

WORKERS' POWER

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Strikes On The Rise

THE TIME TO FIGHT IS NOW!

The Tappan Stove plant at Mansfield, Ohio had a record of sorts: no strikes for the last 93 years.

That record was broken recently with a six-week walkout.

The Mansfield strike was not an isolated incident, though. With the ending of wage controls and continued record inflation, workers are putting down their tools and walking out in numbers that haven't been seen for years.

In April of this year, for instance, twice as many workers were on strike as a year earlier. In May, the federal government was trying to mediate "more labor disputes than we've been in for 15 years, by a wide margin."

A rash of strikes in the construction industry is winning wage increases in some cases twice the old 5.5% guideline.

And that's how it should be, isn't it? To make up for the ravages of inflation, unions should be fighting for big wage increases to make up for what they've lost?

Yes, that's how it should be - but no, that's not the way it is.

While the authority of the government to control wages has been totally discredited, the leadership of the labor movement has not lost its effectiveness in doing the same thing.

Under the leadership of I.W. Abel, for example, the Steel Workers got just over 60c in a three year contract - with 12% inflation.

Despite their no-strike deal, the Steel Workers are not unusual.

When Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters was forced to reopen the master freight contract earlier this year, he won nothing but the right to file a grievance and a company promise to pay speeding fines.

Abel, Fitzsimmons, and the rest of the labor leadership won't fight for one reason. With the US economy in crisis, they know that an all-out wage offensive would have far-reaching consequences.



We are no longer in a situation where the employers can grant higher real wages in an expanding economy, keeping the workers ahead of inflation, and not miss it too much. Out of today's crisis, there will be one winner and one loser.

The labor leadership is in no mood to wage a fight to make

workers the winner. Whether you make Woodcock's \$49,000 salary or Fitzsimmons' \$125,000, you're happy with things pretty much the way they are.

If things stay the way they are, it's workers that will lose. It doesn't have to be that way, though. In many other countries, workers actually managed to stay ahead of inflation last year.

While manufacturing wages in the US went up 7.9% in 1973, the figure in Britain was 17.9%, in France 15.5%, and in Japan 24.5%.

Workers in other countries are keeping up because they are at present more militant and better organized at the rank and file level than US workers.

But the same conditions affect workers in this country and overseas. With rampant inflation eroding living standards, with the moral authority of the government smashed to pieces, and with the leadership of the labor movement absolutely unwilling to put up a fight, conditions here are ripe for a rank and file rebellion.

The revival of strike activity, following the end of wage controls, could be the start of a general wage offensive by American workers.

The job of a rank and file movement will be to give real organization and backbone to that offensive. One of its first priorities must be to sweep away Meany, Fitzsimmons, Abel, Woodcock, and the others who are now roadblocks to the struggle.

UFW greets the grapes



Hundreds of union members were among the 1,000 persons who turned out in New York at dawn June 4th for a Greet the Grapes demonstration.

The demonstration was sponsored by the United Farm Workers union to publicize the arrival of scab (non-UFW-picked) grapes in the New York metropolitan area. The grapes are from the Coachella Valley,

California where the UFW is on strike.

Workers from Local 1199 (the hospital union), District 65 Distributive Workers, the Iron workers, UE, IUE, and IBEW participated in the demonstration - the largest in New York since last fall.

Similar "Greet the Grapes" demonstrations have been held in other cities around the country.

killer cop freed

Not too long ago a Queens (NY) police officer, Thomas Shea, shot and killed Clifford Grover.

Clifford Grover was unarmed. He was black. He was ten years old.

Shea was the first New York City police officer ever indicted for murder in the course of duty. On Wednesday, June 12, he was acquitted.

Shea's defense was that he fired when the boy "MADE A REACHING MOTION AND I saw what I believed to be a revolver in his hand."

There was no revolver. Clifford Grover was walking down the street with his father, who

was also unarmed. No gun was ever found in a police search of the area.

How many more people will be killed, now that police officers have effectively been licensed to shoot down children?

Cleared of all charges and back on the loose again, mad dog killer Shea stood on the Kew Gardens courthouse steps and said, "I did my job and that's all I ever did, and all I want is to do my job again. I just want to be a cop again."

"Ask him if he's going to work in the same community," shouted a young black man standing on the steps.

Inflation ~ Inflation ~ Inflation p.12



KISSINGER'S WATERGATE

"If my name is not cleared, I will resign."

Since dropping bombshells is such a popular sport these days, it's only natural that someone actually in the Nixon Administration should decide to get into the act. The surprise was that the bomb was dropped by the one high official who has been considered clean, fabulously successful in his policies and above criticism: Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Considered to have a great gift for diplomatic timing, Kissinger picked quite a moment for his announcement. He stepped off his Cairo-to-Damascus-to-Jerusalem-back-to-Damascus-and-Cairo-to-Washington shuttle and took off again on Richard Nixon's big prestige trip to the Middle East. Then he decided to make it clear that the Watergate scandal has spread too far when it starts to threaten him.

The key to Kissinger's strategy is that unlike anyone else in a government generally considered to have made a complete mess of everything, Kissinger is regarded as the architect of a miraculously successful foreign policy.

Many commentators treat him like the Eighth Wonder of the World, and his resignation threat has touched off a near-panic inside the political establishment. By comparison, if Richard Nixon issued a similar threat there would be dancing in the streets.

Many people, in fact, do buy the idea that domestic and foreign policy are pretty much distinct from each other and can be considered separately. For example, many Democratic Party supporters in the 1960's used to argue that Kennedy, Johnson and Humphrey might not be right in trying to invade Cuba, sending Marines to the Dominican Republic and waging imperialist slaughter in Vietnam, but at least they were liberal and progressive in their domestic policies.

But the Great Kissinger Crisis can be understood only if we realize that domestic and foreign policy are really a single policy with common origins and which depend on each other.

The truth of the matter is that Henry Kissinger is up to his neck in the real crimes of this government - the crimes that Nixon's not being impeached for. In particular, the great "peacemaker" Kissinger was the mastermind of the illegal, secret, murderous bombing of Cambodia in 1969-70.

So when the truth about this campaign began to leak out, it was only natural that Kissinger was deeply involved in - and may even have originated - the secret wiretapping of newspaper reporters and his own government colleagues. What Kissinger is now demanding is that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee publicly take responsibility for covering up his actions.

One of the important lessons of Watergate is that foreign and domestic policy are the same. Imperialist wars do lead to domestic repression, wiretaps, cover-ups and police-state tactics. In fact, exploitation at home and imperialism abroad have common roots - the capitalist system and the corporations which run this country. We can never have genuine democratic freedom at home, or a democratic foreign policy, until capitalism is destroyed at its roots.

We're now being told that Kissinger is a priceless resource who must be protected even if Nixon goes. But we think that Kissinger should resign - or more accurately, that he should be thrown out along with Nixon and the rest of his administration and everything they stand for.

Who Is Margaret Butz And Why is CLUW Afraid of Her?

Margaret Butz is an organizer for CASE (Clerical and Allied Services Employees), an independent union representing state clerical workers in California. Before that she was a clerical worker at the University of California Davis campus.

Ms. Butz attended the founding convention of the CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women). She was elected to the CLUW National Coordinating Committee as the CASE representative.

Several weeks ago an AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) representative of the national CLUW leadership informed Butz that she does not fulfill CLUW's "requirements" for national leadership, or even for membership.

According to the CLUW national office, membership is open to members of "bona-fide" trade unions - only.

And "bona-fide" trade unions, also according to the CLUW leadership, are only those holding collective bargaining agreements (contracts) somewhere.

NO CONTRACTS

Because California law denies collective bargaining rights to state employees, Margaret Butz's union, CASE, holds no contracts. Because CASE is not affiliated with an International union it does not hold collective bargaining agreements elsewhere.

The only solution offered by the CLUW national office is for Margaret Butz and CASE to join a "real union" like AFSCME.

Unfortunately "real unions" like AFSCME and SEIU (Service Employees International Union) are not interested in organizing California State workers - because of the ban on collective bargaining! CASE came into being six years ago precisely for that reason - the "real unions" weren't interested. Of the 25,000 clerical workers in California, 88% are women; 45% are the sole support of themselves and/or their families; and 43% are legally defined as the working poor.

In a relatively short time, and in spite of incredible hardships, CASE has organized 4,000 clerical workers and is waging a serious fight for decent working conditions and a living wage.

CASE is fighting for a \$100 monthly increase across the board, for equality for women workers who are denied upgrading, and for

an Affirmative Action program for California.

In fact CASE is doing the things to which CLUW has dedicated itself on paper: organizing the unorganized, fighting for real equality for women workers.

So - why is CLUW afraid of CASE and Margaret Butz?

TOP OFFICIALS

The leaders of CLUW are top officials in their unions, or women aspiring to higher positions in the union officialdom. They may want equal rights for women workers but are unwilling to jeopardize their own positions.

They will make sure CLUW does nothing to antagonize the male trade union leadership. That means maintaining tight control over every CLUW chapter, and attempting to force out or control radicals and rank and file militants.

In many cities, CLUW chapters have not been able to organize because of maneuvering by CLUW leaders. Some groups have been told that they cannot become a chapter until they have had three official meetings - which are never called.

At the CLUW founding convention membership was limited to trade unionists. Amendments to open CLUW to working women in organizing drives and those wishing to be organized, passed by many workshops, were tabled to the National Coordinating Committee.

The NCC has not yet met to vote on the amendments. But the bureaucrats know what they want and will probably defeat all amendments to broaden CLUW.

In their zealous attempt to keep out any women workers who might have an independent voice, CLUW's leaders are deliberately freezing out many of the women most concerned and willing to fight for the needs of working women.

Margaret Butz and the 4,000 members of CASE are one example. CASE is not the only group of working women axed by the leadership's definition of "bona fide" trade union.

The California Homemaker's Association, an organization with 2,500 members who give attendant care to the old age and disabled, would also be excluded.

If the United Farmworkers Union were to lose the few contract they hold, they too would be excluded.

FIGHT BACK

Working women need a fighting organization, not one that spends its time expelling and excluding those most interested in fighting for women's needs.

At local CLUW organizing committees, rank and filers should make their feelings known. Advisory resolutions in support of Margaret Butz, and for opening CLUW up to independent unions, women in organizing drives and women wishing to be organized should be passed.

The case could become a focus for a fight against all of the bureaucratic procedures and maneuvers of the leadership - from exclusion to refusing to hold meetings.

The leadership can be expected to argue that resolutions cannot be voted on until CLUW has had three public meetings.

But the national coordinating committee may meet and vote down the amendments on membership before that.

Therefore, militants should argue, to assure that the leadership's discussion takes into account the feelings of the membership, resolutions expressing the wishes of local organizing committees should be passed now.

Gay Semel



CASE demonstration May 9th at State Personnel Board

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UAW Brawl: "The End Of An Era"

LOS ANGELES — The 24th United Automobile Workers Constitutional Convention ended here June 6th. The gathering attracted 3000 delegates, and another 3000 assorted UAW officers, alternates, and paid union staff.

The Leonard Woodcock machine which controls the UAW succeeded in totally dominating the convention. Over five days of the meeting, the machine carried every single vote - like they've done for years. But when the convention was all over, it was clear to any astute observer that the Woodcock Team had suffered a defeat.

UNITED NATIONAL CAUCUS

The only visible organized opposition to the Woodcock machine was the United National Caucus. Present at the Los Angeles Convention with only a handful of delegates, the caucus emerged during the convention as a serious pole of opposition to the leadership.

The biggest fight occurred when the leadership pushed through a resolution extending the term of office of UAW officials from two years to three years. The United National Caucus provided the center of the opposition.

For Woodcock and Co., the main objective of this resolution was to postpone the 25th UAW Constitutional Convention from spring 1976 to spring 1977. Woodcock will have to retire because of his age at the next convention. The extension will permit him to be president an extra year. More important, it will mean that he will head up the 1976 UAW contract negotiations.

Both Woodcock and the auto companies have expressed fear of a 1976 convention choosing a new UAW president right before contract expiration. In the words of corporation executives, this would lead to "instability in collective bargaining."

They were afraid such a convention would give the union rank and file a lever to make the burning questions of the 1976 contract an issue in choosing a new president.

By extending the convention to 1977, Woodcock will negotiate the new contract and then retire. He won't have to take responsibility for the new contract, no matter how rotten. As one convention observer put it: "These people are already planning their 1976 sell-out two years in advance."

In the words of the United National Caucus "Convention Report No. 1": "If a new President runs the negotiations, he's going to have to prove himself. Even Woodcock in his ineffective way was under pressure to prove himself in the 1970 GM negotiations.

"He was at least forced to give in to rank and file pressure to reverse Reuther's 1967 give-away, and to



United National Caucus Vice-Presidential Candidate Edith Fox (second from left) on UNC picket line at Solidarity House in Detroit

remove the cap from the cost-of-living.

"This saved every member thousands of dollars during the life of the 1970 contract. By 1973 Woodcock was already out of steam. If he negotiates the 1976 contract, 'heaven help us all!'"

Woodcock's device for wooing convention delegate support on this issue was a simple one. To the delegates - most of whom were local union officials - he held out the offer: you give us a three year

term and we'll give you a three year term.

A lot of delegates took the bait. But a lot of other delegates were afraid to go back home and explain supporting the three year term to their local membership.

With the union's reputation for effectiveness and responsiveness at an all time low, many delegates knew that support for the extension could be a political kiss of death.

Armed with arguments like: "I'm not afraid to face my member-

ship for reelection every two years," and fueled by widespread dissatisfaction with the 1973 contracts, opposition to the three year term mounted.

Both the administration and the United National Caucus argued that the vote was a test of confidence in the leadership.

When the hand vote was held, the convention divided right down the middle. The chair declared the resolution passed.

Delegates demanded a roll call. Not only would this provide an accurate count, but the vote of every delegate would become a matter of public record. Without a doubt, a roll call vote would have defeated the resolution.

The chair stated that a roll call vote would take six hours and would force the convention to go an extra day. This would mess up everybody's plans to go to Las Vegas or Disneyland before flying back home. And still there was a mass of hands raised demanding the roll call vote.

No one took time to count. But the chair declared there were not enough and tried to move on to the next order of business. The convention exploded. The chair, unable to restore order, had the session adjourned.

By the next day delegates who had shown support for the United National Caucus were taken aside and threatened by the UAW

staffers who service their locals. "We'll make sure you never win another election," they were told.

The United National Caucus ran Pete Kelly of Local 160 against Leonard Woodcock for union President. Edith Fox of Local 3 ran on the caucus team for Vice President, and Jordan Sims from Local 961 ran against George Morelli for UAW Region 1 Director.

Knowing in advance that only a handful of delegates would have the nerve to support the UNC candidates, the caucus ran in order to present their program to the convention and to demonstrate clearly the caucus position that the present UAW leadership must be replaced.

The themes the UNC stressed were those that the leadership preferred to avoid: inflation, unemployment, speed-up, government interference in collective bargaining, and the right of the membership to ratify contracts.

FORCED ADJOURNMENT

On the last day of the convention, the question of the Ford contract rejection finally came to the floor. Doug Fraser, chairing the session, skillfully confused the issue by trying to make it appear that it was a conflict between skilled tradesmen and production workers.

Using high sounding phrases about the need to protect the rights of the majority as well as the rights of the minority, most production based delegates supported the leadership resolution. But the resolution passed contains clear language (paragraph 30) that the leadership declares for itself the power to ratify a contract even if the majority of production workers reject it.

The convention was finally adjourned with a large block of delegates wanting to continue. They wanted something to take back home to their membership. But adjournment was rammed down their throats.

On this sour note a bankrupt leadership ended the 24th Constitutional Convention. As Jordan Sims told this reporter: "The 24th convention marks the end of an era."

John Weber

Hacks talk Black, back Racist

George Morelli, UAW Region One Director, is a representative of the most conservative wing of the UAW bureaucracy. Politically, he is very similar to the George Meany types in the AFL-CIO.

Included within Region 1 are several locals with a large black membership, such as Local 3, Dodge Main; Local 961, Eldon Ave. Gear and Axle; and Local 235, Chevrolet Gear and Axle. Among the black membership of the Region; Morelli is considered a racist and is disliked even more intensely than the run-of-the-mill Regional Director.

The black local bureaucrats in Region 1 also dislike Morelli. His reputation as a racist extends from the realm of union affairs to squabbles inside the Democratic Party as well.

Morelli is known to consistently line up with white, suburban forces inside the Democratic Party against the inner-city black Democrats.

At the Convention, Morelli was the choice of the Woodcock machine to continue his post as Regional Director. His "arch rival," black Local 235 President George Robertson, nominated him with a glowing speech full of praises.

Jordan Sims, black co-chairman of the United National Caucus and President of Local 961, ran against Morelli.

But despite their universal dislike of Morelli, every single black convention delegate from the region with the exception of Sims, bit their tongues, obeyed machine discipline, and cast their vote for Morelli.

Many, like Joe Davis from Dodge Local 3, talk Blackness in the plant. But their first loyalty is not to the black workers, or to the rank and file as a whole. Their first loyalty is to their own careers. Supporting Morelli is what they consider "smart politics."



United National Caucus Co-Chairman Jordan Sims

WORLD IN CRISIS



The Peace That Spells Profits

Mid East



The new carve-up of the Middle East is getting into full swing. The troop disengagement between Israel and Syria, following the earlier one with Egypt, marks only the beginning.

The national prestige and short-term popularity of the governments in the Arab states, especially Egypt, has grown enormously. This was proven by the massive throng of two million people who cheered Richard Nixon and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in Cairo.

The masses of people in the Arab countries believe that the war and the cease-fire terms are a victory against oppression. But these feelings of jubilation may not last. For the Palestinian Arabs in particular, the consequences of the disengagement terms are desperate. Not only has their legitimate claim to their national homeland remained unfulfilled, but their very future as a people rests in the hands of superpower diplomacy and the maneuvers of the Zionist and Arab states.

It is important to understand that the main result of the truce is the strengthening of US imperialism and the most reactionary Arab regimes in the Middle East. The balance of power in the region has shifted decisively to them. But these developments should

not be seen as products of Henry Kissinger's "miracle diplomacy." Nor do they result from the changes in boundaries that have occurred, or the military terms of disengagement.

Rather, the conditions for all these developments - Kissinger's maneuvers, the cease-fire terms, and the growth of US power in the region - were created in the war itself, and even during the months preceding it. They are political results of what the October 1973 war was all about.

ISRAEL'S HOSTAGES

The terms of the Israeli-Syrian disengagement, at first sight, are almost hard to believe. Most strategic points seized by Israeli armies in the 1967 war remain in their hands.

The town of Quneitra will be returned to Syrian civilian control, and its population able to return. But Quneitra and its people will be a hostage to Israeli forces stationed in force a few hundred yards away, and on key hills nearby.

Syria's potential ability to organize a new war with Israel on favorable strategic terms is practically destroyed - but on the other hand it appears that Israel could launch a devastating attack and create a hundred thousand new civilian refugees in Syria at any time.

It is also known that the Syrian government has promised to prevent Palestinian fighters from crossing the border to Israeli

territory from Syria.

This is not as much as a break with past policy as it might appear, however, since Syria's President Assad closed down the Palestinians' radio station in September when he knew war was about to break out.

While Egypt at least regains control of the Suez Canal and enormous national prestige, Syria ends up with almost nothing to show after months of negotiations and endless pledges of solidarity and unity from Egypt.

Why did this happen? In fact, behind these declarations of support and solidarity, the regimes of Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt and King Faisal of Saudi Arabia were putting enormous pressure on Syria to accept Kissinger's terms.

Egypt and Saudi Arabia, which already have the deals they want with the US, were not about to let Syrian junior partners stand in the way. And they have plenty of muscle to throw around - in particular, material aid from Saudi Arabia without which the unstable Syrian government would be isolated and probably rapidly overthrown.

Much of Kissinger's highly touted "eleventh hour shuttle diplomacy" between Israeli and Arab capitals was staged largely for the purpose of letting this pressure take its effect.

DEALS

Practically every ruling class with any involvement in the Middle East is getting its share of the gravy from the settlement.

Egypt is being opened to Western capitalist investment at a breath-taking rate. Enormous profits will be made both by US corporations and Egypt's capitalists, who are rapidly re-asserting their direct political control of Egypt after nearly 20 years of Nasser's socialist rhetoric.

The US has also lined up a promising deal with Saudi Arabia. American capital will industrialize Faisal's kingdom [and guarantee its stability].

In return there will be plentiful supplies of Saudi oil to the US, which will also help to partially roll back world market oil prices which were quadrupled by the Shah of Iran.

Even Syria's rulers will benefit, from promised increases in aid from the oil kingdoms and the long-term promise of Western



"Workers redouble their efforts to increase lorry production, rushing forward at the 'new Chollima' speed, new Pyongyang speed' - the 'loyalty speed.'" - Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea Illustrated Monthly, No. 3 1974.

Sound Familiar?



"Fierce Flames of Speed-up Campaign Raging at Every Construction Site" is a leading headline in a recent issue of PYONGYANG TIMES, published in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The article hails "new upsurges and innovations brought about by the builders of light industry factories. . . [who have] stepped up construction in a blitzkrieg way. . . under the banner of the 'speed-up campaign,' wholeheartedly uphold-

ing the line of the gigantic socialist construction set forth by the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung" (May 25, 1974).

There are plenty of statistics given about the increase in state investment in industrial construction in North Korea.

But is the workers' standard of living increased or lowered in the process? There is not a word about this.

Does this sound like the ordinary speed-up we're used to under capitalism? There are many similarities, in fact.

The main difference is that when it's promoted by ruling bureaucrats claiming to speak in the name of socialism, they're more open and brutal about it.



Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan

investment and aid of the kind now flowing into Egypt. In fact, Assad must get such assistance to offer something to his own people, or he might be rapidly toppled and the whole deal possible unravelled.

THE REAL VICTIMS

In short, the Arab rulers have won real gains from the October war. They have regained military and political prestige, and they have achieved their political aim - bringing the Americans in to impose a settlement partially restraining Israel's expansionism.

The masses of Arab people, however, despite the current enthusiasm, have suffered a defeat. As WORKERS' POWER argued at the time, this war did not serve the progressive causes of Arab unity and independence from imperialism. Its consequences were the exact opposite.

The key political problem, in the

Arab countries of the Middle East, is that most Arab workers and even the revolutionary Arab left still believe that winning the war aims of their rulers - simply because these aims are directed against Zionism, which is an enemy of all Arabs - would help the Arab masses to win their own liberation.

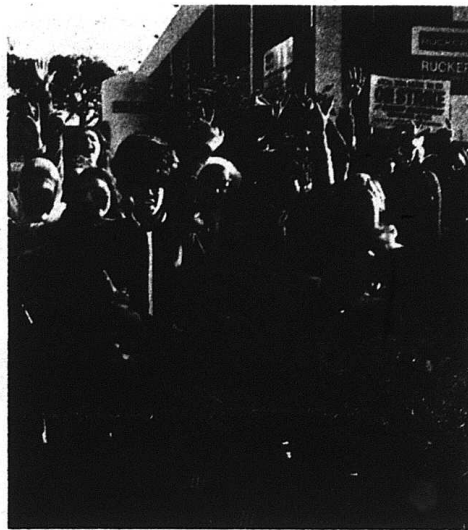
But the most direct victims of Israeli oppression, the Palestinians, get less than nothing. They now face perhaps the greatest crisis in their national history.

This crisis was reflected in the desperate Palestinian guerrilla raid at Maalot, Israel. This raid was a last-minute effort to blow up the negotiations, when it was clear that there would be no commitment to long-term Israeli withdrawals and not even any crumbs thrown to Palestinian national rights.

Now, the Arab states led by Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and

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Riot Squad vs. Women Strikers



Bulletin

Monday, June 10, the IBEW called a large peaceful demonstration at the Rucker's plant. Rucker's responded by obtaining a second injunction imposing further limits on mass picketing.

The union called a second mass demonstration Tuesday. 300-500 Ruckers workers and supporters attempted to stop scabs from entering the plant by locking arms, sitting down, blocking the road and singing songs and chants.

All along the union leadership's attitude had been - "Officially we have to tell you to clear the road, because of the injunction, but we don't mean it."

When the police came to break up the demonstration the union told people to move to the sidewalk. Confusion ensued.

No one knew if the union meant it or not - some left the roadway - others did not. Because of the lack of leadership 17 people were arrested: 5 strikers and 12 supporters, including the authors of this article.

In jail those arrested were maced and a few were beaten for refusing to stop singing union songs.

The IBEW has since backed off refusing to put up additional bail. The picket lines have thinned considerably.

It is essential that support for the Rucker's strikers continue. Supporters should continue coming to the picket lines. Bay Area trade unionists should attempt to win support for the strike in their unions. Donations of food and money are also needed.

CONCORD, Calif. — Concord police - in full riot gear - clubs, mace, and helmets - have been arresting women and men picketers approaching their 9th week of striking.

One year ago, the employees at Ruckers Electronics voted to join IBEW (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers). Approximately 90% of the workers are women and 30% are Chicano, Philipino, and black. They are paid \$2.05 per hour and do not receive paid health or welfare benefits or childcare.

Rucker's refuses to bargain, acknowledge, or recognize the democratically elected union and 400 out of 500 workers have struck.

"Job security is really bad. . . if you refuse to go out with the supervisor when he asks you, maybe Monday, you don't have no job, it's really cold," says one black woman worker who has been very active in the strike.

Other workers complain of racist and sexist promotion practices at Ruckers. There are also numerous complaints about poor health and safety conditions inside the plant.

The collaboration between the courts, and Ruckers has been blatant since the first week of the strike. Ruckers appealed the election of the IBEW to the National Labor Relations Board, which ruled in favor of the workers. The local court immediately passed an injunction against mass picketing.

The Concord Police Dept. has placed at the company's disposal and the public's expense, 20 to 30 police dressed in full riot gear. On call at any time the police are used for escorting scabs through picket

lines, and harassing and arresting picketers in an attempt to smash the union.

Several strikers have been run down by scabs but the scabs have not been arrested. Thirty-five strikers, however, have been arrested on such ridiculous charges as - soliciting alms, drunkenness in public (6:00 am?), obstructing traffic, being a public nuisance, and inciting to riot. The police make those charges in order to increase the bail and drain the union.

The workers at Ruckers know what the police are all about. "I used to get down on my kids when they'd call the police 'pigs,' but after what I seen them do, that's just what they are. . . pigs!"

The Rucker's strikers have received some support, especially from unions like the farmworkers "who have provided us with quite a bit of food" and the culinary workers who have donated a cook.

The heroic struggle of the women has generated support from local groups like the Contra Costa Socialist Coalition (CCSC). The CCSC with other activists and militants has formed the Rucker's Strike Support Committee. Daily they bring car loads of supporters to help on the picket line and yell at the scabs! Yeah!

The struggle to unionize Ruckers is inspiring electronics industry workers throughout the Bay Area to struggle for union recognition. As one woman striker said, "If one

goes union, they'll all go and don't think the bosses don't know it."

It has been a great strain on the women strikers who are not receiving strike benefits. But their militancy and determination is present everywhere - on the picket line and on mass demonstrations and marches to city hall.

The workers realize that what is at stake at Ruckers is more than just the fate of their own struggle but the spark to ignite other struggles in unorganized electronics plants.

These women are leading the fight to "organize the unorganized" and are therefore more determined than ever to win!

Barbara Earle
Steve Orcutt



CWA: No Change On Watts Line



Communications Workers of America President Joe Beirne announced in late May he was resigning because of bad health. His resignation will become effective the end of June at the CWA Convention, to be held in Kansas City.

Beirne has made a minor name for himself over the years. He brought the CWA into the CIO in 1949. This move was based on an understanding that his conservative CWA leadership would support a red-baiting campaign of the CIO's right wing.

A SELL-OUT ARTIST

Beirne sided with Meany in the debate over Vietnam and put the CWA on record as supporting the war. In 1972, however, Beirne reversed his image and led the forces in the AFL-CIO that flouted Meany to support McGovern.

Since then, Beirne has been polishing up a liberal image and pushing the CWA deeper into Democratic Party politics.

As a collective bargainer Beirne fancied himself a real "statesman" and even a theorist. He wrote a couple of books and numerous articles about how strikes were obsolete.

He pushes the nonsense that the way to get better contracts is to present facts and reason with management. He was, in short, a pseudo-intellectual sell-out artist.

Now, he's going. And good riddance!

ANOTHER NOTHING

The bad news is that his successor as CWA President is

sure to be the union's Secretary-Treasurer, Glenn E. Watts.

Unlike Beirne, Watts has not made a name for himself. In fact, research on Glenn Watts unearthed very little public information. No one has ever bothered to write more than a paragraph about his life and career.

Watts' lackluster appearance has led some anti-Beirne local officials in areas like New York, Detroit, and the San Francisco Bay Area to believe Watts will be a pushover. Appearances can be deceptive.

Watts has no public history largely because he has been Beirne's hatchet man for years. He was trained by the old master.

BEIRNE'S RIGHT-HAND MAN

Glenn Watts helped pull the CWA bureaucracy through each and every one of Joe Beirne's slimy political maneuvers. He does have a talent in his own right when it comes to being a political charlatan. One week finds Glenn Watts, in his role as champion of women's liberation, supporting the Coalition of Labor Union Women. The majority of CWA members are women, but all the top officers are men.

A few months before that Watts read greetings from George Wallace to a CWA Convention and said, "I am sure that we all send our greetings to the Governor, and wish him a very speedy recovery." The CWA has a lot of white members in the South.

A FINANCIAL LIZARD

Then there is Glenn Watts the financial wizard. He is the one who

proposed the CWA's land speculation scheme. There is money in land.

Watts recommended buying a cool \$2,136,620.50 worth around the CWA-owned Headquarters. Where would he get this money?

From the union's Defense Fund - its strike fund.

This classy recommendation was made to the union Executive Board on the eve of the 1971 strike. Unfortunately for Glenn's future as a businessman, the seven-month New York Telephone strike ate up the Defense Fund before he could get his hands on it.

SAME OLD SONG AND DANCE

But the most important thing about Watts is that he bargains the same as Joe Beirne.

There will be no difference in CWA policy toward the Bell System or any other employers that exploit the membership of CWA.

Watts will control the machine he helped Beirne build. He has been Beirne's right-hand man for years and knows the ropes.

I have seen him take on rank and filers when they were mad, and he is no fool. He is no pushover for half-hearted "oppositonists" who think they can out-manuever him.

Glenn Watts is a hard-cased labor bureaucrat. He changes his principles and tactics as the winds of time and fortune dictate.

It will take a strong rank and file movement to break up the Beirne/Watts machine and make the CWA a fighting union.

And that can't happen soon enough.

Brian Mackenize

labor briefs

Rank and file auto workers at the Brook Park Ford engine plant in Cleveland donated \$1,847 to the United Farm Workers during a plant gate collection May 24. Another \$110 was raised at the plant's union meeting.

As the recession bites deeper, unemployed workers have to scramble for any jobs that are available. In Los Angeles, for example, 2,800 people applied for 40 jobs as city meter readers.

Not everyone who calls himself a rank and filer has the interests of the rank and file at heart. So it is with a group in the UAW called the Auto Workers Action Caucus, associated with the magazine Labor Today. Two of the leading members of that group, Lasker Smith of UAW Local 2 and Norm Roth, president of UAW Local 6, like to think of themselves as progressives. But when the roll was called at the recent UAW Convention, both Smith and Roth cast their votes for the incumbent Woodcock leadership and against the opposition candidates of the United National Caucus.

An appeals court has ruled that the Reserve Mining Co. can continue to dump its cancer-producing waste material into Lake Superior for another five years. In reversing the lower court ruling of District Judge Miles Lord, the appeals court explained, "Judge Lord apparently took the position that all uncertainties should be resolved in favor of health and safety."

One of the major worries of Teamster drivers and warehousemen for trucking companies is job security. Now Associated Transport, a large trucking firm, is pleading poverty and threatening to close down, leaving many 40- and 50-year old workers out of work, with no prospect of a pension. Associated is asking its employees to pledge \$10 a week out of their paychecks to help the company.

New York Telephone is also contributing to job insecurity. The company has received permission to begin charging 10c for each directory assistance call. The plan will not produce any additional revenue for the company, but, according to the experience of a similar plan in Cincinnati, it will cut directory assistance calls by 40%, which could mean a sharp drop in operator jobs.

An AFL-CIO suit against the California Industrial Welfare Commission has led to a temporary restraining order, forbidding the IWC from putting into effect its new regulations which require employers to pay overtime only after ten hours work, instead of eight. Various groups, including the Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality (Union WAGE) were active in opposing the IWC's order.

The Delegates' Assembly of Local 61, AFT in San Francisco has passed a resolution of support for the United Farm Workers. It creates an ongoing Farmworker Support Committee to work with the union, collect money, and endorse the boycott activities and food caravans of the UFW.

The resolution is based on a similar one endorsed by the California Federation of Teachers at its convention May 25-27. Both resolutions urge AFT members "to continue to strengthen the UFW product boycotts by not shopping at those stores which carry non-UFWA products where the UFWA is doing informational picketing."

United Parcel Service workers in New England are working under a contract they have twice rejected, by votes as large as 1600 to 200. Teamster Local 25 Business Agents decided to sign the contract anyway after it was defeated a second time, 1285-900. The contract provides a top rate of pay for workers hired in the future of \$2.00 an hour less than the current rate.

Some labor bureaucrats these days believe in giving the boss every advantage. Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Meatcutters, recently called on his membership to exercise "good sportsmanship" whenever they win a strike, rather than rubbing it in. Gorman added that management should adopt the same attitude.

What's happening where you work? Send items for this column to: Labor Editor, Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

THE GREAT STEEL THEFT

The latest chapter of I.W. Abel's sweetheart cooperation with the steel bosses is called "Change Your Name and Fool the Workers." It's not likely to work.

A couple of years ago, Abel and the steel companies agreed to set up "Committees on Productivity" to explore ways to increase production. Abel said higher productivity was necessary for American companies to remain competitive with foreign steel producers.

But steel workers generally understood that productivity meant speed-up and the committees were widely ignored.

Now they're trying again. From this time forward, the speed-up committees will be known as "Committees on Employment Security and Plant Productivity."

But the other half of the union-company cooperation - the no-strike deal (ENA) - is being pursued more aggressively.

Abel's International Reps are flitting around the country trying to stamp out ENA opposition.

In Sharon, Pa., for example, Local 1174 had voted 863-200 against having a no-strike clause in its contract with the small Sharon Steel Co. They were strong-armed into reversing this position.

In Portland, Oregon, International Representative Lee Caldwell persuaded Local 3010 not to vote on a similar resolution which, it was clear, would have passed.

CANADIAN STRIKE

But some Canadian steel-worker locals, not bound by the ENA, are using the strike weapon to fight for a better deal than the 60c won in the US.

In Toronto, USW Locals 2900 and 4487 have been on strike for over a month against the Inglis Co. They have already rejected an offer of \$1 an hour raise over three years.

Members of USW Local 480, zinc miners in British Columbia, are asking for even more. They have rejected an offer of \$1.51 an hour over two years.

Clothing Strike: It Pays!

You can get more if you're willing to strike than by submitting to binding arbitration. That is basic unionism. But in these days, when labor leaders are so eager to sell-out, it's a point to be repeated.

The June 1 strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers made this clear. When union members in the men's clothing industry walked out, they ended a 53 year period of no industry-wide strikes.

Unresolved disputes were always submitted to binding arbitration.

As a result of this policy, the Amalgamated - which owns two banks, two insurance companies, four cooperative housing projects, and major amounts of government bonds - has some of the lowest-paid union workers in the country. The average wage is \$3.50, and many get as little as \$2.50 an hour.

As one picket in New York said,



**AMALGAMATED
CLOTHING
WORKERS
STRIKE**

"For years the union let the manufacturers push us around."

The latest settlement, reached after a 10 day strike, is considerably better than previous clothing worker contracts, although it will barely keep up with the current rate of inflation.

The contract provides for \$1 an hour wage increase over three years, with a maximum of 2½-3% additional in cost of living supplements in the second and third years.

There are minor improvements in health insurance and pension benefits, in particular, vested pensions after 20 years in the industry.

In contrast, three years ago, the men's clothing contract, concluded without a strike, provided wage increases of 60c over three years, with no fringe benefit improvements.

'FRIEND OF LABOR' MAYOR SMASHES CITY STRIKE

LOUISVILLE — On June 6, about 650 Teamster city workers (IBT Local 783) walked off their jobs - dissatisfied with the city's meager contract offer of a 7.5% wage increase and continued unsafe working conditions.

The strikers include 450 sanitation workers, black and white, who say the city has repeatedly failed to repair faulty garbage trucks, resulting in numerous accidents, including the death of one man in the last year.

Because the current contract calls for no strikes and does not expire until June 30, Louisville Mayor Harvey Sloane - elected as a "friend" of the black community and labor - has declared the strike "illegal."

After Sloane issued a back to work order, only 95 workers returned. He then fired those still striking.

The Mayor said he would be glad to have the fired workers back - as new applicants. Some men have worked for the City for 20 years.

That would mean starting back without seniority and other important benefits.

Declaring the strike illegal, the union leadership has failed to officially back the strike and has not asked other Teamster locals for support.

Mayor Sloane's justification for the city's refusal to pay workers more is the "budget squeeze" due to "inflationary pressures." (Ap-

parently these strikers and their families are exempt from these same pressures.) Yet, on the sixth day of the strike, he presented Louisville's largest budget proposal to the Board of Aldermen.

The strikers are determined to win, but are faced with an uphill battle! Since the strike is "illegal," they cannot picket the workplace. Two have been arrested for trying. A group of strikers attempted to meet with the mayor. He didn't show, and the police towed their cars at \$25 a head.

City workers have learned what their "pro-labor" mayor is really like. As the wife of one striker put it, "We put him there. We can get rid of him."

SHANKER-SELDEN FIGHT SPLITS CALIFORNIA TEACHERS

It has been a rough year for both teachers and education in California.

District-wide strikes and one-day stoppages have dramatically increased. They are teachers' responses to layoffs, budget cuts and declining salaries that are the norm in district after district.

The actions have been led by both American Federation of Teacher and National Education Association affiliates.

The California Federation of Teachers (AFT) 1974 Convention, in Fresno last month, offered little direction or coordination to the locals' fights against cuts in standards of living and working conditions.

First the leadership tried to fill time up with speakers, mostly from the AFL-CIO and the Democratic Party. But the disgruntled delegates halted the endless parade with a vote to limit them to twenty minutes at the podium each.

TENSION BETWEEN LOCALS

Dissatisfaction between large and small locals surfaced over the split between AFT president David Selden and AFT first vice president Albert Shanker, who is challenging Selden for the presidency at the August AFT National Convention.

There is little doubt that Shanker, president of the huge New York City local and Vice President of the New York State United Teachers, will easily defeat Selden, who has always depended on Shanker for a base. There are few significant political differences between the two. Selden is considered more "liberal."

This, coupled with the harsh manner in which the national AFT Executive Council (dominated by Shanker) demanded Selden's resignation, has won Selden the sympathy of many CFTers. The conflict reached the floor via a

motion condemning the national Executive Council's demand for Selden's resignation.

In a stunning roll call vote, the motion was passed by 100 votes. Virtually every smaller local voted in favor. They were joined by a sizeable minority of votes from Los Angeles and the United Professors of California.

UFW BOYCOTT SUPPORT

The only other significant event at the Convention was a United Farmworkers resolution which went considerably beyond AFL-CIO policy. The resolution which passed the convention called for the boycott of non-UFW lettuce and grapes, and of Gallo wine.

In addition it called for the boycott of any store where UFW picketing was in progress, essentially an endorsement of the secondary boycott.

Otherwise the convention was a rather humdrum affair. The real politics of the Shanker-Selden split were never aired openly.

The main political opposition to the CFT leadership formed around NETWORK, a newsletter started at the 1973 CFT Convention, which put out several editions over the past year.

There are opposition caucuses inside some of the large locals, as in San Francisco and Oakland, as well as many militants all over the state. These groups have been isolated, but many are beginning to see the need for more rank and file communication and coordination.

In addition to the minor upsets of the convention leadership's desires, another indication is the sale of over 75 copies of *Toward Teacher Power*, an International Socialist pamphlet analyzing AFT prospects in the 1970's. ■

Al Berneri
Joel Chaplin



WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?



Kim Moody

Don't Buy 'Buy America'!

"... help maintain America's standard of living, by staying away from Van Heusen shirts." Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO.

The clothing workers, like many other American workers, are threatened with unemployment due to foreign competition. In this particular case, the Van Heusen shirt company is opening plants in Taiwan instead of in the US.

In other industries, jobs are threatened by the competitive advantage many foreign companies producing the same products have on the world market.

In all these cases, the unions have turned to a protectionist policy. That is, a policy that attempts to protect the jobs of workers in the US by boycotting foreign goods, advocating higher tariffs on those goods, or in some way preserving the US market for US-produced goods.

More often than not workers are quick to support these protectionist policies because they feel this will protect their jobs.

In the next few issues this column will argue why these protectionist policies are a dangerous trap for American workers.

To begin with, the problem of competition between workers of different countries for the same work - producing shirts, digging coal, or whatever - is rooted in the competition between capitalist firms or corporations.

To a greater degree than ever before the world capitalist market is one market. A surprisingly small number of giant international corporations compete with each other for every corner of that market.

So far as the owners of these corporate giants are concerned every nation is fair game. German companies compete with American companies in both Germany and America, and everywhere else. The same is true of companies based in all of the top 10 or 15 industrial countries.

These billion dollar operations don't care whether they reap their profits in dollars, pounds, francs, or yen, so long as the profits are real, big and growing.

For the past several years, this competition has grown sharper. As fantastic rates of inflation travel from country to country and currencies change value every day, these giant companies seek

the cheapest sources of materials and labor.

If labor costs rise in the US or Britain, the corporations look to Taiwan, South Africa, Hong Kong or other places where labor is cheaper.

The pro-capitalist union leaders in this country believe they can save jobs through protectionism. But, from a capitalist economic standpoint, this will not work.

The capitalist opens a new plant in Taiwan or elsewhere only because he believes he can make a bigger profit. If his profits are eaten up by high tariffs or lack of a market he will close the plant. It does not follow that he will then open a new plant or re-open an old one, already known to be less profitable, in the US.

No, the capitalist, Van Heusen or any other, will look for some other place or industry to invest.

Furthermore, tariffs which might be high enough to keep Van Heusen from going abroad in the first place would ruin all American capitalists by setting off massive trade wars and preventing foreign investments. They would therefore never be tolerated.

So protectionist policy may simply not work. But there is even more to it than that.

The logic of a protectionist outlook ties the union to the needs of the bosses. US companies threaten to move abroad or close up shop unless the union agrees to cheapen the price of the labor of their members relative to that of foreign workers. (As we shall show later in this series, this is what is going on in the steel industry.) The unions accept this. They cheapen the price of labor by keeping wage increases small and allowing various forms of speed-up.

With their fifty-year history of protecting the garment industry in America, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers represent some of the lowest paid workers in the western world. And, working conditions in the garment industry are appalling. That is the fruit of the protectionist attempt to "maintain America's standard of living."

Nixon's entire wage-price scheme was meant to cheapen American labor. And it worked. Wage gains in the last year, for example, were 8% in the US, but 25% in Japan and Italy.

Various Japanese firms are now building plants in the US. German chemical companies are investing in the American south

because they find cheaper labor there than in Europe.

In other words, today, protectionism means making US labor cheap labor.

The capitalists, as a class, want the unions in their respective countries to push a protectionist policy also because it pits worker against worker. That is, it forces the workers themselves to compete.

If US unions can boycott foreign goods, it is also true that the unions in countries like Germany, Britain, and Japan can boycott US goods. It cuts all ways.

This free-for-all atmosphere steers the unions in the various countries away from the only real way to fight the problem: international solidarity.

International solidarity sounds very "foreign" or at least far out to most American workers. In fact, it is a very practical and possible way to produce real results.

Remember, Van Heusen goes to Taiwan in search of cheap labor. Suppose labor in Taiwan wasn't so cheap.

It used to be Japan that was thought of as the leading source of cheap labor and materials (themselves cheap only because labor is cheap). But Japan has a strong trade union movement and Japanese wages are no longer so much lower than American wages.

If the labor movements of all these countries had worked together, supported each other's strikes, and conducted international strikes against international corporations like GM, Ford and ITT, then the wages of workers in Europe, Africa and Asia would be closer to those in the US. If that were true, US companies would not have as much reason to invest abroad.

The most effective way to save jobs here is to fight for higher wages for workers throughout the world.

In cases like Taiwan or South Africa, where the bulk of workers are not allowed real unions or bargaining, that means an out and out campaign by the world labor movement against those regimes. That would mean political support to opposition movements in those countries. It would mean taking on the US government's policy of support to fascist regimes like Taiwan and South Africa. ■

[In following issues protectionist policies in the garment, steel, and coal industries will be discussed.]



South Asia: Murderous Face of Capitalism

Nigel Harris

Asia is the most victimized segment of the world economy. When there are general difficulties in the world system, they are seen here in their most savage form - in the faces of the dead.

The present world "recession" is a disastrous slump here. Its political effects are already apparent in the increasing instability of most Asian countries - student riots against the authoritarian regime in South Korea, permanent martial law in the Philippines, the collapse of the Thai regime, riots against Japanese imperialism in Indonesia.

Half the world's population lives in south, east and south-east Asia, and lives mainly in conditions of extreme poverty. It was thought in the 1940s that this problem would be solved once the pillage of Western imperialism could be ended by removing colonialism.

Once independent, the countries of Asia could lay hands on their own resources and begin to build industry and develop agriculture. The conquest of poverty would then be in sight.

Large public sectors, five year plans, the rapid development of heavy industry, land reforms, even some small-scale welfare measures were all drawn up. These provided a coherent reformist program that envisaged economic development independent of imperialism, without a working class socialist revolution.

The hopes were illusory. The increased instability of world capitalism in the 1960s has, stage by stage, revealed that very little has

changed in the relationship of the metropolitan and backward countries, despite the achievements in the period since independence. The reformist strategy has been unable to prevent an increasing gap in income between backward and advanced, to prevent unemployment rising, or to assure its people a secure and rising food supply. It has also failed to secure the complete security of national frontiers against foreign aggression, or the regimes against overthrow.

Heavy imports of sophisticated weapons have to be paid for out of export commodities which are in poor demand on the world market, or by taking on more foreign debts.

Present arms expenditure in backward countries is roughly equal each year to all the aid transfers from advanced to backward countries in the second UN Development Decade.

Arms imports are increasing in backward countries by nine percent per year, 90 percent of them from the US, Russia, Britain and France.

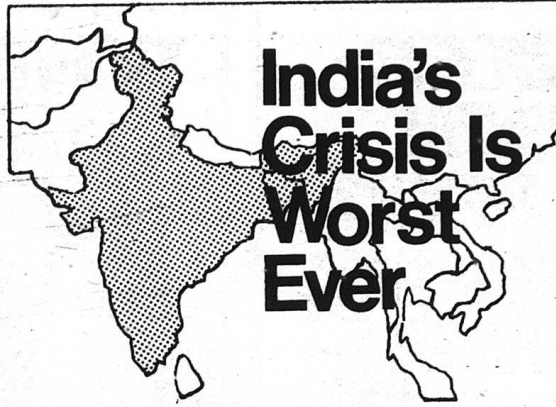
FOOD SQUEEZE

The real crisis however comes in food. With numerous fluctuations, the vulnerability of Asia to famine has steadily grown.

New agricultural techniques - the so-called "Green Revolution" - increased output where capital was abundant, but it hardly changed the basic situation. Now its effects are limited by the central lack of capital.

90 percent of the world's rice is

[Continued on page 10]



Since Christmas, over 130 people have been shot dead by the police in India, many of them in the continuous food riots in the states of Gujarat and Bihar.

In Gujarat - the home of the traditionally prosperous middle and rich peasantry that supplied an important base of support to the Congress (ruling party) right wing - the agitation began with a student protest against higher canteen prices.

It spread rapidly to the cotton-mill workers of the capital, Ahmedabad, and from there to the rest of the state. Rioting continued until the army was ordered to take over the cities of the state. Meanwhile, the revolt had spread to the student movement of Bihar.

These two states have made the headlines. But this is only the most dramatic sign of the disintegration of the country.

Simultaneously, many of the best organized groups of workers have been agitating or on strike (after a lull in 1973) for some means to

safeguard themselves and their families against a terrifying level of inflation (50% in the past three years; 27% in 1973).

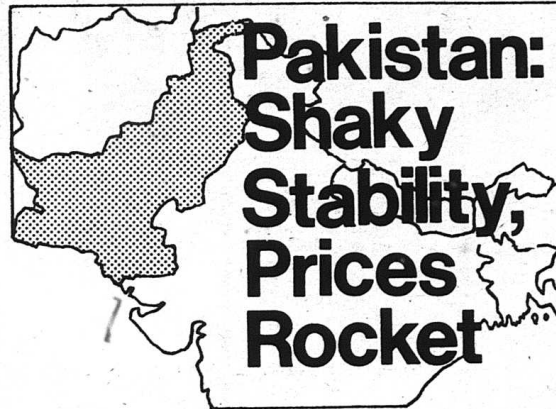
Jute and cotton mill workers, railwaymen, insurance and government employees, numerous professional groups, all have struck in the past few months.

Beyond the employed workers lies the great sea of unemployed and underemployed, now perhaps numbering 40 million or more in the country as a whole.

DECOMPOSITION

These are the symptoms of possibly the most profound crisis that has ever affected India. For years the economy has decayed, but only over the past few years have the real results of this decomposition become apparent.

Since the end of the Indian government's third five-year plan (1965-66), the economy has been in decline. A suspension of all planning has symbolized the gov-



Pakistan's economic problems are less severe than India's - although this makes very little difference to the mass of people - but its political stability is weaker.

There would perhaps be a greater opportunity if a revolutionary alternative existed.

The country made a surprising recovery from the 1971 war with India; in which the military rulers lost over half the old Pakistan's population to the new State of Bangladesh.

The new government of Z.A. Bhutto introduced a major devaluation of the Pakistan Rupee (131 percent) which cheapened exports at just the moment when a world commodity boom increased the demand for Pakistan's exports.

It was Bangladesh which suffered most severely from the

bisection of the country, for Bangladesh's demand for imports suffered disastrously in the world inflation at the same time as it could not rapidly restore exports.

Bhutto pushed up food prices without a major revolt, and this prompted a strong increase in grain output. Yet this beginning was overtaken by world inflation, by the widespread floods of last August and by the escalation in oil prices at the turn of the year.

In fact, investment has been falling since 1965, and in 1973-74 the terrors of private businessmen at the instability of the regime produced both a flight of capital and a massive increase in exports as business tried to get its cash out of the country to safe havens.

As a result, home demand was starved, and scarcity of foodstuffs

ernment's inability to restore economic growth, let alone accelerate the rate of creation of jobs.

Defense became the most "dynamic" sector of the economy, supporting great power exploits abroad as the circus that would console people for the lack of bread.

More expenditure on defense meant less to create jobs or assist agriculture, so that ultimately poor employment and the danger of famine become the two symptoms of the failure of India's ruling class.

The world downturn came upon an Indian economy already sickly. In 1973, inflation increased while industrial output stagnated, producing a decline in average real income per head to about \$105 per year.

On top of this has been added the increase in oil prices. Oil imports could take up to 80 percent of the country's export earnings, making impossible significant imports of foodstuffs, fertilizers, industrial machinery or raw materials.

Moreover, balance of payments difficulties of the Western capitalist countries makes it impossible for aid to bail out the Indian economy.

END OF PLANNING

Stocks of food are very low. They were reduced through 1973 in making up for the poor harvests of 1972.

The scarcity encourages hoarding and speculation by rich peasants and traders. Last year, the government tried to overcome this - and make a gesture to the Left - by nationalizing the wholesale trade in grain. The effect was paralyzing since the traders refused to sell to the government.

One of the results were the food riots in Gujarat. Now the government has scrapped its monopoly and increased its purchasing price by 40 percent - giving a massive profit to the hoarders.

pushed up prices even more. Bhutto was compelled by the possibility of a popular backlash to ban certain exports (foodstuffs and textiles, particularly) and subsidize key food imports.

The private traders resisted so the Prime Minister nationalized the trade in vegetable oil and rice. As in the case of Indian nationalization of the wholesale grain trade, Bhutto's measures produced a strike by traders, a scarcity of grain and thus a rapid increase in prices.

The attack on the private trade only intensified the terror of businessmen and their unwillingness to invest, despite Bhutto's introduction of massive investment incentives (up to 75 percent of new investment costs can be recovered from the government).

So Bhutto intervened again, this time to nationalize 31 key companies, the textile trades and all banks, except those in foreign ownership.

The increase in oil prices was the last straw. At current prices, Pakistan's oil bill increased from 37 million dollars in 1970 to 85 million in 1973 (and an estimated 260 million this year).

As in India, increased oil costs reduce food imports and cut home food production through its effects on fertilizers, kerosene, fuel and transport oil.

The effects of all this on popular living standards is grim. Yet the reaction so far, in comparison to the revolt of 1969-70, has been muted.

Partly this is because of the threat of Indian intervention, partly because of the weariness of a people faced yet again with a major struggle.

The government has effectively abandoned any pretence of planning or trying to increase economic development. This has steadily reduced the role of the public sector and opened the way for private capital in all the profitable sectors.

This is in tune with American pressure to "liberalize" the economy - that is, open it to US capital and exports.

Indeed, public capital is now used extensively to finance private profit. The industry which is profitable is that which meets the consumption demand of upper income groups - so while much of India goes hungry, the island of upper class life flourishes.

The government has also increased defense expenditure (now taking a fifth of the national budget). From nuclear weapons to the use of troops to maintain order, the role of the military has been vastly expanded. Indeed, defense is the only continuously booming sector of the economy.

LEFT-WING FAILURE

The government is eager to find scapegoats for its difficulties - Pakistan, Bangladesh refugees, the weather, oil shelkhs.

It has also begun to accuse the workers of sabotaging the economy. Mrs. Gandhi has proposed a ban on strikes for "a few years."

The railroad strike was brutally crushed. R.D. Malaviya, Minister of Steel and famous as an old-time left wing Congressman, has accused steel workers of being the

source of the disastrous results in public sector steel, even though man-days lost in strikes declined last year.

The non-Congress Left - assorted Communist and Socialist parties - have played virtually no role in the massive wave of agitation, other than - along with every other political outfit - trying to ride it to advantage. Old discredited politicians have re-emerged to try and make a new career out of disaster.

As always, the Hindu fascists and extreme communists have tried to turn events in their direction. Many of the recent rash of riots that seem to be about religion in fact have their real source in food and jobs.

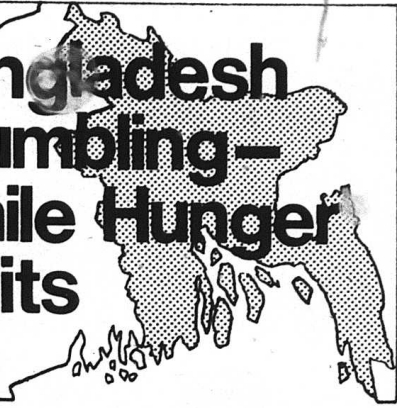
The present crisis in India shows the world crisis in its most stark form. Neither private nor State capitalism can grapple with it in any other way than reducing India to the status of beggar.

At present, there is no coherent alternative that fuses the fury of workers and their capacity to seize the State.

As a result, Congress is able to totter from one catastrophe to another, and even then it requires more and more massive bribery and violence to achieve this result. The Army will not prove indefinitely tolerant.

Yet a revolutionary Left could still make a difference. For the upheaval now underway is shaking loose traditional loyalties of masses of workers. The grip of the Communist trade unions (AITUC) is weakening. But there is very little time to use that opportunity.

Bangladesh Crumbling - While Hunger Waits



The situation in Bangladesh is undoubtedly the worst in south Asia, one of the worst in the world, and probably the worst in the history of East Bengal (which made up the new State).

A population of 75 million (increasing by over two million each year) lives in an area half the size of Britain at an annual income of roughly \$60 per year.

Exploited over the years since the British left by the old State of Pakistan (when Bangladesh was East Pakistan), ransacked during the 1971 repression of the Pakistan military and the Indian invasion, the country scarcely exists as a coherent entity.

The weak corrupt government which India and Pakistan left behind in Bangladesh is little more than a holding company for the local gangsters who run the districts of the country and have a hand in land, trade and public office.

The government party, the Awami League, is now notorious for its corruption, for maintaining a speculative economy, and above all, for smuggling out of the country into India both grain and jute, the country's main export.

Because the government has never properly established its power over the whole country, each gangster maintains his own private

tion struggle against sporadic famine below.

In a recent two-week period Dacca newspapers reported 32 cases of death from starvation; peasants offering their children for sale because they cannot afford to feed them; families committing suicide to escape.

With large-scale smuggling of grain out of the country by the Awami League (perhaps over one million tons in the past year), food depends on what can be grown and upon imports. Food imports took 40 percent of the total import bill last year.

Increasing food output and paying for imports requires exports (particularly, jute and tea). Yet those peasants able to do so are growing food instead of jute since, even with a good jute price, it is not possible to buy much food nor is it easy to ship jute to the ports with such a chaotic transport system.

The increase in oil prices only increases the difficulties of restoring the economy. The distance that would have to be travelled, just to get back to the conditions of 1969-70, is immense.

Industrial output is 30 percent below what it was then; jute production 28%, cotton yarn 23%, sugar 80%, exports 30%, and tea exports - despite a 30% subsidy to the tea growers - 60% down.

The scarcities generate an uncontrollable inflation. Basic prices have increased between 1/2 and 4 times over since 1970.

HANGING ON

The government does little more than hang on, hoping the storm will blow itself out. Mujibur Rahman started as a client of the Indian government, and India inevitably dominates the economy.

Mujib, an astute politician, now uses India as a useful explanation of the disasters, and even re-established relations with his old enemy Pakistan. "The people have short memories," as he put it recently.

Pakistan is a counterweight to India. It is also the road to reconciliation with China an even bigger counterweight to both India and the Soviet Union.

The Bangladesh Left has never recovered from the disasters of 1971. To a greater or lesser degree, pro-Maoist radicals supported the unity of Pakistan (partly because the military were in alliance with China) against the Awami League.

As a result of their confusion at China's role, which supported the Pakistan Army's attempt to crush Bangladesh, many socialists failed to appraise either the role of Mujib or the role of India.

To this day, much of the Left still pins its hopes on the national hero Mujib imposing his will on the warring factions of the Awami League. The only alternative seems to be to retreat to the villages and form a guerilla band.

In practice, without a secure working class basis and in a disintegrating country, the Left is reduced to sniping from the wings. Yet an army cannot be built in the midst of hand-to-hand fighting, nor can those on the sidelines influence the outcome.

Critical support for Mujib, or playing soldiers in the villages, are both part of the old illusory left-wing politics that led to the catastrophe. But no force seems spontaneously capable of breaking these illusions, and when China recognizes Bangladesh (and perhaps nominates it for entry to the UN), the confusion will be compounded.

Meanwhile, the real victims face an almost endless prospect of deterioration, punctuated only by disaster.



The rash of strikes and demonstrations has yet to assume the drive of the 1969 movement.

CARVE-UP?

Pakistan is now also the victim of international politicking in a way it could not be before 1971. The Soviet Union is simultaneously trying directly to oust Chinese influence from Pakistan by bribing Bhutto with aid, and supplying heavy assistance to Pakistan's neighbors India and Afghanistan.

In turn, India is supporting Afghanistan which lays claim - although a disguised one - to the Pathan people of Frontier provinces.

However, the game of perpetual maneuver is not ended, for Bhutto has now counterattacked by reaching an agreement with Bangladesh and so frightening those in New Delhi who regard Bangladesh as legitimate Indian property.

In the end, these permutations of policy indicate no more than Bhutto's desperate struggle to

survive amid predatory neighbors, none unwilling to do to Pakistan what Germany, Austria and Russia did to Poland.

But that carve-up is only a dim threat. The real challenge comes, not from abroad, but from a people made desperate by the unrelenting pressure on their living standards transmitted from an intractable world market.

The size and privileges of the Pakistani military establishment - justified by Bhutto on the grounds of the foreign threats - is only an obscene reminder to most people of how unequal is the sacrifice asked of them.

THE ARMY

In 1971, the military rulers stilled the Pakistan revolution by turning it into a savage attack on the Bengalis in what was then East Pakistan, and into a war with India.

The two arms of the revolution were the national revolt of the Bengalis and the class struggle in

West Pakistan. But the first was used by the military to defeat the second, instead of both contributing to the same aim - the overthrow of the military.

On its side, the military by their assault on Bengal produced what they always claimed they were seeking to avoid, a war with India and their own massive military defeat. Nevertheless, Indian intervention allowed the military in West Pakistan to consolidate their rule, now with a civilian disguise in the shape of Bhutto.

By causing Indian military intervention, they bequeathed to the new Bangladesh the weakest and most corrupt new government under Indian patronage. They also permitted Mrs. Gandhi to achieve a temporary popularity which allowed her to root out the strongest section of the Indian Left, in West Bengal.

All round, the Pakistan military is owed a debt of gratitude by the ruling classes of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh.

army with which to ward off rivals.

The result is not unlike how the Wild West was in reality, apart from the film industry. Street warfare, regular murders, the ransacking of villages, the disappearance of people, hoodlums seem supreme.

Mujibur Rahman, the Prime Minister, also has a paramilitary force, the Rakki Bahini, which has now been empowered to stamp out violence, to search and arrest without restriction provided it "acts in good faith."

In good faith, no doubt, more than ten Members of Parliament have been murdered, hundreds of Awami League officials slaughtered, and even more of the innocent. Candidates in elections are found beheaded, one of the opposition headquarters sacked.

FAMINE

While the gangsters slug it out, Mujibur Rahman presides smilingly above. The mass of the popula-

Strawberry Strikes Spread In California

OXNARD, Calif. — The United Farmworkers union has opened up another front in its war with California agribusiness. A strike movement has broken out in strawberry farms up and down the California coast.

Growers, "rent-a-pig" private police and law enforcement agencies have fought back with injunctions, beatings, and arrests.

Victory in the strikes would be an important psychological and financial lift for the UFW.

UFW organizing in the strawberry industry began in Watsonville, several hundred miles to the north, at the Walch Company ranch. Then in May of this year, the UFW won a victory over American Foods at Salinas, Northern California.

The five-day strike, which began when a company supervisor ordered wage cuts, ended in victory when 65 strikebreakers walked out of the fields in response to UFW appeals. American Foods then sold its strawberry operation to Anthony Gericich, who owns Pick'd rite, already under UFW contract.

The 150 workers at American Foods won a \$2.50 hourly minimum wage, an increase of 20%.

The strawberry strike in Oxnard was undoubtedly sparked by this past organizing and recent victory. However, it appears to have broken out spontaneously.

The workers were making only 70 cents an hour, plus 10 cents an hour which was held back unless they kept working until the end of the harvest.

Workers on the Driscoll Ranch asked for an increase in this shamefully low pay. When they were refused, they turned to the UFW, and on May 24 struck the straw-

berry fields in Oxnard.

Demands included union recognition and wages equal to those in Salinas.

In the first days of the strike, 800 workers were out, and in many cases mass picketing of the fields convinced workers to down tools and join the strike.

Then the growers struck back. The 24 strawberry growers in the area united in a Growers' Association. They found a friendly judge to issue an injunction against picketing.

The first injunction was vacated, but a second one was issued limiting pickets to 50 per farm, 50 feet apart on the side of the road where work is going on.

The other side of the road was not covered, but Ventura County Sheriffs and California Highway Patrolmen have interpreted it to cover both sides and have conducted a campaign of harassment. They have mobilized the local Tac Squad, and a small air force of helicopters.

As of June 1st, there had been over 50 arrests, including eight felony charges. Roberto Garcia, the strike director, was arrested for allegedly stealing the keys from a labor bus - a charge of petty theft.

Another strike leader, Roberto

Flores, was accused of "injuring an aircraft."

Many workers, unsure of victory and fearful of the police, have continued on the job.

Success in the strike hinges at least in part on whether the UFW is capable of defending its own picket lines against state action and violence.

Rank and file workers from Oxnard area industries have turned out in numbers to back up the pickets.

It should also be possible to mobilize labor and community support from Los Angeles, which is only an hour away and contains the largest Chicano community in the US.

The strike's success may also hinge upon fighting growers' efforts to mobilize local high school and college students to scab in the fields once school is out June 6th.

MECHA, a Chicano student group, has done some leafleting, and efforts to convince students not to scab can be stepped up.

And militant mass picketing can do much to prevent those who are not won over from scabbing in the crucial days until the end of the harvest in mid-July. ■

Derek Briscoe

Berkeley Sit-In Hits School Shutdown

BERKELEY, Calif. — Student protest returned to Berkeley last week, and the size and spirit of the demonstrations surprised even the participants. The immediate issue which mobilized the students concerned the move by the Chancellor of the University, Albert Bowker, to abolish the School of Criminology.

Although this institution has traditionally served as a training ground for law enforcement officials, in recent years several non-tenured faculty members have begun to analyze "crime" within the social context of capitalism and imperialism, as well as attempting to identify the crimes of racism, sexism, etc.

In the last three years, the Criminology School's support for the Black Panther-sponsored Police

Community Control ordinance in Berkeley, its students' participation in local community groups, and its affirmative action admission program for women and minorities have deeply disturbed the administration.

"Crime" under this system is defined by the needs of the rich and American universities are funded to teach capitalist law. It is to be expected that a criminology school attempting to assess the crimes of the ruling class would be closed.

Claiming a concern for a loss in "academic respectability," Bowker and his hacks instituted "reviews" of the Crim School program; and, in addition, refused to grant tenure to Tony Platt, an assistant Professor of the school.

On Wednesday, May 29, one hundred and fifty students sat in at

the School of Criminology, Haviland Hall, in order to force Bowker to state clearly before the summer vacation what he was going to do with the School.

Police were used to move the protesters out of the building, and the administration attempted to suspend the participants for 14 days - but not before the Chancellor agreed to announce his decision within the week.

The following two days saw the largest mobilization of students in Berkeley since the Cambodia protests. 4,000 marchers on Friday greeted the return of the "suspended" students and briefly occupied Wheeler Hall to plan the next week's activities.

On Tuesday, June 4, Bowker announced that he indeed was going to shut down the Crim School, and this was followed by an

unplanned, but well-disciplined seizure of the lobby of California Hall, the chief administration building, for two hours.

The peak of the protest activity came the next day when Haviland Hall was once again taken by nearly 300 students. Police moved in with clubs and mace to close off the building, leaving up to a thousand protesters outside.

By the end of the day, Berkeley City Police and Alameda County cops were called in: and once again, the armed University police had to be used to "escort" the students from the buildings.

Because of the upcoming exams, protests were halted, but despite the adverse decision by Bowker, several gains were made. In the first place, the "students of the 70s" showed that they will not sit by and watch the administration

prune and cut the few radically-oriented programs which exist within the University. Students are now better prepared for a struggle against attempts to destroy the Ethnic Studies programs won during the Third World Strike of 1969.

Much more remains to be learned. Few of the protesters attempted to link student unrest with the growing strike activity of Bay Area workers - (although strong support was given to the Farmworkers' Union).

Nevertheless, last week's activities are a hopeful sign for the future. Cal students showed that the protests of the 60s were not just an aberration of the past, but a reflection of the growing unrest which permeates all of American society. ■

Joe Mahibir

South Asia

(Continued from page 8)

produced in Asia, and monsoon failures tend to affect all Asian rice growers together, so there is little offsetting of harvest failures in one country by bumper crops in another.

When scarcity is worst, prices of the little rice traded soar - Thai rice export prices, on average about \$130 per ton, rose to \$200 in February, 1973, and later, for the very little rice traded, \$500. Crop failures in 1972 were not made up in 1973, nor did prices come down.

The failure of the Russian wheat harvest in 1972 - and a poor Indian crop - set off an escalation of wheat prices that has continued ever since, and been made even worse by world inflation in other commodities.

Any Asian need for wheat to feed people has to compete with British

and Japanese need to buy animal fodder, and only the wheat growers benefit.

Stocks round the world are at an all-time low (they are a third now of what they were four years ago, meanwhile the world's population has increased by 300 million) and very high prices make it impossible for Asian countries to ward off famine if the weather fails.

The capacity of agriculture to feed people is made more difficult still by other elements in the present inflation. Fertilizer prices have soared - for example, urea, priced at \$40 per ton in 1971, is now \$260.

Because of high wheat prices, European and US farmers are buying up world traded fertilizers, even though their land is already overfertilized and returns are small for any additional application.

This leaves Asia with a fertilizer shortage even though a ton applied there produces an increase of eight tons of grain. Again the fattening of European and American cattle is in competition with the starvation

of the people of Asia.

The increase in oil prices only makes for less fertilizer and higher prices. It also directly affects agriculture production by restricting the transport of crops, irrigation tube well and drainage pumps, heat and light. It makes the continued development of industry at an acceptable pace impossible.

The balance of payments difficulties of the advanced countries simultaneously prompts them to cut aid flows, making it even more difficult for the backward to purchase oil, foodstuffs or industrial equipment.

The optimism of the old reform program has collapsed. But the collapse of optimism does not mean an end to nationalization.

Indeed, every government in south Asia nationalizes industry, now, as a tactic of despair rather than as a means to direct and plan development.

Without a political change, without the working class taking power, nationalization is merely another tactic of ruling class survival,

abandoning a segment of the private capitalist class to preserve the State. Along side the talk of socialism, the members of the ruling class take the easy way of grabbing what they can and salting it away abroad.

The collapse of reformism affects even more the so-called revolutionary parties. Most of the Communist parties were not revolutionary at all. They were pressure groups on the ruling class, funneling middle class demands for more jobs in the government service, and using workers' grievances as a basis for parliamentary power.

The CP's were all essentially nationalist. Such politics were possible when the ruling class knew where it was going. But now its own survival depends upon squeezing both middle and working classes.

The Communist parties have to choose, and in general they have instinctively chosen to side with the ruling class. In the process, fragments have broken away from the parties, but usually without any

politics other than a rejection of parliament and embrace of individual violence. Nationalism - and a state capitalist reformism - remain the same.

As a result, the amazing militancy and anger of organized workers remains unconnected to the demand for workers' power, the struggle to conquer the State. Yet the current crisis is just the one in which it is impossible to see any nationalist solutions.

The present crisis is an international one. There is no force capable of solving it other than the working class. Yet still most young revolutionaries remain trapped in the perspectives of the middle class rebel, and are thereby pushed to the margins of the struggle.

The ruling class is thus safeguarded from serious assault. Nevertheless, the present upheaval is going a long way to breaking the stalemate that the Communist Parties have imposed on the Left, making for new opportunities for revolutionaries to break out to a workers' revolutionary party. ■

The Hearst Empire:

Yellow Journalism, Strike-Breaking And Slave Labor

\$50,000 REWARD.—WHO DESTROYED THE MAINE?—\$50,000 REWARD

NEW YORK JOURNAL
AND ADVERTISER

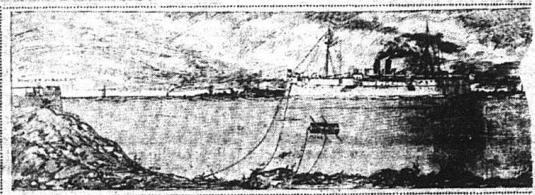
DESTRUCTION OF THE WAR SHIP MAINE WAS THE WORK OF AN ENEMY

\$50,000!
For the Detection of the Perpetrator of the Maine Outrage!

Assistant Secretary Roosevelt Convinced the Explosion of the War Ship Was Not an Accident.

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For the Detection of the Perpetrator of the Maine Outrage!

The Journal Offers \$50,000 Reward for the Conviction of the Criminals Who Sent 481 American Sailors to Their Death. Naval Officers Unanimous That the Ship Was Destroyed on Purpose.



The kidnapping and the alleged ideological conversion of Patricia Hearst by the Symbionese Liberation Army and the massive man-hunt and police murder of the SLA, has grabbed the focus of a media previously held by inflation, Watergate, and an artificially created energy crisis.

Anyone who knows the history of the Hearst family, how they got their monumental wealth, and what they are today will find it difficult to sympathize with Patricia's family. The SLA didn't choose them for nothing.

Thousands upon thousands have been slandered and manipulated, terrorized and killed by the Hearsts along the route to their vast empire.

Evidence of this dates back to 1680, when John Hurst (the name was later changed to Hearst) left England for Missouri where he acquired ten acres of land and nine black slaves.

To keep a hold on this land he had to drive off and murder Native Americans, the rightful owners.

HELD SLAVES

From the toll of their slaves, the Hearst family got enough money to purchase a plantation in the early 1800's.

In 1850, the son, George Hearst, left for California seeking gold and mining property. He fulfilled an early ambition by buying California mines.

He was able to do so with the help of family capital, which of course the family had received

four million dollars yearly. Within a couple of years, George Hearst was a US Senator.

When the Civil War broke out, Hearst became a member of the "Leocompton Democrats," a pro-slavery group.

When the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery came to the floor for ratification, Hearst, now a member of the California State Legislature, voted against it.

Soon afterwards, George Hearst began to venture internationally with his mining interests, acquiring mines in Peru, Chile and Mexico. He personally befriended the slavedriving Mexican dictator Porfiro Diaz, who made a gift to Hearst of one thousand square miles of Mexican land.

Hearst was even willing to let his workers die in favor of his own wealth.

In 1890, Anaconda Copper Mines was producing one-fifth of the world's copper supply.

Because of low wages and inhuman conditions, many of the 5,000 workers Anaconda employed died. George Hearst was Anaconda's largest shareholder.

Having achieved personal power, George Hearst, as a Democrat, now sought the office of California Governor.

But in exchange for the support of the boss of the Democratic Party,

Christopher Buckley, he had to supply two things that the Buckley machine badly needed: more money and a newspaper.

Hearst did both, the latter by purchasing the San Francisco Evening Examiner in 1880. This served as a voice for both the Democratic Party and for his own campaign.

While he lost the 1882 elections, he foresaw the financial success of the Examiner, and it became a permanent addition to the Hearst empire. Hearst later became a US Senator.

George Hearst died in 1891, leaving his \$30,000,000 empire to his son, William Randolph Hearst.

YELLOW JOURNALISM

William Randolph Hearst is best known as the father of "yellow journalism" (sensationalism and libel) and he was always the leading member of that category.

The main reason for W.R. Hearst's success with the media was that he was more than willing to sacrifice truth and morality for profit.

His newspapers were consistently saturated with provocative lies and spicy libel.

When a Cuban revolution for independence from Spain began, Hearst staged a super-patriotic, propagandized campaign for Uni-

ted States intervention "on behalf of the Cuban cause."

This attempt to bring the US into war met with little success until February of 1898, when the USS Maine, a ship in a Cuban port, exploded.

The reason could easily have been a faulty ship mechanism, or as some claimed, planned self-sabotage.

But Hearst, with no evidence, released a banner front page claiming that Spain had deliberately destroyed the ship. He effectively appealed to patriotic sentiment.

Through this accusation and appeal, he almost single-handedly thrust the US into war with Spain, called the "Spanish-Cuban/American War." "Remember the Maine" was the slogan of all "red-blooded" citizens.

Hearst's eagerness for the US to intervene did not stem from any moral support of Cuba's people. He had two other reasons.

One was that his spectacular campaign for war brought many new readers; in fact during this drive the Journal's circulation surpassed all other New York papers.

The second reason, and the more important one, was that Cuba as well as other Spanish colonies like

(Continued on page 14)

Rally Protests SLA Slaughter

LOS ANGELES — One hundred people gathered at Slauson Recreation Center here June 8 to protest the massive police war of May 17 against suspected members of the Symbionese Liberation Army.

At the Center, only two blocks from the burned out ruins where police attacked the SLA, the crowd heard a number of speakers denounce the blatant and racist disregard of the police for the lives of the six SLA'ers and for the residents of the black neighborhood.

Debbie Daniels, speaking for the Socialist Collective (a recently formed revolutionary socialist organization based in Los Angeles) told the crowd the SLA were wrong to believe they could be "saviors of the people."

At the same time, she said, they must be defended against police repression.

During the rally, Workers' Power spoke to James Johnson, a resident of the house where

the SLA was attacked. Johnson said his family has filed a claim with the city asking for payment of damages for their possessions, which were destroyed by police weapons and the fire which finally leveled the house. "The city has said it is going to pay for damages but we have no idea how long it will take."

Johnson's mother had been in the house when the attack began. During the gun battle she ran from the house, and was immediately dragged away by police. They kicked and beat her before putting her in a paddy wagon and taking her to a hospital where she was held several hours for questioning.

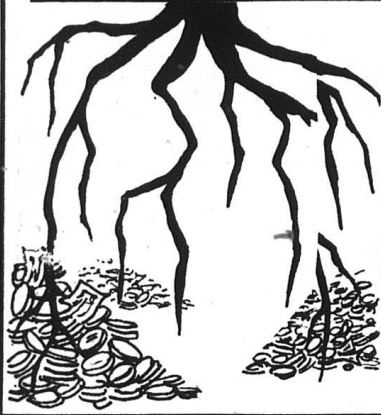
The rally was sponsored by the June 8 Rally Committee, which included representatives from the Socialist Collective, the International Socialists, the Socialist Workers Party, the Echo Park Food Conspiracy and the Young Workers Liberation League.



Debbie Daniels speaking for the Socialist Collective June 8 in Los Angeles

Arms Economy the Key

THE ROOTS OF TODAY'S INFLATION



The history of capitalism until 1940 was a history of cyclical crises, of rapid growth followed by massive slumps, in which industry ground to a halt and millions of workers were thrown out of their jobs.

Inflation was a symptom which arose at one point in this cycle.

The cause of the crises lay in the fact that the expansion of production in a capitalist economy is not regulated by the needs and resources of society as a whole, but rather by the competition between rival owners of the means of production.

During the boom, each firm was under irresistible pressure to expand its operations as rapidly as possible. If it opened up new factories, bought new machinery, took on more workers and turned out more goods, it could easily sell them and realize a considerable profit.

Each time it did so, it provided increased markets for other firms, causing their production to leap ahead also. Profits generally would grow, the economy would boom and production would expand at breakneck speed.

But this frenzy to expand production inevitably ran into an obstacle.

In an unplanned system driven forward by the blind competition of rival firms, there was no method of ensuring that production did not outstrip the resources needed to sustain it.

As the different capitals strenuously outbid one another to get the labor and materials they needed to fulfill profitable orders, both money wages and raw materials prices began to shoot upwards.

Interest rates also rose, as industrial capitalists competed to borrow funds off financial institutions.

FROM BOOM TO SLUMP

A point was inevitably reached at which the upsurge in wages, raw material costs and interest rates threatened to cut into the profits of industrial firms, however high these might still be.

Once this happened, capitalists saw no point in laying out massive amounts on constructing new plants.

Productive investment ground to a halt and whole sections of industry found themselves without a market for their products over night.

Firms that made machines and constructed factories suddenly found that the demand for their

output had dropped massively. They were forced to close down factories and lay off workers.

Each firm tried to undersell its competitors by price cutting and to preserve its profits by wage cutting.

There was a domino effect throughout the system. Unemployment and wage cuts in one section of industry meant that the market for the goods produced elsewhere automatically fell.

Eventually, whole sections of industry would be shut down, many firms going bankrupt in the process. The slump would replace the boom.

The slump did not last forever, any more than the boom did. The firms which survived the slump (usually the largest) could buy up the plant of those that went bankrupt.

Unemployment caused massive drops in wages, and eventually a point was again reached at which the surviving firms felt that conditions were once again ripe for profit making.

They would begin to expand production in competition with one another, pushing the whole economy back into a frenzied boom, which like the one before it would open the way up for the next slump.

NO WAY OUT

The slump-boom pattern seemed incurable in pre-war capitalism. Indeed, Marx had pointed to a tendency for the booms to get shorter and shallower, the slumps deeper and longer. For, superimposed on the short term boom-slump pattern was a long term tendency for the rate of profit (for boom and slump combined) to decline.

The aim of capitalism is the making of profits. But the capitalist drive to accumulate means that total investment grows much more quickly than the labor force, the source of surplus value and profit.

The result, Marx argued, was that in the long term the surplus accruing to each unit of investment (the rate of profit) must tend to decline. In the boom rising wages would cut more quickly into profit, and in the slump it would take longer before businessmen felt things were going well enough to resume investment.

Nothing within the orbit of the capitalist system seemed able to stop the recurrence of ever more serious crises. For the very essence

of capitalism is the never-ending competition of rival owners of the means of production.

A single capitalist could not avoid expanding all-out during the boom, whatever the consequences to the system as a whole. To attempt to do so would have meant losing markets and going out of business.

When it came to the slump, no single firm could survive if its market collapsed and its rivals cut their prices.

Cutting wages and increasing unemployment might seem absurd, in that they meant that the crisis spread to still further sections of industry. But there was no choice if profit, the motive force of the system, was to be protected.

ARMS ECONOMY

In the 30 years after 1940 the capitalist system no longer experienced the general crises which were taken for granted previously.

However, there has been one significant change in capitalism since 1940 which can explain the long, more or less uninterrupted boom.

A larger proportion of the surplus value in the hands of the ruling class has been used for

preparations for war than ever before in the history of the system (except for the years 1914-18).

In the US in the 1950s, as much was spent on arms as on industrial investment; in Britain today, more goes on arms than on manufacturing investment by private firms.

This meant that a sizeable proportion of the surplus available for investment was no longer subject to the fluctuating fortunes of boom and slump.

Industry grew much more evenly, and therefore in the long term much more rapidly than in the past. And it did so without outstripping the labor supply (so avoiding much of the trend for the rate of profit to decline).

However, the arms economy could not eliminate the crisis prone nature of capitalism indefinitely. There was a clash between the cost of arms production and the needs of competition between national economies.

In the first years after the war, this did not matter. The US was massively more powerful in economic terms than any of the other western states.

But over time, those economies not burdened with arms spending were able to grow much more rapidly than the US.

The US arms economy provided them with a market for their goods, while they themselves devoted all their resources to expanding production, not arms.

The US economy grew at three or four percent a year throughout the 1950s and 1960s; the Japanese economy at between 10 and 15 percent; the European economies at five to six percent.

One result was that a growing section of the international economy was constituted by states with low arms spending. Another was that the US was under pressure to cut the proportion of its own national product devoted to arms.

All told, the proportion of the western world's resources devoted to arms fell from 7.5 percent in 1955 to four percent in 1965 and has continued falling since.

This has meant that the stabilizing effect of the arms economy has also been declining.

This fact has been graphically brought home in the last 18 months - first with a simultaneous boom in all the western countries, greater than any since the early 1950s, and now with the threat of a world recession.

THE PRESENT INFLATION

The present inflation is similar in many ways to the upsurge in prices, wages and interest rates which occurred at the height of the classical boom.

The point has now been reached where despite record industrial profits, each national ruling class fears a sudden collapse of profit rates and investment.

The response of private industrialists has been to cut back on investment - often trying to protect their funds against inflation by buying up commodities and forcing up prices further.

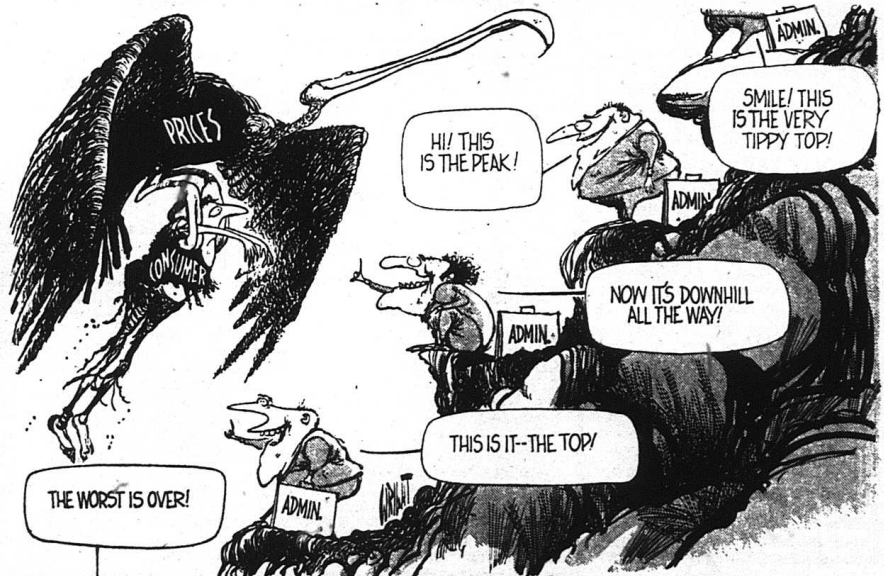
In Japan, for example, industry orders for new machines in December plunged 36.7 percent from the preceding month.

Individual capitalist states are quite as bewildered by this turn of events as were their ancestors when faced with the classic symptoms of crisis.

Each individual state can seek to protect its own ruling class, by cutting back "non-essential" public expenditure (ie, welfare), forcing down local wages, and by letting the value of its currencies decline.

With these measures it can hope

(Continued on page 14)



reviews

books

Work Is Dangerous

[Work Is Dangerous To Your Health; Jeanne M. Stellman, Ph.D and Susan M. Daum, MD, Vintage Books, 353 pages, \$1.95. Available from I.S. Book Service.]

Few books will be published this year of more vital concern to the labor movement than this industrial health handbook.

The hazards of the work place are described in every pertinent detail. It does not make a pretty story.

14,000 workers are killed each year in work accidents. 2.2 million more sustain disabling injuries. One-half million suffer from known occupational diseases.

Even more astounding is that these are underestimated figures. The Labor Department claims 25 million accidents and illnesses go unreported each year.

The numbers are staggering, but the situation is even graver. Black Lung is a well known occupational illness: Yet little has been done to protect miners from this dread disease.

Exposure to asbestos has been shown to cause both lung cancer and a cancer of the chest and abdominal cavity known as mesothelioma. It has been predicted that of the 500,000 asbestos workers, 135,000 will die of one of these cancers. 35,000 more will die of a

lung disease known as asbestosis.

These numbers do not include the thousands of workers who die of heart attacks and lung disease made worse by unsafe and inhuman working conditions.

These numbers also do not include the chemicals, noises and other stresses that produce many chronic illnesses. These conditions may not prevent workers from continuing to work, but decrease both the quality and longevity of a workers' life.

HEALTH HANDBOOK

This book is a useful guide for workers to educate themselves on the hazards of their workplace.

It provides facts about the common materials we work with, such as acetates, which cause depression of the central nervous system; carbon disulfide, which causes brain poisoning; coal dusts, rubber, ink, and carbon black (a product of natural gas) which cause stiffening of the lungs and results in heart disease.

It gives us information, and the facts assembled in this book speak eloquently for themselves.

But how do we go about protecting ourselves from the health hazards of the work place?

This book provides many practical



methods for prevention, such as adequate ventilation, use of respirators, use of less toxic materials, use of materials that do not produce dust - the cause of so much lung disease, ducts to carry contaminants away from workers, and air cleaners.

Even more helpful are the

methods it offers for workers themselves to monitor the workplace for health hazards. Its message is clear: we do not have to risk our health to earn a living. But how do we go about getting the protection we need implemented?

It is here the book is weakest. The authors devote only eight

pages to this in a chapter titled "What is to Be Done."

After documenting at length the horrors of work, they propose the same solutions that have failed so often in the past: legislative and legal action on one hand, and collective bargaining on the other.

Certainly better laws would be a help, yet even the laws we have are not enforced. The authors fail to note that this is because the courts which enforce the law generally favor employers. They defend private property and profits, rather than our lives and our health.

Similarly, collective bargaining has often been used by unscrupulous union leaders to bargain away health and safety protections, weaken the grievance procedure and allow speed-up.

Collective bargaining is no solution to anything unless it is undertaken by union leaders committed to defending their members no matter what the cost to the companies.

What this means is that if collective bargaining is to be used to win safe and healthy working conditions, an entire new leadership must replace those union leaders who have always ignored health and safety in the past. That is the starting point.

JoAnn Hart

books

Politics of Amnesty

During the Viet Nam war, almost half a million US servicemen were classified as deserters.

Some returned to military custody. Others were recaptured. An unknown number are still at large, however, either in exile overseas or under new identities in the States.

Nobody knows exactly how many active deserters are still around. The truth is that few people care very much.

The war is officially over, nobody is being drafted, and the New Left has become an object of nostalgia.

Not even the government is actively trying to recapture them; the potential for bad publicity is too high.

The question of amnesty for deserters is not one that imposes itself upon the public, like a gasoline shortage. The issue must be dragged out into the open, past the barriers of media indifference. But not many people are willing or able to do the dragging.

In 1972 an organization called Safe Return attempted to bring the amnesty question before the public.

They decided to bring home one exile as a test case, to openly challenge the government and the military.

They hoped to expose the countless crimes against humanity committed by the US to an extent

that would make it impossible to prosecute individuals who refused to participate in these crimes.

The exile who played the dangerous role of defendant in this test case was a young deserter named John David Herndon.

Herndon couldn't be called a typical deserter because there is no

such thing, but there was nothing unusual about him.

Born in 1947 to working-class parents in West Virginia. Grew up in Baltimore. Dropped out of high school. Did some factory work. Spent his spare time on a series of used cars.

In 1966 Herndon joined the

Army, airborne. By October he was in Viet Nam.

In the Nam, Herndon saw the usual atrocities, the usual corruption, and did his share of combat.

He didn't like it but he put in 15 months, made sergeant, and picked up a wound and a medal during the Tet offensive.

Back in the States he did some garrison duty, got busted to corporal for going AWOL, got married, and got transferred to Germany.

After six months in Germany he heard that he was being sent back to Viet Nam. Instead he took off for France. He stayed there two and a half years.

Exile is not an ennobling experience. You have to hustle to survive, and hustlers usually wind up burning their friends.

Two and a half years of living by his wits have left some scars on Herndon. He had something of a drinking problem, was abusive to his girl-friend, and was sometimes careless with the truth.

Some exiles are even worse off, having been forced to drugs or crime for survival. Its important to recognize these facts because the opponents of amnesty will surely bring them out, in an effort to attack the characters of the deserters.

A firm political commitment is

necessary to combat the demoralization of exile, but most of the deserters were politically undeveloped.

Political GI's tended to stay inside the Army, trying to build a mass movement. The deserters had no ideology, no common purpose.

They were vague about what they wanted to accomplish, but certain that they couldn't be a part of the way things were.

By their actions, the deserters helped alert the world to what the US Army was doing in Viet Nam. But they get no reward for this, and they have to do something with the rest of their lives.

What is to be done with these battered leftovers of war? The Pentagon would leave them to rot and be forgotten.

While the butcher Calley, himself only a scapegoat for higher-ranking murderers, may soon go free, they condemn those who refused to murder to lifelong expatriation.

Amnesty for the deserters would be an admission that the government was wrong and the anti-war movement was right all along.

This is precisely what is needed: complete and universal amnesty. No courts-martial, no alternative service, finish.

In Herndon's case the Army took [Continued on page 15]



Tôi cần Hilfe chiến tranh
Việt Nam này. Tôi không
chịu chiến đấu nữa.
dân Việt Nam

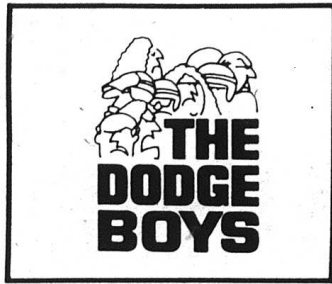
I AM AGAINST THE
WAR AND WILL NOT
FIGHT THE
VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

SAVE YOUR LIFE

This literature, if found on a GI, will save his life with NFL forces.

Vietnamese leaflet. The cartoon by Lisa Lyons is reprinted from Workers' Power. Original caption: "You didn't see us, we didn't see you, OK?"

Cops, Courts, Bureaucrats Break Dodge Wildcat



DETROIT, June 14 — A combination of the police, the courts and UAW officials joined forces with Chrysler Corporation today to reopen the Dodge Truck assembly plant in suburban Detroit, breaking a four day strike.

At the very moment that UAW convention delegates and leaders were patting each other on the back in Los Angeles, intolerable conditions inside the Dodge plant were building to the point of crisis.

Management was provoking workers in the metal shop through speed-up and disregard of safety and health problems. All this was coupled with a sharp increase in supervisory harassment.

Workers resisted. As a result, on Monday June 10 several workers, including a militant chief steward from the second shift metal shop, were fired. In response, the second shift walked

out and the strike was on.

From the beginning, union officials joined with the police to help Chrysler break it.

On Tuesday, at the request of UAW Region 1 Director George Morelli, 50 police invaded the Local 140 union hall and cleared out hundreds of striking workers.

By Thursday, the strike was still solid, even though 50 workers had reportedly received telegrams from Chrysler saying they were fired. At that point a new strike breaking technique was introduced.

Macomb County Circuit Court Judge Hunter Stair, dressed in his flowing black robes, showed up at the plant gates on the back of a truck. Shouting through a bull horn, he declared that court was in session and ordered picketing workers arrested for being "in contempt of court." 20 workers were arrested. All charges were later dropped.

Thursday night, every TV and radio station in the Detroit area carried spot announcements every 15 minutes. They stated that work would resume Friday morning, the strike was illegal, and pickets would be arrested.

Friday morning, Judge Stair was back at the gates with his gown, his truck, and his bull horn. A handful of workers were arrested.

The police intimidated people in the area. 100 UAW officials wearing union jackets lined up at the gates leading to the company parking lot.

"Come to work," they shouted, as they waved passing cars into the lot. The show of force, together with threats of firings and arrest worked.

Friday morning, the strike was broken. ■

John Weber

Hearst Empire

(Continued from page 11)

Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines, were ripe for economic investment.

But the US had to oust Spain before it could economically colonize them.

HITLER'S PAL

In the early 1930's, Hearst came to admire Mussolini, Hitler and fascism.

He became a close friend of Hitler, who paid Hearst \$400,000 for advertising Nazism in his publications.

Hearst's support of fascism reached its worst point when he actually practiced Nazi tactics on the labor unions.

In 1934, with the Depression going strong, a movement for a general strike developed in the Bay Area.

In response, Hearst had two of his men (along with three other Bay Area publishers) set up "vigilance committees" similar to those of George Hearst to "deal" with this labor movement.

The committees raided and destroyed the strike headquarters, as well as any other organization thought to be radical.

Anyone on the streets who looked radical was beaten up. Thousands were killed and injured in this terrorist assault.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

During World War II, Hearst had a large influence in having Japanese Americans indiscriminately thrown into US concentration camps.

The Hearst family supported the McCarthy witchhunt for communists in the '50's.

Shortly before his death, William Randolph Hearst pulled off some slick legal maneuvers by giving the assets of the Hearst Corporation (by then worth in the hundreds of millions of dollars) to two foundations, the Hearst Foundation of New York and the William Randolph Hearst Corporation of San Francisco.

Now that his property is no longer personally owned by the Hearst family, but run by them, they are free of the taxes they used to pay.

William Randolph Hearst left five sons, and each was to become a newspaper publisher.

George Hearst, Jr., now publishes the Los Angeles Herald Examiner, and Patricia's father Randolph publishes the San Francisco Examiner.

STRIKE BREAKERS

This Hearst generation has sustained an old family tradition known as strike-breaking.

Back in 1967 there was a general walkout strike of Herald Examiner employees for higher wages in Los Angeles, ranging from printer to reporter.

At the National Labor Relations Board elections, 98.42% of the workers voted for the union.

But the union workers were locked out of the plant, and forbidden to return until they quit the union. Many never did.

George Hearst brought in scab (non-union) labor. He never granted the workers a raise, and the

strike is still on to this day (so don't buy the Herald Examiner).

Randolph Hearst has tried similar tactics against the San Francisco unions, but stricter local laws against bringing in scab labor ended his attempts.

Randolph Hearst's wife, Catherine Hearst, is a member of the California Board of Regents.

A few years back, U.C. Berkeley owned a lot which had been vacant for some time.

Members of the community decided to convert the lot into a park. It was named "People's Park."

The National Guard, by helicopter, gassed out the occupants of the park. They shot dead an observer.

The Board of Regents had called upon the National Guard to do this. And Catherine Hearst had been among the strongest advocates of the action.

HEARST'S EMPIRE

Now Randolph Hearst, taking a sad and innocent pose, explains that by setting up a two million dollar food give-away program, he has done all he can to comply with the SLA's demands.

This claim is extremely doubtful. The value of the Hearst Corporation, at a modest estimate, reaches one billion dollars. Here is a breakdown of what it owns:

1. Eleven magazines, with a total value of between 150 and 200 million dollars;

2. Eight newspapers, estimated at 150 million dollars;

3. 212,000 acres of California land, including an area which was recently producing \$20,000,000 of timber.

4. 550,000 acres of Mexican land, which covers San Luis Mining, the third largest silver mine on earth;

5. Buildings and other real estate in Boston, Baltimore, Alabama, New York, San Antonio, Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. The New York real estate includes two large warehouses used to store art treasures;

6. Miscellaneous holdings include radio and television stations, 20th Century Fox Avon Paperback Books, Puck, the comic weekly, The Sunday Funnies Supplement (sold to 3300 publishers in 36 countries), Halifax Power and Pulp Co., and the Androscoquin Water and Power Co.

And this tells only part of the story, because the Hearst Corporation is controlled by two foundations which never release any record of profit and earnings to the public.

PROFIT OVER LIFE

So realize now that it is important to put the horrors of the kidnapping into context.

The basic problem lies in the unfortunate fact that this society is owned and controlled by a handful of "Hearsts" who use the products of other people's labor to make themselves rich.

We believe in doing away with this system. We work for a society in which working people democratically own and control all wealth and power.

However, it is only through mass action of the large majority that this can be accomplished, not through the elitist attempts of the SLA which will only lead to disaster for themselves and apathy and demoralization for the rest of us. ■

Danny Letwin

[Reprinted from THE RED TIDE, a paper published by high school students in Los Angeles.]

Roots of Inflation

(Continued from page 12)

to maintain its profits, maintain investment and increase its exports by undercutting its competitors, even if the total world market does not grow.

But if all states behave the same, the only result can be to cut the total world market and make the recession worse than it would be otherwise, without stopping the upsurge of prices.

A SYSTEM OUT OF CONTROL

The slump part of the classic boom-slump cycle had one redeeming feature from the capitalist point of view.

Its price cuts meant that inflation came to an end. But no such cure to inflation can be expected now.

[1] Continued arms spending, even if using a smaller proportion of world production than previously, provides a floor below which the recession will not sink.

Those sections of industry dependent on government arms orders will be protected against the trend to factory closures, unemployment and so on.

That means that even at the depth of a recession, conditions will not approach those of the 1930s when whole industries ground to a halt and unemployment rose as high as 30 percent.

Moreover, arms spending itself continued to be increasingly inflationary. The result was an increasing trend to inflation even before the boom of the last 18 months.

[2] For the firms dominating the major industries of modern capital-

ism, price competition has declined.

With a single firm monopolizing a whole industry in a particular country and a handful of firms collaborating together to carve up the world market, pressures on them to cut prices, even during a recession are easily resisted.

The response of such companies to a fall in their markets is not, by and large, to cut prices. It is to increase prices so as to maintain their profits while selling fewer goods and running their plant at less than full capacity.

Prices rise in the boom - and they continue to rise during the recession.

The giant companies are able to operate in this way because they are too big to be truly disciplined by market forces.

Governments just do not dare let the ultimate discipline of the market - enforced closure through bankruptcy - take effect. The collapse of any one of the giants would have a catastrophic impact on the rest of the system.

So instead of the threat of bankruptcy leading to massive price cutting by the giants, it tends to produce massive injections of government aid - and further inflationary pressures as government spending rises.

[3] Prices are not automatically cut by the modern recession, but neither are wages.

Employers who feel able to increase their prices during a recession are likely to increase wages under pressure from their workers - even though unemployment may be high outside the factory.

This is particularly the case with workers within the giant firms, whose actions can bring a whole section of industry to a halt fairly quickly.

[4] But if prices continue to rise during a recession, then even the purely speculative pressures for

them to rise further can outlast the boom.

Normally the drop off in the demand for raw materials in a recession would be expected to reduce raw material prices. But with inflation continuing at 15 to 20 percent a year, raw materials and foodstuffs may still seem a better bet for investors than industry - creating a growing, purely speculative demand for commodities that keeps their price up.

HELPLESS

Individual capitalist governments are helpless in the face of rising prices. Thirty years of continual economic growth have meant that national economies are more intertwined with one another than ever before.

There is little that a single government can do to insulate its domestic economy from inflationary pressures which the multinational firms, the international banking systems and the international commodity market transmit from country to country.

Band-aids of one sort or another can be tried - the occasional food subsidy, attempts at price or profit control - but these have little overall impact.

Massive deflation may be resorted to out of desperation, but this can be counter-productive, merely adding massive unemployment to massive inflation.

The only certain way of easing the effects of inflation on the ruling class is by shifting them on to the back of the working class - which is why wage restraint and "austerity" is all the rage internationally.

For socialists there must be a rejection of all such attempts to somehow control an uncontrollable system. We have to insist that the solution to inflation lies with the destruction of the system itself. ■



BOOKS ON PRISON RIOTS NEEDED

... I would like to suggest a book be written about some of the major prison riots. ... I am only 18 years old, and have been through all the penitentiaries Pennsylvania controls.

I read your article in *Workers' Power* about pollution being dumped into Lake Superior. The government can end that unnecessary act. ... Is government money more important than the health of the people?

A Prisoner
Dallas, Pa.

REVIEWS UNFAIR?

The favorable review of Studs Terkel's new book, *Working*, says that "... Terkel has, probably unknowingly, presented a damning indictment of what the capitalist system has done to the lives of people. ..."

Why "probably unknowingly"? Because Terkel isn't in the IS? The

comment strikes me as snide and false, a gratuitous insult to a fine writer who certainly does know about capitalism.

A few issues earlier there was an authentic hatchet job done on Stanley Aronowitz's *False Promises*, surely a book that every socialist should read, and one that deserves much more serious treatment and consideration. It is not about "Professor Marcuse."

Charles Leinenweber
New York

POLICE TERROR IN L.A.

After reading about the assault on the Symbionese Liberation Army by the troops of police and FBI in so many newspapers, I was able to read *Workers' Power* #98 and see what those other newspapers have been covering up from the people. They cover up that it was an assault on the Black Community itself.

The police didn't wait to see if the neighborhood was evacuated of women and children before they staged their "shoot the house up and don't give them a chance to surrender."

Suppose there were more like sister Christine Johnson that weren't so lucky as she was, and could've got killed in cold blood in their own homes, because they were unaware there was an uncontrollable massive force of police outside.

We all have to consider the "supposes" of a situation to prevent it from happening again. But past actions will show that the FBI will repeat these things.

Workers' Power is a paper for those people that look for the truth, and from front page to back page it's full of interesting facts that this country should know.

Bro. F.W.
Raleigh, N.C.

P.S. Thanks to Bernard O'Higgins for doing a fine job on the SLA article.

Workers' Power wants to hear from you. What you like about the paper - and what you don't. What you think of the political ideas we present, and your comments on problems facing working people.

But please be brief.
Write to: *Workers' Power*, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Mich. 48203.

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We stand for:

• **International Socialism:** the replacement of decaying capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism ("Communism") by a revolution from below, controlled by the working class and aimed at democratic rule over all social institutions.

• **Workers' Power** as the solution to America's ever-deepening social crisis: rank-and-file committees in the unions to struggle for democratic power and to fight where and when the union leaders refuse to fight - independent political action by workers' organizations to fight for labor's needs, in opposition to the Democratic and Republican businessmen's parties - toward a workers' party to fight for a workers' government.

• **The liberation of all oppressed groups:** independent organization of blacks and women to fight discrimination - an end to all racial and sexual oppression - the uniting of separate struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

• **World-wide opposition to imperialism and exploitation:** for the self-determination of all peoples - for an end to US domination of the world's peoples in the interests of corporate power - for workers' revolts against the bureaucratic-collectivist (so-called "Communist") regimes - for workers' power East and West to build international socialism.

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FBI Murders

[Continued from page 16]

black militant groups. It had an intelligence apparatus that is mind-boggling.

It was able to disrupt and destroy some black organizations, and throw the movement into chaos.

But the FBI cannot disrupt or destroy the growing dissatisfaction in the black community. Racism and capitalism still exist, still destroy people's lives and hopes; still provide a fertile breeding ground for black revolutionaries and black organizations based again on masses of black people.

This frustration and anger, forged into a mass movement, can defeat state repression as tremendous as Cointelpro.

Building this movement and the struggle for liberation is the task that lies before black workers, militants and revolutionaries today.

What will happen in the press, the courts and Congress with all this "new" information? Probably very little.

The acts of violence by the US government revealed here outline the kind of crimes that Nixon - and his predecessors if they were still alive - should be tried for.

Not obstruction of justice, but

Innumerable counts of premeditated cold-blooded Murder One.

Kay Stacy

[Quote from *The Burning Spear*, April 1974.]

Amnesty Struggle

[Continued from page 13]

the easy and bureaucratic way out. They gave him an administrative discharge; this meant no public trial and no precedent set for the other deserters.

The case generated little publicity or public interest, and it must be said that Safe Return failed in its purpose. At the moment there is no sign of any change in the deserters' situation.

The book itself is disorganized, over-personal, and poorly written, but contains some interesting nuggets of information, if one is willing to dig for them.

One such is that a *Workers' Power* cartoon, with a new caption in English and Vietnamese, was used as a safe-conduct pass for GI's in Viet Nam who wished to establish a separate peace with the NLF. ■

R. F. Kampfer

Mideast Carveup

[Continued from page 4]

supported by the Soviet Union, are trying to pressure the Palestinian liberation organizations to attend the coming Geneva meeting, even if that conference simply treats the Palestinians as a "refugee problem" and not a people with "legitimate rights."

There are many conclusions to be drawn from these events. First and foremost, however, it must be recognized that those supporters of Palestinian and Arab liberation, especially on the left, who supported the Arab states in the 1973 war were completely mistaken.

The struggle for socialist revolution in the Middle East must include fighting for a bi-national state in Palestine, restoring full national rights to the Palestinian people and recognizing the right of self-determination for both Palestinians and Jews.

That struggle remains to be organized, both in Israel and the Arab Middle East. But it is the only struggle which can resolve the Middle East crisis, and head off the threat of even bloodier national and imperialist wars. ■

David Finkel



International Socialists
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Politics As Religion

The Degeneration of the Fourth International

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Workers' Power

100

How FBI Murdered Black Movement

HARLEM, N.Y. — "The world-famous and respected Black freedom fighter steps up to the podium following his introduction. The more than 400 Black people in the audience are stilled by the sheer charisma and magnetism of this man.

"He pauses for a moment, adjusting his notes and taking an opportunity to go over in his mind once again his plan for the Black movement.

"It is felt by many that this is the one man with the strength and the ability to pull together the loose Black Liberation Movement.

"Then, the sounds of a commotion are heard from the back of the room. Curse words erupt. The entire audience turns toward the direction of the disturbance.

"The man at the podium, weary after the recent weeks of pressure resulting from his travels, his planning and the attempts of murder that have been made on the lives of he and his family, looks up. 'Be cool, Brothers. . . .'

"The first shots ring out from somewhere near the front of the auditorium. An instant later a shotgun blast erupts and the man at the podium crashes backwards to the floor, dying.

"The man's bodyguard is at his side almost immediately, attempt-

ing mouth-to-mouth resuscitation. The crowd is now on its feet, frantic, confused, shocked. The man's bodyguard gets up to go for help and a woman takes his place at the man's side.

"Finding a phone, the man's bodyguard dials a special number for the New York FBI office. Smiling into the receiver, the man's bodyguard says only "mission accomplished" and hangs up."

How do you break up a militant mass movement?

You can murder its major leaders.

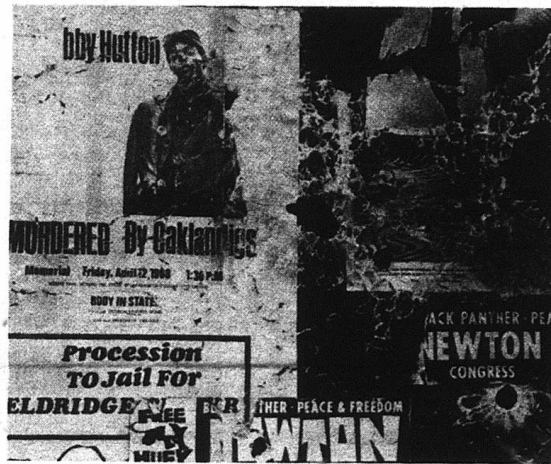
You can discredit those leaders left.

You can create internal strife and dissent in militant organizations. If you are well enough organized, and an arm of the federal government, you may even get away with it.

According to its own documents, this is what the FBI did to the black liberation movement beginning at least in 1961.

The climate created by release of the Pentagon Papers and exposure of Watergate crimes has led to further "de-classification" of "top secret" government files.

On March 7, seven xeroxed memorandums detailing FBI plans



to "disrupt, discredit, misdirect or otherwise neutralize" black militant organizations - mainly the Black Panther Party - were released to NBC newsmen - Carl Stern, who had sued the Justice Department for them.

The FBI has agreed to release huge amounts of other "classified" files.

The memorandums are dated from 1961 to 1970. They are heavily censored, but they chillingly portray the ruthlessness of the United States government attack against a mass movement.

As heavily censored as they are, their impact is staggering.

HOOVER'S ASSAULT

In a secret memo dated March 4, 1968, J. Edgar Hoover outlined the goals of Cointelpro (Counterintelligence Program Against Black Nationalist Hate Groups):

"Prevent the coalition of black nationalist groups.

"Prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. (Censored but assumed to be Malcolm X) might have been such a 'messiah'; he is the martyr of the movement today. (Censored) all aspire to this position.

"(Censored, but assumed to be Elijah Muhammad) is less of a threat because of his age.

"(Censored but assumed to be Martin Luther King) could be a very real contender for this position should he 'abandon his supposed

'obedience' to 'white, liberal doctrines' (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. (Censored) has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way. . . .

"A final goal should be to prevent the long range growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting youth must be developed."

And so the Cointelpro operation, once set into motion, operated toward these goals, with specific sets of tactics and strategies worked out for almost every conceivable situation. Working from forty-one field offices throughout the US, operations were primarily directed against the Black Panther Party.

Cointelpro began under the "liberal" Democratic Kennedy administration, continued through the Johnson years, and was officially ended in 1971.

In 1967 the Panthers were seen as the logical heir of Malcolm X's legacy. By 1971, after surveying the results of police terror and an intensive "legal" harassment campaign, it was clear the Party was reduced to a skeleton.

HOW DID THEY DO IT?

But this is not a history of the Black Panther Party; it is the piecing together of the savage, calculated, vicious attack of the US government on a people struggling for freedom.

The first basic method was to discredit militant black organizations within the black community. The next target was white liberal communities which, at the very least, were good for funds.

Finally, groups had to be discredited in the eyes of each other.

This was accomplished in several ways: falsification of internal documents, reworking them to state positions critical of other organizations or their leadership, and making copies of the documents available to the other organizations involved.

Spreading false rumors concerning plots against one black organization by another was another tactic. In other cases, the FBI made it clear they would not interfere if an organization attacked another.

A key tactic was infiltrators and agents provocateurs, prepared to incite and lead an organization down any blind alley or into any police ambush. Military equipment would be provided by the FBI, always an excuse to raid a headquarters.

And then there was murder. It is clear the FBI was involved in the deaths of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Fred Hampton, scores of local Black Panther Party leaders, particularly in Los Angeles, and unknown numbers of other black political people.

Documents from the series released, dated March 4, 1968, provide evidence linking the FBI to the assassinations of King (April 4, 1968) and Malcolm X (Feb. 21, 1965).

Malcolm X's personal bodyguard was an FBI agent who bragged how he called in every day to report Malcolm's activities.

Another document reports former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover had sworn "to get" Martin Luther King.

The Panther member in charge of "security" in the Illinois chapter the night Fred Hampton was murdered was an FBI agent.

Both the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Black Panther Party were riddled with police agents. Apparently Ron Karenga's group, called US, is heavily infiltrated also.

From Los Angeles in 1969 to Seattle, Baltimore and San Francisco in 1970 to Philadelphia in 1971, the bloody trail of the FBI through Panther chapters, offices and projects is detailed.

It is clear the FBI was well-organized; much better than the

[Continued on page 15]

Workers' Power

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