letter about homosexuality in fascist Germany (*Workers' Power* No. 60) misunderstands the full significance of homosexuality under fascism. He correctly points out that arrests for homosexuality in Germany went up 900 percent between 1931-34 and 1936-39. However, he does not appreciate the significance of the widespread homosexuality in the SS and the SA, and the *sado-masochistic* sexual perversions of the lumpen youth gangs that

were their precedents.

Fascism, a right-wing "revolutionary" movement, has its psychological foundation in the authoritarian patriarchal family structure. That homosexuality be rampant among the most fanatical supporters of fascism points up the contradiction of such a family structure.

Within the family women have an inferior role. The man is the primary wage earner. Since it is he who provides for the day-to-day continued existence of the other members of the family, the wife and children take on the role of his servants. Under fascism, this was brought to the extreme. Women were seen only as a means, as commodities, for the reproduction of the Aryan race, while at the same time there was an idealization of masculinity.

Homosexuality among the SS and SA is the logical conclusion of such a male chauvinist view, since for men sex with women, who were regarded only slightly higher than animals, was felt to be degrading. On the other hand, the Nazis attempted to suppress homosexuality because of the emphasis on the family.

To those who accept fascist ideology, the extreme of bourgeois ideology, both homosexuality and heterosexuality are perversions because people see their sexual partners not as fellow human beings, but as commodities.

This must be clearly distinguished from homosexual love. Only under socialism, where the family disintegrates along with the state, will the right to homosexual relationships be guaranteed and protected (as was the case in the Soviet Workers' State during the 1920's before its Stalinist degeneration).

Kinlock Redding

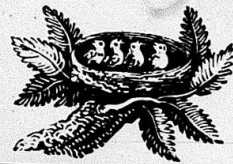
Hard Choices

The June 9-30 issue contained a review by me of "The Limits to Growth," a recent ecology book. Since he was forced to shorten my article, the editor added several paragraphs to fill the gaps. I disagree with one of his statements.

Referring to the possibility of ecological disaster, he wrote that "the problem is not a contradiction between popular aspirations and available resources but between popular aspirations and present social systems." I wish I knew where the editor got his crystal ball. I agree that the major roadblock is capitalism. But how does he know we won't have serious problems finding and using enough resources to allow a decent standard of living? The statement he made sounds like the old gag that "the pipes won't leak under socialism."

The point to make is not that changing the social system will solve all problems. What it will do is to place the decisions in the hands of the people, so that if any hard choices have to be made (and many will) they will be made democratically.

Joe Felsenstein



Correction

The previous issue (No. 60) of *Workers' Power* contained a statement by the comrades of the Committee for a Workers Government, explaining their decision to join the International Socialists. A typographical mistake was made in the next-to-last paragraph. The paragraph should read as follows:

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

[Copies of Red Flag, the journal published by the CWG before joining the IS, are available and may be ordered for \$0.50 from I.S. Books, 1413 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.]

The United Farm Workers union may have gotten a lot of free publicity for their nationwide boycott against non-union lettuce at the Democratic Convention in Miami (as each state delegation tried to outdo others in proclaiming their support for the boycott.)

But growers have apparently hit on a new tactic to stop the boycott and hold off unionization -- phony "Union" labels on their scab products.

In Austin, Texas, several cases have been reported of non-union lettuce being marketed with a fake label on it, resembling the UFW label.

The phony label is a near-copy of the Farmworkers' Thunderbird eagle symbol. The real UFW label is a graphic of a flag, with the eagle in the center, and the legend "FARMWORKERS -- AFL-CIO".

Don't get ripped off -- buy only lettuce with the real union label!

Beware of Imitations



phony label



UFW label

support your local



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Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Northern Ireland Nears Civil War