

Workers' Power

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NIXON'S WATERGATE RATS LEAVE THE SINKING SHIP

Richard Nixon will, almost surely, resign as President of the United States. The exact details and conditions of his resignation are now being fought over. The system which produced Watergate is desperately trying to close ranks to maintain its continued rule over the American people.

In public, politicians speak of "full disclosure to restore faith in the President." In the corridors of Congress, in the board rooms of the multi-national corporations, in the offices of Washington and Wall Street, however, the deals are being made to construct a new Administration.

The pace is slow and unsure, because America's rulers have never been faced with such a set of problems. How to get rid of a President who has outlived his usefulness, but stubbornly refuses to leave office?

How to restore confidence in a political system whose greatest crisis is that the truth about it

is being revealed for public inspection?

How to restore the illusions of democracy to a people rapidly becoming cynical about being manipulated and betrayed by the government to whom it gave its trust?

How to rebuild a strong government at home, so that it can be used once more as an effective military policeman abroad?

How to draw together again U.S. allies and client states from France to Greece, from Saudi Arabia to Spain, which are pulling in a dozen different directions as the organizer of the capitalist alliance is caught in the web of its own corruption?

These difficult decisions, upon which hang the fate of American capitalist interests and the political representatives attached to them, can no longer be trusted to the hands of Richard Nixon.

Leadership no longer comes from the White House. So the industrialists, bankers, and politicians are now meeting both formally and casually, in their social and political clubs, to

discuss and decide how to resolve the crisis.

They are meeting to determine how to dismiss Nixon and how to make the final decisions on the new government which will be called upon to restore confidence in their system.

All of this will have to be sold to the American people as proof that this system really does work, that capitalist-style democracy is capable of correcting its own mistakes, that there are good and honest men waiting in the wings to take over.

Meanwhile none of us will be consulted about any of this. We will have no say over these important decisions which will affect our lives for years to come.

One day next week, or next month, or early next year we will be told about it by that symbol of capitalist democracy: the TV announcer.

Not even the camouflage of fraudulent elections—bought and paid for by the corporations like ITT, the dairy trust, the Howard Hughes' who pay the piper and call the tune for the two parties of big business—will be allowed.

Instead we will get a cover-up



job bigger even than Watergate. They will clean out the White House, jail some Cabinet members, introduce some reforms, put some clean faces up front, and make whatever concessions are necessary to cover over the seamy side of the system.

But the seamy side is the real face of the system, and that is what they must cover up. Those who stand in the shadows behind Nixon and his gang, whose economy and government

produced Watergate and the Cambodia bombing, who are above taking little pay offs because they are the people who give the pay offs, are pulling themselves together again to restore their system.

Nixon will be dismissed but the ruling class will continue the system which maximizes private profit for them at home and abroad. It is they, not Nixon, who will "toughen out" this crisis of confidence. ■

Ford UAW: Ranks In Revolt



"It's the same as with our big government, we're being sold out all down the line," one angry Ford worker told the Detroit Free Press. That was the feeling of thousands of workers who picketed United Auto Workers' headquarters. Lying to the membership and dealing under the table with Ford, UAW President Leonard Woodcock didn't look very different from Nixon.

Covering the truth with double-talking legal jive, Wood-

cock tried to sell his settlement to Ford workers. He sold it in September to workers at Chrysler but this time he ran into even more opposition.

The strongest resistance came from skilled workers, who oppose a provision that amounts to forced overtime and threatens their jobs. This clause would let Ford replace skilled tradesmen who refused overtime with part-timers, production workers or outside contract labor.

Six months ago Ford announced that it would demand the right to use outside contractors. UAW leaders said they

would never accept that. In negotiations they gave in without a fight.

In local after local, the skilled tradesmen rejected the contract. Since the skilled trades have a veto over the contract, no settlement is final until they approve it.

The rejection movement centers in the Detroit area and has been led by members and officials of Local 228 and the United National Caucus (UNC). These two groups called the November 8 demonstration at Solidarity House, the UAW's headquarters. Thousands of workers showed up throughout

the day and the mood was angry and militant. Although mostly skilled men, the demonstrators called on production workers also to reject the contract. As it now stands, production workers would not be given a chance to vote again.

The Local 228 and UNC activists followed the demonstration with a meeting on Friday, November 9. Over 100 workers, again mostly skilled, attended. The meeting, chaired by Pete Kelly of Local 160, called for the rejection of the contract by all auto workers. It

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Editorial

DUMP NIXON, BUILD AN ALTERNATIVE

Each day the cry for Nixon to resign grows louder. What began as an attempt by the liberals to curb Nixon's growing concentration of power exploded into the greatest political crisis in over a century.

The corruption of the Nixon regime is apparently so thorough and widespread that each attempt to cover it over only brings new scandals.

At first Congress hesitated—corruption was nothing new to them. But, as it became apparent that Nixon's arrogant maneuvers and boldfaced lies could no longer command respect, the course was clear. Faith in the system was at stake and bolstering up the Nixon administration became more damaging than impeachment or resignation. Like rats fleeing a sinking ship old Nixon supporters rushed forward to disassociate themselves from the foulness in the White House.

The lumbering wheels of impeachment have been thrown into motion while the ruling class plays cat and mouse with Nixon trying to force him to resign. The only thing that stops them from going in for the kill is the lack of a replacement. So "Tricky Dick" is allowed to hold on while this farce plays itself out in the hearing rooms and courts of this nation.

Tragically, the convulsion surrounding the fall of Richard Nixon has remained inside the institutions of America's ruling class. The mass movements of the sixties that were able to stop Johnson from running for another term are gone. And the voice of organized labor is nothing more than another cry amongst the babble.

For working people the Nixon administration has meant rampant inflation, speedup, the erosion of work standards, the decline of services such as education, housing and health care, decay of the cities and a decline in real wages as price increases outstrip wage gains. In fact the Nixon administration can be summed up in two hyphenated words: anti-labor! and anti-black!

As the scandal unfolded Nixon should have been brought to his knees by organized labor demanding a new election and running its own candidate.

But instead the labor bureaucrats have politically tied working people to the Democratic Party—a party whose concern is not to end the anti-labor policies of Richard Nixon but to prop up the capitalist system.

This whole affair has been as difficult for the Democrats as it has been for the Republicans. Nixon's sloppiness has made the ugly corrupt workings of capitalism more obvious to all.

For the Democratic Party the task at hand is to rebuild faith in the "American Way" and get on with the business of business. That is to continue with the wage controls and productivity drives that have brought "boom" profits to the capitalists—and a declining living standard to the workers.

By tying itself to the Democratic Party, organized labor assures itself of playing no role in the coming events. Meany and Company will stand passively by as the Democratic Party rallies behind Gerald Ford or some other untarnished replica of Richard Nixon.

Thirty years ago, when industrial unionism swept across this country and the CIO was first organized, building an independent political party of working people was the driving vision of thousands of militants. Over the years the union leaderships have lost their way in the maze of capitalist politics and the smoke-filled backrooms of the Democratic Party.

The time has come for the militants to take back the unions and complete the business of the early CIO. Now more than ever—we need a labor party!

Big Business Chokes On Record Profits

Profits of U.S. business and industry have again hit new highs. Returns from the third quarter of 1973 show profits up 32.6% over the similar period in 1972.

All across the board—auto, construction, agriculture, steel, textile—profits are soaring. But just as uniformly has come the response from business—it's not enough.

"This improvement in profits, which is viewed as impressive, is still an inadequate return on assets," says Paul Gorman, president of the International Paper Company.

Profits have been most spectacular in a couple of industries where consumers have felt the squeeze in recent months.

The nation's fourteen leading grocery chains increased their profits by 529.4%. They have done this by raising their prices every time wholesale prices go up, but not reducing them when wholesale prices slacken. Remember this when you see the price of your Thanksgiving turkey.

This might look like a clear demonstration that capitalism defies the law of gravity that what goes up must come down. The *Wall Street Journal*, however, has noted that the danger of a downturn is growing. Many profit figures in the third quarter looked good only by comparison with 1972.

The oil industry is another one with swollen profits, but

you could never tell it from their anguished cries of distress. The oil tycoons have struck it rich on the fuel shortage, to such an extent that they are an embarrassment even to other capitalists.

Exxon, the biggest, increased profits 80% to \$638 million for the third quarter alone. Mobil's profits were up 64%, Guff up 91%. Even the *Wall Street Journal* referred to "the oil industry, now choking with embarrassment over third-quarter profits."

With such tremendous profits, one would think they could absorb their own cost increases for a while. But you'd be a fool to expect it—they've got that sure instinct for turning someone else's crisis and misery to their own gain.

By spring, the average consumer will be paying 50¢ a gallon for regular gasoline, and sharply higher prices for home heating oil as well. All these increases are allowed by the current "price controls."

To take one more example, look at the steel industry. Bethlehem Steel, number two in the industry, increased profits 175%, while U.S. Steel (number one) outdid even Bethlehem with a 182.5% jump. And from Edgar B. Speer, chairman of U.S. Steel, comes the familiar refrain—it's not enough!

One might excuse Speer's workers, whose wage increases are held to 5.5%, if they ask, how much is enough?

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Nixon's Fuel Program Warms Oil Companies' Coffers

President Nixon's emergency energy broadcast of November 7 seemed to be surrounded with an air of unreality and fantasy. Nixon advised the American people to celebrate his new era of peace and prosperity by freezing this winter at home and at work. Plans are in motion for a giant austerity program including fuel rationing and automobile restrictions.

Even before the Middle East war raised the prospects of a 15-20% cut in U.S. oil supplies this winter, various parts of the country experienced selective oil shortages.

The oil companies deliberately withheld supplies from the independent gas station chains, creating a shortage, as leverage against pollution controls.

Legislation designed to clean up the air forced the oil companies to produce gasoline with less lead and pollutants -- and less profits. Additional regulations, plus opposition to their exploitation of cheaper oil sources, also threatened to cut into their profits.

Now with the additional threat of an oil embargo by the Arab nations the lid is off for the oil industry. Price restraints and environmental controls are out the window.

The Alaska pipeline is being rushed through at breakneck

speed. Plans are afoot to tear the Rocky Mountains down, if necessary, to get oil from shale. A new boom in offshore drilling is in the making.

Nixon announced plans to re-open full production at the oil fields in Elk Hills, California, which went down in history along with the Teapot Dome wells in Wyoming as the Watergate of an earlier generation. Scandals may come and go, but the laws of profit remain.

Profit Boom

To expand its capacity to take advantage of these new opportunities, banking and oil interests estimate that the oil industry must double its annual income growth from 8% to 16%. That means the oil companies can look forward to profits even higher than the staggering \$1.07 billion that Exxon, Mobil, and Gulf alone made in the last three months.

If the oil companies "don't squander their earnings", says the *Wall Street Journal* enthusiastically, "the nation will be well served if they do even better in the quarters ahead".

So remember that you're really "serving the nation" when you find yourself paying 50¢ a gallon, and still taking a third longer to get where you're going at speed limits of 50 mph.

Now that we know who profits from the energy crisis -- and who pays for it -- let's look at what lies behind it.



The oil crisis is a product of international capitalist rivalry and war. Nixon's announcement of a new program on the scale of the Manhattan Project (which produced the atomic bomb) was a message to the Arab states: American capitalism aims to achieve self-sufficiency in oil production making Arab oil useless as a weapon against the U.S.

Nixon was also announcing to the world, including Western Europe that the U.S. still has the productive capacity and resources to maintain its superior position.

In this undertaking, Nixon has the full backing of all the corporate powers that rule America.

Congress is rushing through Nixon's austerity program despite its dangerous impact on the economy and the environment, even though Nixon himself is on the verge of falling from office.

The international oil crisis is a political reality, but the so-called "energy crisis" is a fake. More than anything else, it results from the ability of the oil lobbies to block the development of other sources of energy.

Remember in the fifties when all the TV scientists demonstrated the potential power of solar batteries? We were told then that by the seventies houses would be equipped with solar batteries

storing up the summer sun and providing heat and electricity all year long.

Instead we are getting lowered thermostats and gasoline rationing.

In addition to the potential use of solar energy and nuclear fission, tremendous resources of natural gas, coal and oil still exist. Until the recent shortages created the possibility for gigantic profits from these resources, their use was carefully controlled and even held down by the oil companies.

Research Restricted

Of the \$10 billion budget Nixon has requested for energy "research and development", the vast bulk will undoubtedly go toward techniques for oil drilling on the continental shelves, extraction of oil shale and coal mining.

Some of the rest will go for research on nuclear fusion that could provide virtually unlimited energy at some point in the future.

The trick is that much of the research on these and other revolutionary potential new sources are carried out under the auspices of the oil companies themselves!

Under these conditions, it is certain that new energy resources will be developed only if they do not block the continuing flow of profits to the oil giants. In this way, capitalism continues to hold back developments which could liberate mankind from cold and hunger forever. ■

W.O.W. New York Women Office Workers Organize

Rose Baker

Enthusiasm and conviction of purpose filled the air at the first Women Office Workers' Conference, (WOW), held in New York City October 27. Women came from Boston, Chicago and Philadelphia to participate, demonstrating the tremendous sentiment that exists for organizing conferences among radical and working women.

Attended by 250-300 women, the backers of the day-long conference ranged from District 65--Distributive Workers of America and NOW to the New York Radical Feminists. The conference resulted in a commitment to on-going activity among women office workers, the overwhelming bulk of the participants.

The morning session began with a "speak-out" where women described their experiences with job discrimination and related problems like sexism, low pay and the lack of job security and fringe benefits.

More than half the women who work are single, divorced

or widowed. They are the sole means of support for themselves and their children. Day-care, maternity leave and sick pay benefits are issues that speak directly to the needs of women who work. Organizing for these goals was one of the major themes of the conference.

Organizing Drive

The speakers stressed the benefits of being organized rather than individual attempts to better working conditions. One speaker pointed out that while there are about 900,000 clerical workers in unions nationally, there are over one million unorganized clerical workers in New York State alone. Clearly organizing non-union women is a primary issue WOW will have to confront.

A second important issue for the new organization will be drawing black and other minority women into its ranks. Although one of the morning speakers was from the Third World Women's Alliance, her audience was largely white in a city where the majority of clerical workers are black and Puerto Rican. Oppressed sex-

ually and racially as well as on the job, these workers suffer the lowest pay and worst working conditions of all clerical workers. Their participation in the future activities of WOW is vitally important if the organization is to have a real impact on the clerical work force.

While the afternoon workshops provided further opportunity for individual recounting of the problems women workers face, the focus shifted to possible solutions. The conference participants overwhelmingly endorsed the need for union organization for lasting job protection and advancement, rather than affirmative action-type pressure tactics on employers.

Many of the women realized, however, that the unions themselves often discriminate against women and minority workers. In that light the organization of women unionists into women's caucuses was enthusiastically discussed. Democratic control by rank and file unionists was considered basic to organizing to win the goals discussed.

One exciting aspect of the conference is that it marked the

first time radical women liberationists and trade union leaders and activists came together to discuss the special problems and needs of women workers and how to begin solving them. This alone could signal the beginning of a real breakthrough in the unionization of women workers around issues aimed at solving their most important problems both on the job and in society.

While the conference decided that an on-going body was a necessary result of the conference, the character of that body is unclear. It should become a working women's organizing committee with a major goal of sponsoring union drives among clerical and other workers. The organization must also have the flexibility to take part in broader women's struggles for equality and liberation.

Most important, it must attempt to provide organizing experience and leadership to the millions of women office workers who are presently unorganized and at the mercy of their bosses' whims. ■

Hospital Workers Fight Wage Controls

Jim Woodward

Strikes
Swamp
N.Y.C.



Striker arguing with a doctor near N.Y.U. Medical Center

the 7.5% pay raise their employers have already agreed to.

Local 1199 members, most of whom are black and Puerto Rican and have low-paying jobs, have voted not to return to work until the government approves the full 7.5% raise. They have set up solid picket lines, turning back deliveries of all but the most critical supplies. Dozens of pickets have been arrested, and many more have been the victims of police attacks.

"Non-Vital Sector"

The underlying reasons for the strike are found in the basic wage control plan the government has been operating under since Phase Two began in late 1971. *That plan is to allow flexible guidelines for strong unions which have the power to disrupt the nation's economy, while cracking down on the unorganized and on workers in non-vital sectors of the economy.*

Although hospital workers care for people's lives, they do not produce great profits. Neither can they, by themselves, bring an important segment of the nation's business and industry to a halt. They are, therefore, in a "non-vital sector of the economy."

John Dunlop, head of the Cost of Living Council, is known to oppose the 7.5% increase, as are the industry and so-called "public" members of the CLC's Health Industry Wage Committee. Although Dunlop was glad to get away with wage increases of eight percent for workers in

heavy industry, he has threatened to sue in court if the hospital workers' raise is approved.

Local 1199 members have now had to fight the government in each year of their two-year contract. Their first-year increase of 7.5% was cut to 5.5% by the old Pay Board. After eleven months, the difference was restored.

They do not intend to wait another eleven months for the second-year raise. Even with the full 7.5%, they would still be falling behind the rate of inflation. A picket sign at the Jewish Home and Hospital on West 106th Street read: "President Nixon, we can't live on promises, we need our money."

The union has also been attacked in court and in the press. A federal judge issued an injunction against the strike. After it was defied, he fined the union half a million dollars, plus \$25,000 for each additional day of the strike.

Government Forced Strike

New York's daily newspapers, busy fighting off their own unions, have sought to create the impression that the hospital workers are greedy and indifferent to the needs of the patients.

The reality is it was the government—not the workers—that forced this strike. *Members of 1199 had, in fact, shown extraordinary patience and had even postponed their strike deadline in order to give the CLC a chance to make its ruling.* But when it became clear to them that the government was prepared to stall indefinitely, a strike was the only possible solution. ■

It was not precisely a general strike, but everywhere you looked there were workers on the picket line. After a long period of labor peace, New York City unions are becoming active again.

In addition to the strike of hospital workers, firemen walked off their jobs in a 5½ hour strike demanding a pay raise. The city had offered an inadequate raise tied to a productivity plan that would have made the fireman's job even more dangerous.

Members of the Newspaper Guild struck the city's largest newspaper, the New York Daily News, for two days, in a dispute that threatened to spread to other newspapers. Although that strike was settled, the city's newspapers could cease publication at any moment, as six other craft unions are working without contracts. One of the main issues is automation, which is a serious threat to the jobs of many newspaper workers.

Milk workers are threatening strike action as their contract expires.

Artists were also among the ranks of the strikers. Musicians at the New York Philharmonic, one of the world's most prestigious orchestras, have been on the picket lines for six weeks, and workers at the Museum of Modern Art have been fighting an all-out attempt by management to break their union.

A New York newspaper or hospital executive who just wanted to get away from it all might also run into trouble at the airport. Trans World Airline flights out of New York and other cities were not operating due to a strike by stewardesses. ■

The first serious confrontation between a labor union and the government over wage controls since the early days of the controls program is now in progress.

Thirty thousand hospital workers, members of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers Union, are on strike demanding the Cost of Living Council approve

DON'T BUY FARAH!

David Crees

DON'T BUY:

Golden Scroll
Daire
Passport
Su-par Jeans
Club 20
Knits
Slightly Irregular
Cliff Mark
Beau Mark
Kainrod

Nineteen months ago angry workers streamed out of Farah's San Antonio plant as the union looked on in surprise. Before the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) had decided how to respond, Farah workers in El Paso struck as well.

In all, three thousand Farah workers were on strike against low pay, lousy working conditions and the incessant pressure they get from Willie Farah.

Farah owns and operates an air-conditioned sweatshop. The average take-home pay of Farah workers is \$68.00 a week.

There are no benefits at Farah. Workers who get sick or hurt have no sick leave. Willie Farah provides a clinic for the benefit of his workers, but to use it they must punch out—even if they were injured on the job.

Farah knows that his workers don't have much money (he ought to know—he pays them!)

so he deducts clinic payments from their paychecks.

Many workers find that the deductions continue long after the original bill has been paid.

Eighty five per cent of the Farah workers are women. Nevertheless, Farah workers receive no maternity benefits.

Most of these women are Chicanas. In the Southwest unemployment and poverty are highest among Chicanos because of discrimination.

Farah uses the plight of Chicano workers to his own advantage. He hires and fires Chicana women at will. The total lack of job security is one of the reasons that the Farah workers struck.

Perhaps the worst aspect of working at Farah is the constant pressure. Quotas are changed regularly and the direction is always upward. Finally, it reaches the point where Farah demands what is physically impossible.

Not everyone who fails to meet the quota is fired. Only

those who have any seniority (two years or more) or pay (over \$2.00 per hour) are fired.

No one at the San Antonio plant has ever received retirement pay. In fact, retirement pay has only been installed since the strike began. And even then it only supplements what social security pays.

After the workers struck Farah's only comment was, "With that filth gone, the plant will be more cohesive."

Picket lines were patrolled by Farah armed guards using unmuzzled police dogs. Over 800 strikers were arrested and forced to pay exorbitant bail on charges which were later dropped.

Several strikers have been injured by (non-union) Farah trucks which ran them down while they were on the picket line.

Since the beginning of the strike, Farah exploited the fact that the South is the traditional home of non-union, runaway shops and conditions are much

worse than in unionized areas.

He uses the fact that his sweatshops are air-conditioned and that he pays a dime over minimum wage to attract a steady flow of strike-breaking workers.

Many of the workers who scab support the strikers but feel that they cannot afford to strike.

The ACWA has called a nationwide boycott of Farah products. The boycott has received a sympathetic response from working people across the country.

Farah sales have declined twenty per cent and Farah has lost millions of dollars. Farah stock has dropped from close to \$50.00 a share to less than \$10.00 a share. Farah has been forced to close two plants in Victoria, Texas and Las Cruces, New Mexico.

Winning the Farah strike is essential for opening the South to unionization. Join the Farah workers in their effort to win a decent life—Don't buy Farah pants! ■



WOODCOCK RUNS INTO TROUBLE AT FORD

Brian Mackenzie

[Continued from page 1]

demanding that the entire contract be renegotiated, with a decent wage increase, complete voluntary overtime for production as well as skilled workers and the right to strike over health and safety issues. The meeting also went on record for opening the skilled trades to black and women production workers.

The United National Caucus has been the only organized pool of opposition in the UAW. Its active membership, however, is limited primarily to skilled tradesmen, particularly in Ford Local 600 and Local 160 at the GM Tech Center. The skilled trades are almost entirely white, and in Detroit the majority of production workers are black. This racial division has given the companies and the UAW bureaucracy a powerful

lever with which to divide and conquer the rank and file.

To win the current fight and to become a strong opposition force in the UAW, the UNC must attract black workers. To do this, it will have to prove it will fight for them. An aggressive fight for the program passed at the November 9 meeting would be a step in that direction.

"Voluntary" Overtime

The terms of the contract are worse for production workers than for the skilled trades. The wage increase for everyone is a puny 3%, leaving all auto workers behind rising prices. But 3% of a production workers wages is considerably less than 3% of a skilled tradesman's earnings.

The improvement on forced overtime is a fraud. Overtime does not become "voluntary" for a Ford production worker

until after 10 hours—Monday through Friday—and then only if you don't work in a "critical" plant, if it's not changeover, and if the company doesn't declare an emergency.

While a majority of production locals have approved the settlement, there has been some resistance. The giant Dearborn Assembly plant at River Rouge rejected the contract by a 4 to 1 vote. Other production units to reject were the industrial engine works in Highland Park, Michigan, the stamping plant in Cleveland, the forge in Canton, Ohio, and Local 732 in Monroe, Michigan.

The fight of the Ford workers points to even greater opposition at General Motors, where the bargaining deadline is November 19. Having seen how the UAW leadership tried to hoodwink the workers at Chrysler and Ford, the GM

workers may be better prepared to fight back.

It is certain that the GM settlement—which will be "miraculously" arrived at only moments before the strike deadline—will be as bad as those at Chrysler and Ford. No UAW contract offers any protection from speed-up or hazardous working conditions, and these are key issues at GM.

Pro-Company Outlook

The contracts at Chrysler, Ford and GM are all products of the same pro-company outlook. The worker who compared the UAW sell-out to what is going on in "our big government" was closer than he may have realized. Woodcock, like Nixon, has the corporations' welfare at heart.

As firm believers in capitalism, Woodcock and the rest of the UAW bureaucracy think that the well-being of the worker

depends on the well-being, that is, profits of the companies.

He would never dream of doing anything to hurt these multi-billion dollar sweat shops.

But, of course, the health—that is, profits—of these companies depends on their ability to get the most work for the least money. So their well-being gets the workers speed-up, accidents, forced overtime, and so on. In the end Woodcock must lie to the workers about what is possible, what he has "won" and whose well-being he really has in mind.

According to *Business Week*, in the first nine months of 1973 Ford made \$849.9 million, 35% more than last year. Chrysler made \$181 million, up 33%; and GM made \$1.8 billion (that's billion), 26% more than last year. As far as these healthy companies are concerned, Mr. Woodcock is doing a fine job.■

Local Contracts Rammed Through



United Auto Workers' President Leonard Woodcock and his fellow salesmen from UAW headquarters seem to be running into trouble everywhere. With the aid of local union officials and a very low turnout of members, however, they managed to squeeze the national settlement past the Chrysler workers.

This gang ran into dissatisfaction again when they tried to get the local agreements ratified.

The workers at Chrysler Lynch Road Assembly and Mound Road Engine, both covered by Local 51, rejected their local agreement twice. It was clear that the local leadership did the company's work by pushing for a contract that ignored speed-up and other working conditions. Local 51 leaders defended their

settlement by saying the company wouldn't give any more!

This was the attitude of nearly all the officials in the Chrysler locals—take whatever the company offers, but don't fight for more.

In the face of this, those workers who did show up at local ratification meetings didn't believe they could gain anything by rejecting the contract.

Last August, 1,000 workers at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant seized the plant and got a rotten, racist foreman fired. In early November, few workers from the same plant bothered to vote on the local agreement.

Of those that attended the ratification meeting, some demanded to know why the local contract provided no controls over speed-up. The local president responded that he "was sorry."

Knowing that their president was "sorry," but certainly not willing to fight, the members of Local 7 ratified the contract.

At Dodge Main, Local 3, the

president told the executive board that only 185 out of hundreds of demands remained to be settled. Yet, when the agreement was printed up for a membership vote, only 95 demands appeared at all. The rest, it seems, were hidden from the ranks of the local.

Last summer, there were walkouts and sit-ins throughout Chrysler plants. This strike wave ended when the UAW broke a sit-in strike at the Mack Avenue Stamping plant, using a 1,000-person goon squad.

Every bureaucrat, petty staffer, over-paid International Rep., and spineless local official in Michigan was brought in by Woodcock to break that strike.

It would not have taken half that many goons to break the Mack Avenue sit-in. *This was a show of force: Woodcock's sign that no nonsense would be tolerated at Chrysler.*

After this, who could expect these "leaders"—the goons of August—to fight for a decent contract? So, in spite of general

discontent, the Chrysler contract and most local supplements were ratified.

The resistance to a Chrysler-pattern, forced overtime settlement at International Harvester and among skilled tradesmen at Ford shows that Woodcock and his pals will not always have their way.

Vote No to Woodcock

The pressure of the ranks at these companies forced local leaders to fight a Woodcock-style settlement: The tactic of a contract rejection can win something, cynicism and apathy cannot.

The workers at Chrysler made a mistake by letting their "leaders" get away with that contract. They may make good that mistake by dumping these local officials and replacing them with leaders who will fight.

Chrysler workers, like all auto workers, need a new kind of leader, a rank and file fighter, and a new kind of union—one that fights the company, not its own members.■

Kissinger's Peace Means New War

David Finkel



Kissinger and Brezhnev in Moscow

The paper-thin Middle East cease-fire became a little more stable, at least for a time, with Henry Kissinger's announcement of a truce agreement accepted by the governments of Egypt and Israel. The terms of the deal, which were unexpectedly favorable to Israel, will leave Israeli forces more or less in the positions they occupied on October 29 rather than at the first October 22 cease-fire lines.

Without giving up its military gains, the Israeli regime won a commitment for the return of its war prisoners. The victory on this issue, which the Meir-Dayan government has played up as a major emotional symbol, will

strengthen the government against growing right-wing opposition inside Israel.

Unless the deal backfires, its effect will also be to strengthen the Egyptian regime of Anwar el-Sadat. Before Kissinger's visit, Sadat had already won the authority to speak for all the Arab regimes in the war.

Even with Israeli forces still west of Suez, Sadat's prestige will rise further if the "tidying up" of the current cease-fire lines enables Egypt to re-open the Suez Canal.

By accepting Kissinger's proposals, Sadat has also assured himself of full U.S. backing against any internal efforts to topple him. The Kissinger plan depends on preserving the rule of all the existing regimes in the area.

Even with all the enthusiasm Kissinger has generated, however, this truce and the negotiations to follow have no prospect of bringing real peace to the Middle East.

It is the world's super-powers—the United States, with the quiet approval of the Soviet Union—which created this deal. They are applying pressure to prevent new fighting from erupting. And they are in a position to do this, because it is the superpowers which have turned the Middle East into even more of an armed camp than before.

The very promises of "peace" in the Middle East today are based on the preparations already in progress for the next war.

The U.S. government is in the process of pouring new military

hardware into Israel to the tune of nearly \$3 billion. For the first time a huge proportion of this sum is in the form of outright gifts.

These gifts are not free of charge, however. Israel's client state relationship to the U.S. has been re-asserted and even strengthened. The Zionist claim that the state of Israel "makes the Jewish people masters of their own destiny" has become a pathetic joke.

In response, Sadat has practically mortgaged Egypt's economy for the purchase of weapons from Russia. To offset this, he is now mortgaging his own and Egypt's political future to the United States. Sadat has placed the future of the occupied territories, the Suez Canal and the dream of Arab unity in the

hands of U.S. diplomatic maneuvering.

So far, the Soviet government is quietly supporting Kissinger's efforts. On the one hand, Brezhnev and Kosygin are no doubt watching with satisfaction as America's NATO alliance comes apart over the issue of oil.

On the other hand, a new eruption of fighting could upset Brezhnev's apperant. The desperate military position of Egypt might well force Russia to step in directly to back up its commitment to Egypt in the war. Brezhnev has no desire or interest in taking this risk.

The United States—and Israel—have already suffered enough political damage in this war to suit Brezhnev's purposes: it has assured that Russian interests cannot be frozen out of the region and must be taken into account in any negotiations.

Palestinians Betrayed Again

As for the negotiations which are now promised, there has been no mention of whether the Palestinian Arabs will have any voice, or who will be propped up to speak for them. It is the Palestinians—the actual people whose land and wealth Israel has robbed—whose rights and very existence every Israeli government refuses to recognize.

The Zionist establishment finds it necessary to deny the nationhood of the Palestinians, for recognizing them would endanger the "legitimacy" of all Israeli policies.

The statements of Sadat, Faisal and Assad maintain that the rights of the Palestinians are central to any peace settlement. But their actions prove that they are willing to take responsibility for a new betrayal of the Palestinians.

This willingness is central to the politics of the 1973 Middle East war. The entire strategy of the Arab regimes was to use Russian arms, Egyptian troops and Arabian Gulf oil to bring about an American-imposed peace agreement. So far, events have followed the script.

An eventual peace treaty might return to the Arab countries—even against Israel's wishes—part or even most of the occupied territories seized by Israel in 1967.

Whatever the rhetoric, it will leave the Palestinians robbed and homeless. Even more, it will produce a declaration of "lasting peace" which amounts to nothing but an imperialist re-division of the entire Middle East.

After the Mideast Truce - The Bitter Fruits of War



The consequences of the fourth Middle East war leave the masses of all the Middle East nations facing new oppression and the danger of ruin.

For the people of Israel, the massive 1967 military victory has produced a defeat in world politics whose dimensions are not yet precisely known. From the black African nations to the European Common Market, Is-

rael finds itself politically isolated and potentially cut off from major trading partners.

The occupied territories, the fruits of Israel's armed might, are a bone which threatens to catch in her throat. The possibility of a political crisis is also heightened by the emergence of right-wing general Ariel Sharon, who charges that the government failed to make use of Israel's military strength in the latest war.

Sharon, who demands that Israel continue to base its policies on military superiority over the Arabs in spite of its political isolation, is a logical product of Zionist policy and of the wars launched by Ben-Gurion, Meir and Dayan. But his political ascendancy threatens to create a new catastrophe for Israel.

Move to the Right

Israel's 1967 victory also produced the latest war, whose consequences are all too clear. Over 1800 Israeli soldiers died in two weeks—proportionally, over three times as many as the 40,000 Americans killed in ten years in Vietnam.

Because of the astronomical expense of the war, Israeli workers will face a large cut in their standard of living, and quite possibly the emergence of a new right-wing, anti-labor government. The future of the Israeli government and economy is another pawn on Kissinger's chess board.

The Arab armies fought well, despite huge losses and suffering, because the Arab masses believed they were fighting for the Palestinians, for their own national freedom and against imperialism. After the initial elation, however, this war leaves

the Arab peoples also facing a grim future.

The politics of this war and its consequences have further tightened the noose of imperialism around the lives and destinies of the Arabs. Arabian oil was used as a strategic tool against the West—but, in the hands of the Arab rulers rather than the masses, the oil weapon is not aimed at liberating the Middle East from the West. Instead it deepens Western involvement.

Imperialist Noose

If the oil crisis becomes really acute, the Arab masses will face the prospect of a brutal struggle against the Western powers who will fight to gain direct control over the pipelines. Although the Arab rulers are using the oil against the imperialists today, their pro-imperialist politics have weakened the position of the masses in any such struggle.

Meanwhile the policies of Zionism, imperialism and great-power rivalry are sowing the seeds for the next war. Without a revolutionary struggle against all the existing regimes, that war will be fought—like this one—over the dead bodies of the people of the Middle East.

Haifa Trials Expose Zionist Repression

[The following speech was made in a Haifa courtroom by a Jewish revolutionary sentenced to ten years in jail for the so-called crime of holding a political discussion with a Palestinian Arab.

Ram Livneh, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (one of the organizations of the anti-Zionist left in Israel), was among a group arrested in December 1972 for failing to turn in to the police information concerning an alleged underground resistance movement.

In fact, the trial made it plain that Livneh and the other defendants were not being sent to jail for any actions, but strictly on account of their political ideas.

One charge against Livneh, on which he was found guilty, was that he was "in possession of the newspapers of a banned organization," the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, although Livneh easily proved that these newspapers were freely available in libraries and on bookstands.

The trial and sentencing of some forty defendants in the Haifa frame-up trials is another step in the process of repression of all political dissent. This process will only accelerate as the political center of power in Israel shifts toward the right.

We are reprinting parts of Livneh's speech as an act of solidarity with the anti-Zionist revolutionaries in Israel, and to help expose the democratic liberal facade that masks the reality of the Israeli regime.]

I, a communist worker, member of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance, stand here fully conscious that it is because of my political activities that everything possible is being done to put me in jail for a long spell.

I am accused of contacting a foreign agent, and of hiding a crime that the man I met was about to, or was plotting to, commit. I am further accused of trying to contact a foreign agent, and of having in my possession press material belonging to an illegal organization.

The man I met three years ago has been described by the prosecutor as a "foreign agent." Yet even the prosecution itself recognizes that the man was introduced to me as a Palestinian

connected with the Palestinian resistance movement.

Yet if the argument is that this man is a foreign agent by virtue of his connection with the Palestinian resistance movement, then *nothing could symbolize more clearly the nature of the Zionist movement's approach to the Palestinian movement.*

This approach labels a "foreign agent" one who is connected to a movement whose basis is the belonging of the dispossessed Palestinian Arab people to the country of their birth.

It is impossible to attach the "foreign" label to the Palestinian resistance movement—not to this land, not to this region.

As even Defense Minister Moshe Dayan recognizes: *"The state of Israel was established at the expense of the Arabs—and in their place. We did not come into a void. There was an Arab settlement here.*

"We are settling Jews into places where there were Arabs. We are turning an Arab land into a Jewish land."

National Robbery

For many years before 1948, the Zionist national institutions were engaged in robbery, plunder and fraudulent purchase of lands and in the expulsion of the peasants. Zionism, which organized the masses of European refugees in order to colonize the country, wanted territory "clean" from Arabs.

This process of the colonizing Zionist movement taking control over the country, taking the place of the Palestinian Arab people, was carried out from the beginning through dependence on, and giving "good services" to, the interests of the various imperialist powers active in the region—Germany before World War I, Great Britain till the end of World War II, the USA since then.

Since 1948 the Arab citizens of the country have been subject to police oppression under the Defence (Emergency) Regulations (established by the British in 1945).

"The regime established with the publication of these regulations has no comparison in any enlightened country. Even in Nazi Germany there were no laws like these.

"They reassure us, saying that the regulations are directed solely against the Arabs and not against the citizens in general, but the Nazi governor in Oslo (Norway) also declared that no evil would come to the citizen who minded his own business.

"No government has any

authority whatsoever to enact such laws."

This was said by the man who is today Israel's Minister of Justice, Ya'acov Shimson Shapira, at a meeting in February 1946 in which 400 Jewish lawyers took part—a time when the British were using those regulations also against the Jews.

But the regulations have not changed just because today they are used mainly against Arabs and communists. Those regulations—one of which I am accused of breaking—are still racist and anti-human.

The regime established on the basis of these regulations still has no analogy in any enlightened country.

Regime of Terror

These and other fascist regulations are also the allegedly "legal" foundation on which the Israeli government bases itself in the territories conquered in 1967—the foundation for a regime of terror, of blowing up houses, of land expropriation, of spraying tilled areas, of evicting populations, of prohibiting political activity, of silencing the press, of exploitation.

Dozens of years of eviction and oppression unavoidably create contradictions that the Zionist movement cannot overcome. The state of Israel, in all the years of its existence, has been in a situation of open and uncompromising confrontation not only with the direct victims of the Jewish settlement—the Israeli-Palestine Arabs—but also with the whole Arab world and an increasing number of other countries in the world.

The firm stand of both the Zionist movement and the state of Israel, denying in principle the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, and denying

in practice their most basic human rights—all this condemns the Arab masses to hopeless oppression and the Jewish masses to an eternal, unjust war against historical reality.

The revolutionary communists are accused of standing for violence, of preaching armed insurrection. There is no limit to the hypocrisy of this regime.

At the Chemicals and Phosphates plants in Haifa, the lungs of workers are burned by poisonous gasses day after day. This is violence!

At the textile factories, workers become deaf from the noise of machines. In all factories, work is organized to suck as much profit as possible at the expense of the workers' health and life—this is violence in its highest degree!

In the poor neighborhoods, poor villages and development towns, the physical health of the settlers is destroyed year after year—this is violence!

Violence and Oppression

In the Arab villages and the areas conquered in 1967, a regime of violent terror founded upon anti-human laws is operated. Clubs and weapons, tortures and arbitrary arrest—this is violence!

The regime is completely based on violence. Oppressive violence is indispensable to its existence.

And when we organize ourselves for a political struggle whose purpose is to eliminate the regime of violence, when we call the Jewish and Arab workers and peasants to a common struggle to liberate ourselves from the exploitation and the oppression—the government accuses us of teaching violence.

Thus I, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance, a legal organization known

for its political work among the Jewish and Arab masses, met in August 1970 a man introduced to me as a Palestinian socialist.

This was a political meeting in which we discussed political developments in Israel, the Arab countries and the Palestinian movement. The sole purpose was political clarification and deliberation.

Trial by Torture

The charge presented against me is based on false confessions.

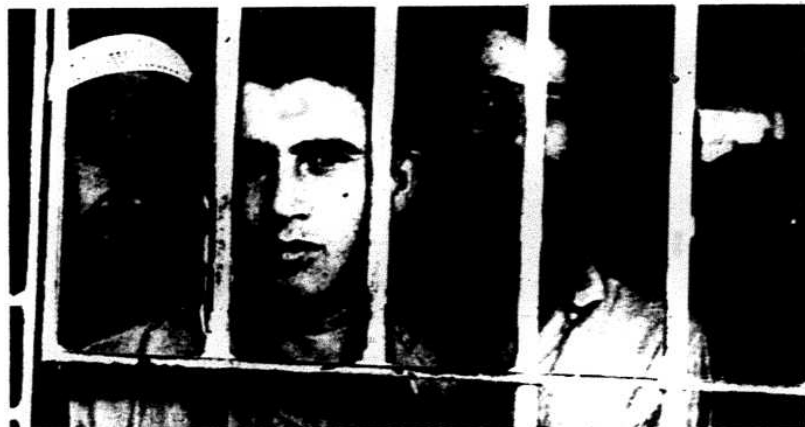
After nine days of investigation, which were full of beatings and throughout which I defended my right not to make any statement except in court, they took my friend who is as close as a brother to me and tortured him with electricity and cold showers, and simply announced to me that they would not stop until I was ready to talk.

I talked. I told them I was ready to say whatever they wanted—and I truly "incriminated" myself, apparently, and signed whatever they wanted me to.

The meeting I held was an organic part of the legal activities of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance. I did not break the law, and there was no intention on my part to break the law or harm the security of the state.

Our position, and our way of ensuring the security of the people of Israel, is the realization of massive political struggle. I am standing here only because I am an uncompromising fighter against the existing regime.

What leads me and my friends in all our activities is the true interests of the Jewish and Arab masses. While I am completely innocent, there is nothing in the world that can stop me fighting, together with my friends, for the noble aims of communism. ■





In the last few weeks, the ruling class has made up its collective mind. Nixon must go because his Administration has been destroyed. What has been revealed about its normal operating procedures is staggering.

Even those in the know blush when they read of its bugging, burglary, spying, lying, secret police force, and its cloak-and-dagger bungling. If it becomes a movie, it will have to be X-rated.

Staggering under the blows of these revelations, this Adminis-

WHY THEY DEMAND NIXON QUIT

Joel Geier

tration has lost its initiative to its opponents, who can produce new scandals wherever they care to press — scandals which come so thick and fast that barely are they read before they are pushed out of the paper by a later batch.

Nixon, the millionaire President who is supposed to embody civic virtue, pays less taxes than families who narrowly squeak over the poverty line.

He does this on a \$200,000 income, which is supplemented through the ministrations of his crony-banker Bebe Rebozo who knows how to launder campaign contributions into personal trust funds.

This Rebozo, who personifies the morals of the Nixon entourage, is described by the President as "a supremely honest man" whom the rest of the country knows to be a fence for Mafia stolen stock.

To demonstrate his honesty, he kept \$100,000 of Howard Hughes money as a tip for Nixon.

Influence peddling has turned into a big business. None of the nickel and dime Agnew type kickbacks.

Instead, \$2 million from the dairy trust to the Republican Party is parlayed into hundred of millions in bloated milk prices and profits, paid for by the generosity of the American working class.

For a smaller sum, a paltry \$400,000, Nixon orders Kleindienst not to disturb ITT's violation of the anti-trust laws.

This on the sworn statement of Kleindienst, who does not wish to go to jail, even if just a short while ago he swore to the exact opposite to secure the Attorney-Generalship. This Kleindienst is truly a Cabinet member for all seasons.

Moral Compunctions

But why expect the Cabinet to have moral compunctions any greater than their chief's? Mitchell and Stans will shortly go to jail for shaking down Vesco.

Butz, Secretary of Agriculture, may avoid jail. All he did was again curb an over-eager anti-trust suit against the Heublein corporation, so that money and votes would be delivered by California agribusiness.

But why be shocked? This after all is how business works, and under capitalism politics is business like any other. While the rhetoric speaks of democracy and the public trust, the reality is that political favors are sold like shoes, autos or any other

commodity on the capitalist market — for a profit.

Are we really to be shocked that the ethics of the capitalist market place are also the ethics of the capitalist government?

This is why Nixon can honestly proclaim his innocence. He is no different from the businessmen who elected him to manage their affairs.

New Scandals

If Nixon remains, fresh scandals and new crises will continue to surface. The press already hints mysteriously about Project Odessa, Specia, Project One, and still more corporate, or personal, contributions.

The details will not be disclosed, if Nixon resigns. But the press itself cannot control events. The prolonged crisis produces ever more scandals as high officials spill their guts to save their skins. The normal method of capitalist politics, the cover-up, is now being run in reverse reel.

To the man, the political elite react no different than do petty thieves. For protection they start to sing. And soon in the dock it will be Mitchell, Stans, Kleindienst and the rest.

If Nixon remains he threatens both the system as a whole and the individual careers of a large number of its faithful retainers.

Crisis of Confidence

At this point no propaganda campaign would be large enough to restore confidence in the integrity of Nixon and his associates. The credibility of the Administration is ruined beyond repair.

Not even its supporters are prepared to admit to belief in its version of events, which daily become more bizarre as tapes are mysteriously lost and become inaudible.

The image of the Administration, if it were to be believed, is that it is too incompetent to even handle tape recorders correctly.

If Nixon were to remain in office it could only be on the basis of the open recognition and condoning of the Watergate scandals, corruption and methods.

That would be more than just a slap in the face to the American people, to the families who run this country and the media that they own. In the long run it would threaten the moral legitimacy of the ruling class to run this society.

The crisis of confidence has been allowed to go on for so long because there has been no

threat at home. The American people have not intervened decisively in Watergate.

They have not engaged in protests, demonstrations or strikes against the Nixon regime. The reason is that the left in general, and the Black left in particular, was crushed by the repression of the late 1960's and by its own political failure to organize inside the American working class.

With the defeat of the left, the official opposition voices — the liberal, labor and black political leaders, the Kennedys, McGovern, Meanys, Woodcocks, Hatchers, Wilkins and Dellums — are all tied to this system.

They will make speeches, call for resignation, pass resolutions. But they won't use their positions of leadership to engage in mass direct action. Their commitment to the system threatened by Watergate is greater than their commitment to the interests of the people whom they claim to represent and lead.

Liberals on the Take

It is not just the Republicans who are on the take. It's the liberals as well. Howard Hughes passes on \$100,000 to Bebe Rebozo for Nixon, but with the other hand gave \$50,000 to Hubert Humphrey.

Whoever was to be President would be in Hughes' debt. This is standard operating procedure in a country whose two parties have no fundamental differences.

Just last month in the Detroit primary, Henry Ford went Hughes one better. He gave \$3000 to each of the four leading candidates!

Ford likes to bet on a winner — and to collect on his bet. How are the Democrats to lead a fight against Nixon when they have done the same thing?

If they were to start such a fight, Nixon would start leaking to the press all the scandals that his buggers have collected on his opponents.

So the liberals are discreet in their opposition. In the past none of them would put themselves too far out on a limb in leading a fight to dump Nixon.

Now, however, courage will be found, since the American ruling class has finally come to the conclusion that Nixon must go.

While the absence of any threat at home allowed the crisis of government to be prolonged, the internal rot and disintegration of the Nixon administration be-

How Nixon Milks The Public

The odor of sour milk coming from the White House refrigerator is reaching dairy counters in supermarkets across the country. If Watergate doesn't do Nixon in, the milk scandal could finish him off, along with former Texas Governor John Connally and a dozen lesser bureaucrats.

In contrast to the Watergate scandal, the milk deal has had a direct impact on the budget of every working person in this country. It has added enormous profits to the dairy industry's coffers, while consumers pay higher prices for milk and other dairy products.

As part of its welfare program for giant agribusiness corporations, the government sets bottom limits each year for dairy prices. The 1971 limit, for example, was to have been \$4.66 per 100 pounds. If prices fall below this artificial limit, the government buys enough dairy products to assure dairymen of receiving this price. Consumers pay not only through the resulting higher prices, but also through their tax dollars which support the program.

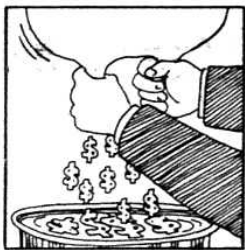
Dairymen apparently decided that \$4.66 in 1971 was not enough and offered Nixon up to \$2 million to have the bottom price raised. On March 23, 1971, Nixon met about a dozen dairymen in the Cabinet Room of the White House. Connally met with Harold Nelson of Associated Milk Producers, Inc. the next day. On the 25th, a new bottom price of \$4.93 per 100 pounds

was announced for the year beginning April 1.

How much of the \$2 million was actually paid may never be known, but half a million was contributed by dairy firms to various committees to re-elect the President, including \$50,000 to Democrats for Nixon, which Connally headed. Another half million seems to have been channeled through Stuart Russell, an Oklahoma City lawyer.

One dairymen who attended the March 23 meeting with Nixon wrote a few lines which serve as a reminder of how the free enterprise system really works:

"We dairymen as a body can be a dominant group. On March 23, 1971, along with nine other dairy farmers, I sat in the Cabinet Room of the White House across the table from the President of the United States, and heard him compliment the dairymen on... our involvement in politics. He said, 'You people are my friends and I appreciate it.' Two days later an order came... increasing the support price for milk..."



came all too apparent when American capitalism was threatened from abroad.

The war in the Middle East raised the question for the whole world. Was there an American government capable of acting decisively, imposing its solutions, or at a minimum being able to make and keep agreements?

The accumulated rot found the Administration a shambles. Not only could it not control its Arab client states, but even its NATO allies and satellites were unwilling to back it up.

Kissinger and Defense Secretary James Schlesinger intervened, called a meeting of the National Security Council, without Nixon, and put American troops on the alert throughout the world.

Still a Government

They proved that there was still an American government, both to our allies and rivals abroad, and also to our own ruling class at home whose badly shaken self-confidence in its ability to rule was overcome by the decisive leadership it received from Kissinger and Schlesinger.

As for Nixon, under the cover of the Mideast war he attempted to pull off his coup of firing Cox. In the course of that fateful week Nixon's fate was finally decided.

The ruling class, in well orchestrated editorials from coast to coast has called for resignation or impeachment. A strong government must be restored in Washington, and swiftly, to restore moral authority at home and to deal with immediate threats and dangers abroad.

This time the threats come not just from Russia, but from America's capitalist imperialist rivals, its NATO allies, and from its client oil sheikhdoms in the Mideast.

No sooner did the ruling class give the word for resignation or impeachment, than the chorus was joined by Nixon's former closest associates in the Republican Party.

Senator Dominick, head of the Republican Campaign Committee has decided that to save the Republican Party, Nixon must go. The Republican Party, he warned, must dissociate itself from the Republican Administration.

Not to be outdone, the Buckley boys, leaders of the respectable lunatic fringe on the Republican right have also publically gently prodded for resignation.

Privately they are less gentle. They don't want their reactionary conservatism to be too closely identified with Nixon's ineptness. A corrupt system must be protected from being too closely tied to the personal corruption of its leader.

Attitude of the Press

While most of the press is calling for resignation, some like the *Washington Post* are calling for impeachment. What they really mean is that they want both.

They want resignation, because they don't want a long drawn-out impeachment which would continue governmental paralysis and which would reveal even more about the workings of the system. But they don't want an unseemly hasty resigna-

tion which might not restore confidence in the system, and which might appear to be bowing too much to popular will.

The press wants to preserve as much as possible of the system, including its slow cumbersome impeachment machinery which was designed to keep as great a distance between the executive and popular control as could be gotten.

So what they want is both impeachment and resignation. They want Nixon to resign, but first they want enough time to draw up a decent bill of particulars to impeach him.

With impeachment assured, and with his remaining supporters placated that he was not a victim of Democratic Party partisanship — which would undermine the authority of a new government — the top leaders of his own party will then ask Nixon to resign, presenting him with a fait accompli.

Thus, while cries for resignation go on, the machinery for impeachment is brought into motion in the House. In the Senate, meanwhile, they are going ahead with the job of constructing a new capitalist government to replace Nixon. ■

Taxes: Why Pay More?

In order to augment his meager \$200,000 salary for 1970 and 1971, President Nixon used a device well-known to the rich and powerful: tax evasion. Whether tax evasion is legal or not usually depends on how much money you make rather than what you did.

Lawyers and politicians are now debating whether Nixon's tax evasion was legal or illegal. But in any case, he paid only \$72.81 income tax in 1970 and \$878.03 in 1971. This is about what a worker with two dependents making \$8,000 a year would have to pay.

The President's gimmick was to give away to the National Archives 392 cubic feet of his personal papers and documents. This qualified as a "charitable contribution" and the estimated value of the papers, \$570,000, could then be deducted from his taxable income.

The snag is that, due to changes in the tax law, such contributions made after July 26, 1969 do not qualify as deductions. Nixon hurriedly moved the papers into the National Archives in March 1969, but he neglected to have the necessary legal paperwork done until well into 1970. Tax lawyers therefore conclude that the gift was not legally made until 1970.

Pity the poor President. If the IRS orders him to pay more tax, he may have to accept another payoff from someone to make up for his lost income. ■

In the Senate an investigating committee is taking testimony from Gerald Ford with all deliberate speed. The committee, and the nation, knows that it is interviewing a replacement not for Agnew but for Nixon.

Aside from the usual petty graft which is being quickly hushed up and overlooked, the Committee's real mission is to deal with the doubts about Ford's character and ability.

While the Senate knows it cannot put in a Democratic Administration, it can extract whatever guarantees and terms it likes from Ford about what his Administration will be like and who it will consist of.

When Ford was originally proposed as a replacement for Agnew, his nomination was met with amusement by the media. They reeked Lyndon B. Johnson's folksy, if cruel, judgements on Ford's competence.

In LBJ's words, Ford "couldn't chew gum and walk at the same time," because the ex-football star had "played ball without his helmet too often."

The humor was allowed. Vice-Presidents aren't taken too seriously in America. Ford himself in his testimony said that his career was not due to great talent, but was more a matter of being in the right place at the right time.

Quickly, all of LBJ's sick Gerald Ford jokes are now disappearing from the press. This is the man around whom a new government, untainted by corruption, is to be constructed!

This is the government to be charged with restoring integrity and moral authority at home, and having to make hard, razor sharp decisions on foreign policy!

Senators and reporters suddenly become very respectful of Ford. They laud his candor, his "refreshing honesty," his decency — anything they can clutch to, as they try to create a popular image for a man they know to be incompetent but soon to be the President.

Front Man

Ford himself cannot end the crisis of confidence and restore a strong government to America. What he can do is be a clean-cut front man for the real government. That is the substance of the haggling and bargaining going on now behind closed doors.

That is the meaning of the guarantees that are being demanded of Ford by the Democrats in the public testimony he gives to the Senatorial committee.

Yes, Ford assures them, he will keep Kissinger on at the State Department. He will not interfere with the press. He will cooperate with a Democratic Congress. He would have turned over the tapes.

So the questioning continues.

The charade is acted out that Agnew's successor is being chosen, while they extract governmental concessions in advance from Nixon's replacement.

The new government will keep Kissinger in charge of foreign policy. In these dark days he has become a savior-figure to the ruling class.

Schlesinger will probably be kept at Defense, having proven himself with Kissinger in the Mideast crisis. The war has shown how much the Russians have caught up with the West in military technology, particularly missiles.

The American war budget will be revamped, increased considerably, and its emphasis shifted.

The domestic consequences will see more Nixonomics — further cuts in welfare spending, and new fuel to inflation even with a recession coming up.

Watergate heroes like Richardson, Ervin and Cox will be called into the government to restore confidence, and to rebuild the morale of departments like Justice and the FBI.

The real sticking point, however, is the future direction of the economy, over which it may



prove impossible to get agreement. Phases 1-4 have failed to control inflation, but they have cut real wages while we are still in boom conditions.

American inflation, bad as it is, has therefore been less than that in the other capitalist powers as the labor bureaucracy went along with negotiated wage cuts in the last year.

Coupled to the still successful American-imposed realignment of world currencies, America's competitive edge in the world market has been sharply improved. But commodity price inflation, and the decline of the dollar, have fueled inflation to the point where it might soon start to run ahead of European rates.

A new government will have to face added war expenses, unpopular welfare cuts, new cur-

rency crisis, the strong possibility of a fairly immediate recession intensified by the oil blockade.

Such a government will require the continued strong support of the labor bureaucracy. But given the continued ravages of inflation, the decline of real wages in the last year, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the bureaucrats to get their own members to stick to the 5.5% guidelines.

Mounting discontent, already evident in the auto contract, is handwriting on the wall.

The chances are that while the immediate crisis of confidence is resolved with Nixon's resignation, there will be a continuing series of crises in America in the next three years.

Capitalism's Corrupt Face

For Watergate is no accident, any more than Vietnam was an accident. Both of them are the products of a decaying imperialist system. They are the real faces of capitalism: corruption and repression at home, imperialist war abroad.

America's two parties may both attempt to come up with reform schemes to draw some distance between Watergate and themselves. Both will produce the illusion of reform to make sure no real reform takes place, that the system of capitalism continues onward, concentrating despotic power in the Presidency and laying the basis for new secret bombings, buggings and kickbacks.

Watergate has shown more than the corrupt face of American capitalism. It has shown that for all their pretensions, the elite who rule this country are no more qualified to rule than the workers are.

If we are to escape future Watergates, we must organize to impose our democracy, our power, our rule for our interests, the interests of the vast majority of Americans, over those of the capitalists.

Democracy, power, and control are important to us. Today democracy and power are like wealth, the privilege of a few who use it for their own benefit.

Instead we must make democracy and wealth the property of all.

Workers must have power over the factories, the economy and the government — the power to democratically shape our own lives for our own needs, to control the wealth of this country for the many not the few, to prevent new Watergates and new Vietnams.

The task at hand is to build a revolutionary socialist movement to replace the permanent corruption and crisis of this decaying imperialist system. ■

After Nixon - The Shape of Things to Come

Exposing the Myths: the Real Roots Of Stalinism

Chris Harman

"I've read that Lenin's additions to Marxist theory, particularly that of the infallibility of the Party, laid the foundations for Stalinism. I'd like to know how you answer this argument."

This question is frequently asked of revolutionary socialists, especially by workers and radicals who have been told that Stalinism and Leninism are the same thing.

This idea is common. Supporters of the present rulers of Russia justify the present totalitarian regime as the

continuation of the Russian Revolution of 1917. The same idea is presented by opponents of Marxist ideas who want to prove that socialism means the destruction of freedom.

This view has, however, little evidence to support it. Those who argue for it do by taking out of context a few sentences written by Lenin in 1903, during the struggle to build a revolutionary workers' party to organize the overthrow of Tsarism. These sentences were quoted by Stalin 30 years later to justify the dictatorship of Stalin's Communist Party over

the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union.

Writers who equate Lenin's and Stalin's views ignore the fact that the two parties—Lenin's and Stalin's—were completely different in every respect.

Stalin Murders Bolsheviks

Before he could consolidate his power, Stalin had to murder virtually all the "old Bolsheviks" who were the backbone of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. By 1937, only one in ten of the surviving Bolsheviks of 1917 were still members of Stalin's Communist Party.

The enemies of Marxism who quote Lenin's 1903 arguments completely ignore the other 40 or so volumes of Lenin's writings, on the revolutionary party and other questions.

If they discussed Lenin's writings, they would have to admit that never—either in 1903 or any other time—did Lenin ever present the idea of the "infallibility of the Party" which was to become Stalin's doctrine.

In Stalin's party there was no possibility of democratic discussion. Anyone who opposed or even questioned Stalin's decisions faced instant expulsion, imprisonment—or even execution.

The same ban on discussion, both in the Communist Party and the Soviet Union, persists today, as the recent trials of Yakir and Krasin proved.

Open Debates

In Lenin's party it was quite the opposite! The history of the Bolshevik Party was a history of debates which took place openly, including in the Party's newspaper.

In April 1917, for instance, the majority of the Party leadership supported the middle-class Provisional Government. When one of Lenin's articles was published in *Pravda*, calling for opposition to this government and for urging the workers' councils to take power, an editorial was written—by Stalin—expressing disagreement with Lenin and saying that he was out of touch.

In July 1917, workers and soldiers in Petrograd wanted to

stage an uprising against Kerensky's Provisional Government. Lenin, Trotsky and the majority of the Bolsheviks thought this was premature, for outside of Petrograd most people would oppose the insurrection.

Large sections of the Party disagreed openly, however, and the Bolshevik soldiers' paper supported the uprising.

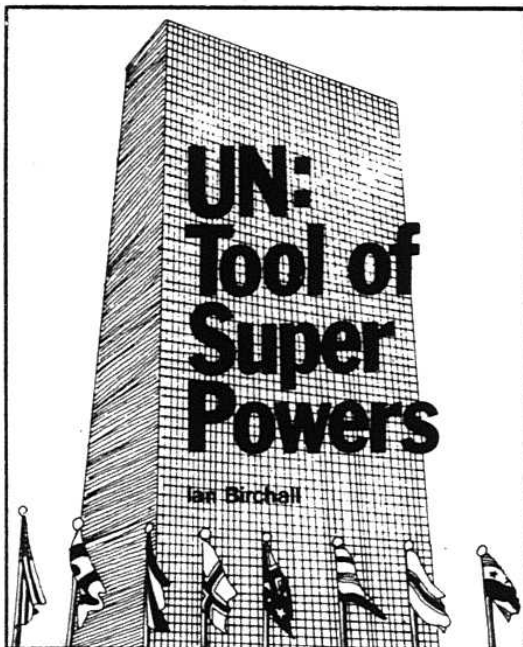
Militant, Conscious Workers

Such debates took place in the party because it was the party of the most militant, conscious workers. Even when the party was illegal, in August 1917, about one in every 12 Russian workers was a member.

Free discussion was necessary



Vladimir Lenin



The U.N. troops being sent into the Middle East are described as a "peace-keeping force." No one, however, should have any illusion that the United Nations is, or ever could be, anything but a direct tool of the big powers.

A predecessor of the U.N., the League of Nations, was set up after World War I to safeguard world "peace." It collapsed dismally at the outset of World War II.

The Bolsheviks described the League as "a hopelessly compromised Geneva organization which will direct its future efforts

to the suppression of revolutionary movements." This judgement fits today's U.N. perfectly.

The U.N. was set up in 1946 after the two imperialist powers, America and Russia, had carved the world up into "spheres of influence" without consulting the peoples of their respective "spheres."

The role of the U.N. was to police the carve-up, and to give smaller countries the appearance of a voice which would get them to help pay for the job.

Between 1946 and 1953 the UN General Assembly adopted more than 800 resolutions. Fewer than 3 per cent of these were contrary to American wishes, and none at all affected U.S. security interests.

Imperialist Talk Shop

In the Korean War, from 1950 to 1953, the U.N. was simply the legal fiction under which the United States fought in a long and bloody struggle between the two great powers. The U.N. forces were allowed to experiment with a new weapon—napalm.

The war left Korea in ruins from end to end. It did not advance the interests of the Korean people one inch.

In 1960 Patrice Lumumba, the elected Prime Minister of the newly independent Congo, faced right-wing and pro-imperialist opposition. He invited in the United Nations to help "restore order."

The U.N., almost certainly working hand-in-glove with the

CIA, permitted the arrest and then the murder of Lumumba and his replacement by a pro-imperialist government.

When a big power has engaged in naked aggression against a small country, or vicious repression against a liberation movement, the U.N. has simply stood aside.

In 1954, the U.S. overthrew a reform government in Guatemala. The U.N. Security Council refused to place a request for action from Guatemala on its agenda.

In 1956, Russian tanks rolled over the Hungarian working class. The U.N. passed self-righteous resolutions but abstained from all action.

In the case of America's brutal wars against the Vietnamese people, even the resolutions were not forthcoming. The atrocities committed by the U.S. in Southeast Asia merely highlighted the U.N.'s total impotence. Nor did the U.N. lift a finger when hundreds of black people were shot down in the streets during the ghetto rebellions of the 1960's.

The U.N. is only useful for tidying up after the big powers have reached agreement, as in the Cuban crisis in 1962 or the Middle East Suez invasion of 1956.

Despite all the liberal illusions, the U.N. can never be independent from the big powers on whom it depends totally for arms and money.

The history of the U.N. in the Middle East has been es-

pecially pathetic. In 1947, the U.N. tried to partition Palestine between the Jews and the Palestinian Arabs—to create two national ghettos with hopelessly tangled boundaries, separated by barbed wire.

When this partition led to the war of 1948, the U.N. stood by helplessly as the Palestinians' land was stolen by Israel and the people driven into refugee camps.

After the 1967 war, the U.N. passed a meaningless resolution calling for Israel to withdraw from the territories it had seized. The U.N. was as powerless to enforce this piece of paper as it was to stop the war in the first place.

U.N. troops in the Middle East are absolutely powerless to stop a renewal of the war by the U.S.-backed Israeli Army—or, for that matter, by the Arab states with their Russian arms.

They are useful for one thing only: once a big-power peace agreement is made, the U.N. forces will be used to enforce that deal against any Palestinian liberation movement that seeks to carry out a struggle against Israel, or any mass movement that seeks to overthrow the existing Arab regimes.

The U.N. is a talking shop for the ruling classes of the world. Peace can never be secured under the auspices of these ruling classes, but only through socialist revolution to overthrow them. ■

if a policy was to be hammered out that would enable these revolutionaries to lead the less militant workers.

These debates also enabled the party to correct its mistakes. In 1905, when the first Soviets—the workers' councils—were formed, the Bolsheviks in Petrograd were suspicious of them.

It seemed inconceivable to many old-time militants that workers who had been backward and conservative could suddenly build an independent fighting instrument of their own.

Lenin quickly corrected this mistake. He insisted that "the masses are making heroic efforts to rise to the occasion and

workers as well as to teach them, and that this could be done only through open discussion inside the party.

By the time of Lenin's death in 1923, everything was changing. Democracy was disappearing from the life of the party. This was not due to Lenin's ideas, however, but for much more material reasons.

After the 1917 revolution, the workers' state was attacked by every major capitalist power in the world, and by an internal counterrevolution supported and financed by these powers. Many of the best militants were killed defending the Revolution.

The economy was devastated, famine and disease ravaged the country, factories were shut down for want of supplies, and grain to feed the cities had to be taken from the peasants by force.

Under such conditions, the workers' democracy of 1917 could not survive. You cannot have factory committees without factories, or workers' councils without workers.

The Bolsheviks were left holding power, while the working class which had made the revolution was nearly destroyed for a period of several years.

The destruction of the working class, and the exhaustion of the whole population, encouraged the growth of bureaucracy within the Bolshevik Party and in the workers' state as the struggle for survival took priority over everything.

The strength of the Revolution, the workers' state and the Bolshevik Party was based on the consciousness and democratic self-organization of the workers. The conditions created by the Civil War, and the death of many of the best militants, gravely weakened the ability of the working class to maintain its organizations and its ability to rule.

It was this situation that made it possible for a new bureaucracy headed by Stalin to develop inside the Bolshevik Party, to take over the Party, to take power in Russia as a new ruling class and to destroy the gains of the Revolution. ■

[Adapted from an article by Chris Harman in SOCIALIST WORKER.]



Joe Stalin

cope with the tasks of world significance imposed on them by history.

"Months of revolution sometimes educate citizens more quickly and fully than decades of political stagnation."

In 1917, Lenin argued that it was these workers' councils, created not by the party but by the Russian masses, which must form the basis of a real workers' state.

Lenin still believed, as in 1903, that the working class needed a centrally organized party in order to defeat the maneuvers of the ruling class. He insisted, however, that the party had to learn from the

reviews

Struggles of Women Written Into History After 300 Years

[Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It, by Sheila Rowbotham, London, Pluto Press, 1973, 169 pages, \$3.95.]

Sheila Rowbotham's newest book, *Hidden from History* is a study of the changing position of women in capitalist society. While the book concentrates solely on women in English society and the various movements of women in England, it is nonetheless a valuable book for understanding the relationship of women under capitalism, and how this system affects the relationships of women with their children and men.

Hidden from History serves a number of functions. One, it continues the process of restoring working class women to history. Second, Rowbotham shows that history is not just about politicians, generals and the wars they cause, but history is also about the lives of ordinary working people, fighting to end human misery and exploitation.

Hidden from History is one of the first books written about English women that does not concentrate exclusively upon

the activities of middle class women, fighting for the vote, and for equal education. While both campaigns were important in terms of the liberation of women, neither got at the root of women's oppression in society.

Instead, Rowbotham concentrates her study upon working class, radical and socialist women, how they saw their oppression and their strategy for ending it. She does this, because she believes that working class women are key to women's liberation. She also traces a direct relationship between the struggles of the working class as a whole for socialism and the fight for women's emancipation.

Rowbotham traces the history of women fighting against their exploitation as workers. She traces the earliest women's trade union activities, their fights for equality in pay and job opportunities within and outside of the unions. She also describes, quite vividly, the successes of women as well as the failures.

Women's oppression under capitalism is due to her position in the family. Working class women and men, for 300 years have debated and acted upon strategies that would free women from social and sexual

repression. Rowbotham shows that the fight for women's liberation was not waged only in the factories.

In her sections on birth control, social and sexual freedom, the family and children's rights, we learn that many of the debates that go on today, such as the right to abortion, or an end to the double standard went on 150 years ago.

The major theme of the book is the relationship between the feminist movement and the working class, radical and socialist movements. At times, male (and female) trade unionists, or socialists would be hostile to the idea of women's rights. At other times working class feminists worked hand in hand with the working class movement.

Rowbotham, unfortunately is never clear about the relationship between the fight for women's liberation and the working class struggle for socialism.

She does point out, however, that the history of women in English society shows that the real fight for women's liberation must come from working class women. "Socialist feminism" concludes Rowbotham, will only come "from the action of working class women in transforming women's liberation to suit their own needs." ■

Chilean Workers' Growing Power Sparked Army Coup

[Chile: The Road to Disaster, by Walt Castle and Marilyn Danton, International Socialist Publishing Co., 1973, 54 pages, 50¢.]

Against a backdrop of shifting class forces and climbing economic class, caused in great part by the forces of American imperialism, Castle and Danton graphically describe and analyze the events that led to the brutal military coup in Chile.

Examining the conditions that led to the election of Salvador Allende, the first "elected Marxist" president, this pamphlet shows that Allende's presidency was agreed to by the capitalists of Chile.

Support to the Popular Unity Coalition and its "peaceful road to socialism" was preferable to allowing the growing discontent of the Chilean masses to become a revolutionary situation—one

they could not control.

Allende was elected by the working class of Chile, but his coalition government was put in power by Congress only with major concessions that would ensure the ability of the ruling class to continue its control of the country.

The capitalists did not count on the election of Allende raising the hopes and demands of the working and rural poor, who put their faith in the government because they believed it would bring socialism to Chile.

When Allende and the government turned its back on them, slowly and treacherously over three years, the people began bit by bit to take power into their own hands. Factories and land were seized and run by workers' and peasants' committees.

Then the capitalists went on strike against the growing independent activity of the working class and the inability of Allende to control it.

A revolutionary situation had

developed. The capitalists knew it. And although they "normally prefer to rule through constitutional means," write Castle and Danton, "... when they are threatened by the growing independent activity of the working class, they will resort to anything, including totalitarianism, to maintain their rule. This is what happened in Chile."

The fraud of trying to win socialism through elections was bloodily exploded in this fall's events. The lessons of the Chile events—the role of the military from the beginning, the betrayals of the Stalinist Communist Party and of Allende's reformist government, and the failure to build a revolutionary party are laid bare and analyzed in this dramatic pamphlet. ■

Chile: The Road to Disaster is available for 50¢ from IS Book Service, Room 225, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, Michigan, 48203.

Russia



How the Revolution was lost

by Chris Harman

an INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST pamphlet

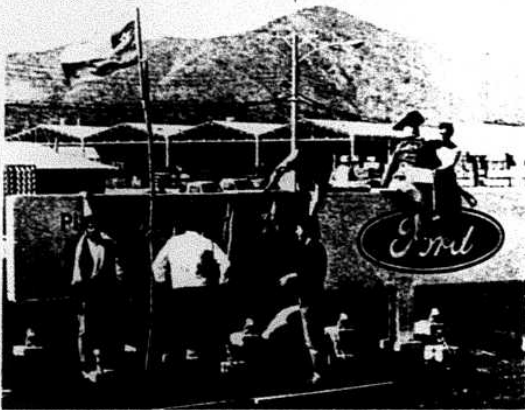
This classic pamphlet on the degeneration of the Russian revolution is again available. Dealing with the critical years 1917-29, it focuses on the factors that took power from the workers and left it in the hands of a new ruling class. It answers the questions, What went wrong? Who was to blame?

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WHY THE LEFT WAS CRUSHED IN CHILE

Marilyn Danton



Workers upsurge needed revolutionary leadership

In September the Chilean attempt at a "Peaceful Road to Socialism" came to a brutal end. Right wing generals overthrew the left Popular Unity government, killing President Salvador Allende and thousands of others.

A wave of terror and repression bordering on fascism has followed. Unions and workers' parties have been banned; oppositionists lie slaughtered by the thousands.

The military was able to smash Allende, with little resistance, because the Popular Unity coalition insisted on staying within the 150-year-old Chilean Constitution.

The Army, backed by American imperialists, did not share Allende's respect for "law and order"—and moved in when their time was ripe.

The entire Chilean left, including the Communist and So-

cialist Parties, with the exception of the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), was a part of the Popular Unity Coalition.

The MIR criticized Popular Unity from the left, stating that the road to socialism must be one of armed struggle.

For this reason, much of the American left looks to the MIR as the genuine revolutionary group in Chile.

Tragically, at every crucial point the MIR failed as completely as the Popular Unity coalition. Armed struggle, for the MIR, meant a terrorist guerrilla band, not an armed workers' move ment.

Organized in 1965 at the University of Concepcion, the MIR was primarily a student organization. The writings and actions of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara became the basis for MIRist politics.

In order to get money, the MIR robbed banks and large businesses throughout the period prior to Allende's election.

MIRists also led peasant seizures of land from large landowners, and homeless people in takeovers of empty buildings.

The MIR paid little attention to workers—it was the peasants and poor that would provide the means to overthrow capitalist government in Chile.

During the campaign of 1970, the MIR did not believe that Allende and the Popular Unity coalition could win, but gave critical support to Allende.

When Allende won, the MIR considered it a victory for the Chilean people. And when Castro established diplomatic relations with Chile, the MIRists began to drop their criticisms of the Popular Unity coalition.

"Unity on the Left" became the overriding question, and political differences—such as "What road to socialism? Parliamentary or armed struggle?"—were pushed aside.

The MIR ceased organizing seizures of land and housing by the Revolutionary Peasants Movement (MCR), so as not to embarrass Popular Unity.

Allende even received MIR support when he first brought the Generals into his cabinet in October 1972. Cabieses Donoso, a MIRist, stated in the November 7 issue of *Punto Final*, a MIRist magazine: "The armed forces have a truly patriotic and democratic role to play alongside the people, supporting the workers in their struggle against the exploitation of the bourgeoisie."

"In building a new state, a new society, the armed forces can really play a great role, protecting the workers and the security of the country."

Revolutionary Lip Service

After the first attempted military coup of June 29, 1973, the MIR changed its line and called for arming the workers and peasants. It was too little, too late.

Moreover, the MIR opposed uniting the *cordones industriales* (independent workers committees in the factories) into a unified coordinating organization that could have been the basis for a centralized leadership of the Chilean working class.

The MIR feared that this would detract from the role of the Chilean labor federation controlled by the Communist Party, a part of the Popular Unity coalition.

The MIR also looked more to neighborhood organizations than it did to workers organized where they have power—in the factories.

Finally, the MIR, like the Popular Unity Coalition, opposed a strike last June by the El Teniente miners for higher wages. Even though they criticized the government for its use of force against the



MIR ignored factories, looked to peasants and poor

strikers, the MIR again offered no real alternative to a government that was laying the basis for counter-revolution with its every move.

The real problem was that the MIR really only gave lip service to working class revolution. It never escaped its past, and its peasant-oriented, conspiratorial conception of revolution.

The MIR did not understand the central role of the working class and the fight for workers' democracy, for workers' control of production, for workers' committees in the factories.

In short, the MIR never understood that socialism was the emancipation of the working class through its own independent self activity.

The MIR played an important role in the world shaking events in Chile. As the only group on the left that was not a part of Allende's Popular Unity coalition, and that voiced left-wing

criticisms of the government, it could have laid the basis for the development of a revolutionary opposition in Chile.

Such an opposition might have meant the difference between defeat and victory, between socialist revolution and right wing counter-revolution. Not only did the MIR not play this role, but it made it unlikely that any revolutionary party would develop that could give such leadership to the Chilean workers.

Because of its vacillations—at times revolutionary words and actions, at other times reactionary support to the government, the MIR continually held out the illusion that it was the organization that workers could look to, as an alternative to the Popular Unity coalition.

But the MIR, like every other left group, in the end left the workers unprepared and defenseless before the onslaught of bloody counter-revolution. ■

Peking Welcomes Junta's Man

In the wake of the counter-revolutionary terror sweeping through Chile, China's ties to Chile are remaining on a business-as-usual basis.

The Chilean ambassador, Armando Uribe, a supporter of Allende, has left China and announced he would actively resist the junta. In his place the Chilean generals have sent Alberto Yoacham, the former Consul General for Chile in Los Angeles.

As a Chilean diplomat in the United States, Yoacham was undoubtedly active in lining up U.S. backing and

support for the coup which toppled Allende and slaughtered thousands of workers who supported him.

While some Communist countries, including Russia, have broken off relations with Chile, China's government quietly accepted the mass murderers' agent Yoacham to head the Chilean mission in Peking.

No doubt, it is in the name of "proletarian internationalism" that Mao's regime has, in the words of a French news agency, "refrained from any action that might be considered as interference in Chilean affairs." ■



The violent outcome of Allende's "Peaceful Road to Socialism" has raised all the critical questions facing revolutionaries today. This new pamphlet from the International Socialists lays bare the dynamic that led to the reactionary coup and draws out the lessons for the workers movement internationally.

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international report



GERMANY: IMMIGRANT WORKERS WILDCAT



A wave of worker militancy has rocked the West German auto industry in recent months. In a series of wildcat strikes, workers have fought against inflation, and for the rights of migrant (foreign) and women workers.

In order to keep their factories running West German capitalists import migrant (foreign) labor. They then use the fears that German and foreign workers have of each other to their own advantage. The process is similar to the way American capitalists use racism to further their own ends.

Two different strikes show how divisions among workers can be used to defeat a struggle or be overcome leading to victory.

At the Ford plant in Cologne, a strike broke out when management fired 300 Turkish workers for returning late from their vacation. After the firings, all

the workers marched through the plant and quickly shut it down.

A strike meeting demanded a wage increase of 40¢ per hour, rehiring of all fired workers, a full month's extra pay (Christmas bonuses are common in Germany), reduction of line speeds, full pay for the time spent on strike, and six weeks vacation.

The most militant workers elected a strike committee of nine Turkish and two German workers. The official union plant committee, composed mainly of German workers, supported the strike but not the demands for 40¢ per hour increase or longer vacations.

The vacation demand, however, was crucial for the Turks. It was the original cause of the strike, since foreign workers can go home only on their vacations.

Ford Exploits Divisions

Most of the German workers supported the official union committee. Of the 34,000 workers at the plant, about 12,000 are Turkish and 16,000 are German. The rest are various other migrant groups.

Ford management took advantage of the division in the workforce. After three days of strike and plant occupation, management reached an agreement with the official plant committee—it did not include longer vacations.

The agreement was turned down by the Turkish workers strike committee. Because the German workers generally accepted the leadership of the union, the Turkish workers were isolated.

On the day after the agreement the plant was reopened. The strike committee led a peaceful picket line of those who were continuing the strike. They were beaten up by a gang composed of company police, foremen and office workers. These goons were billed in the press as "German workers liberating their factory" from the "troublesome" and "riotous" Turks.

Unity and Victory

The dynamic of the strike at Pierburg KG, a carburetor factory in Neuss, was just the reverse. A strike originally led by and supported only by Greek and other foreign women, ended in a qualified victory when German workers joined the struggle.

Most of the 3400 workers at Pierburg are foreign women, who are classified as doing "light" work. This allows management to pay them less.

The strike took place in August. On Monday the 13th, 200 women refused to work. By Tuesday, 2000 workers, mainly foreign women, were on strike. The women demanded a raise of 40¢ per hour and abolition of the "light wage" groups.

Three strike leaders were arrested by the police on Monday. On Tuesday and Wednesday, police repeatedly attacked the lines. The striking women attempted to address the workers still inside and win their support.

Their work was successful. On Thursday, the German workers dropped their tools, marched out of the workshops and into

the courtyard, which they then occupied. An older German woman, who had never struck in her life, told the strikers, "We should be ashamed of ourselves if we don't come along now. We can only learn from these foreign girls and women."

Massive community support was developed for this strike. Other workers in Neuss donated roses. A collection in the shopping area brought in \$1,200, and local merchants brought the striking workers sandwiches, fruit, and drinks.

With the courtyard of the factory occupied, and the workers united, management gave in. The "light wage" groups were abolished, and a wage increase of from 21 - 26¢ was granted. Later, management agreed to pay for four of the five strike days. ■

Mao's Thought:

A Long, Long Life to NATO!

From the East has come reassuring, if unexpected, support for Richard Nixon and American capitalism in these difficult days. With its NATO allies deserting it for oil, America has been supported by a new proponent of a strong capitalist alliance to head off the Great Russian Menace.

This proponent is none other than the former Great Chinese Menace, with whom the U.S. fought in Korea and Vietnam supposedly to defend democracy from godless Communism.

Chou En-lai, speaking with C. L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times*, asserted that he has become a partisan of a strong Western Alliance. Formerly, Chou admitted, he had opposed NATO.

Recently he had been won, however reluctantly, to the idea of a strong Western Alliance—that is, a capitalist imperialist alliance.

To be sure, Chou said that NATO had some warts—like Portugal, whose zeal for defending democracy consists in shooting down any African in Angola, Mozambique or Guinea who might have the peculiar idea that these countries should be independent.

But, since Portugal is the most decrepit of the capitalist imperialist powers, Chou was prepared to overlook these small blemishes on NATO. They could not overshadow NATO's healthy side (or in the jargon of Mao Thought, the "main trend") from Chou's point of view. Which was, he said, the necessity to defend Europe and America from—you guessed it—Russian aggression! ■

ITALIAN C.P. BACKS BAN ON ABORTION

At a three day women's convention this month, the Italian Communist Party came out against abortion. Amidst boos from radical women, Ms. Iotti, spokeswoman for the CP, stated that she was a conservative on matters of sex and family life.

Iotti is a Deputy Speaker in the Italian government's Chamber of Deputies. She is also the widow of Palmiro Togliatti, former head of the CP until his death in 1964.

Iotti and the current CP head, Enrico Berlinguer, have stated that they are interested in amending Italy's three year old divorce law. They are interested in making divorce more difficult!

Basic Rights Denied

For both women and men, the right to dissolve an unhappy marriage should go unquestioned. For women, who have been chained to the home virtually as domestic slaves, the right to divorce is also an elementary step towards liberation.

Abortion—the right of women to control their own bodies by deciding when they will and will not bear children—is a demand

that has been raised by the women's movement throughout the world.

The Italian CP is selling out more than the struggle for women's liberation however. Their reactionary stands on divorce and abortion are designed to cosy up to Italy's Christian Democratic Party which is backed by the Roman Catholic Church. A working relationship with the Christian Democrats could lead to greater participation in Italy's national government for the CP.

The history of the workers movement is covered with blood by the betrayals of the Russian-dominated Communist Parties. Chameleon-like, they sport radical colors when opportune.

Young workers and black militants in this country are attracted to the CP USA because of its size and militant-sounding line. They either don't know of the betrayals or claim they are ancient history.

The actions of the Italian CP show that they are very modern indeed! ■





NEWS

Fund Drive at 48%

Approaching the end of its sixth week, the I.S. fund drive has fallen slightly behind schedule, with 48 percent of the total collected.

Nonetheless, several branches are well ahead and deserve credit for their contribution toward making the drive a success. The Louisville Branch reached 100 percent early in the drive.

Recently, the East Bay Branch hit the 70 percent mark, through membership pledges and fund-raising events including an Indian dinner.

San Francisco comrades have achieved 70 percent of their goal as well, and St. Louis made 80 percent early in the drive.

Friends of the I.S. have made their contribution too. A letter accompanying a recent donation states: "Sorry I cannot afford any more—I and my husband live on Social Security. Your paper is great."

Our paper—*Workers' Power*—is one of the things we want to improve and expand through the success of this drive, so it will be more useful in the fight for socialism.

Building a strong revolutionary organization is essential if the socialist movement is to respond effectively to the counter-revolution in Chile, the Middle

Scoreboard

BRANCH	QUOTA	COLLECTED	%
Bloomington	\$ 250	0	0
Champaign	100	40	40
Chicago	1,100	238	21
Cleveland	900	340	38
East Bay	1,500	1,054	70
Detroit	3,000	1,555	52
Ellensburg	150	0	0
Louisville	200	200	100
Los Angeles	900	180	20
New York	2,400	1,263	53
St. Louis	250	200	80
San Francisco	500	350	70
Seattle	1,200	577	48
MAL's	650	290	45
National Office	2,000	938	47
TOTAL	\$15,100	\$7,225	48%

East war, and the Watergate crisis which is shaking the U.S. government.

We urgently need funds to meet the costs of the speakers we are sending out, and the pamphlets we are producing, to present the socialist view of these events.

There is still time to send in your contribution. Checks should be made payable to International Socialists, or send a money order to:

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IBT Tops Leave Locals In Lurch

Teamsters in Northern California are waging two long strikes with no help at all from their International leadership. At times they are getting worse than no help.

A strike at Sears' stores and warehouses in the Bay Area is now almost three months old. When the contracts expired, a joint meeting of the Teamster leadership with the Retail Clerks agreed that no local would go back to work until all had settled. That agreement has now been broken by Einar Mohn, Western Conference Director of the IBT.

Mohn ordered Santa Clara County Local 287 to go back to work after it accepted a deal he had worked out with Sears' management: \$1.25 an hour increase over three years, but no health and welfare improvements. Another local, 853, rejected the

contract, and since then Local 287 members have been ordered to cross 853 picket lines.

A third local, 70, also accepted the contract but honored its earlier agreement to stay on strike until all had settled. The Retail Clerks remain on strike since they have not even received a contract offer.

The strikers feel that an area-wide contract covering all Bay Area warehousemen is needed.

A strike of Northern California beer drivers is in its fifth month. To help out the strike, Teamsters Local 888 has launched a boycott of Coors beer. Coors has responded with a drive to decertify the union.

Under the National Labor Relations Act, the employer is allowed to file for a decertification election. The NLRB has been allowing scabs to vote in these elections. As a result of this and of driver disenchantment with the Teamsters, the union has been decertified by large margins at Concord Beverage and at Coors in Hayward. It is fighting for its life at many other locations, with many drivers giving up and going back to work.

The sole contribution of the Teamster International has been to threaten Local 888 with receivership after property belonging to the employers was damaged.



Scab truck delivering Olympia beer

change. This concept has always been a central tenet of socialist thought.

I must, however, object to the overall thrust of the article. Except for mentioning the somewhat revolutionary nature of early Buddhism and Christianity, the article practically says that mysticism is bunk, plain and simple.

Unfortunately, human existence is not so plain, nor is it simple. It may be comforting to believe that a Marxist epistemology has been developed into which all phenomena can be classified, but I am afraid that mysticism cannot be so neatly pigeon-holed.

To pass off Zen as merely "the actual tool of militarism and oppression" is a much too superficial treatment of a discipline which is unique in human culture.

For although certain aspects of Zen did become tools for the warrior class in Japan in recent centuries, the history of Zen is far different from that of Buddhism in general, or that of Christianity, or Islam, or Judaism.

Zen has never been a state

religion. It was always a minority movement in India, China and Japan. There is nothing in the writings of Zen masters or in the chronicles of conversations with Zen masters called *koans* that suggests that the individual should not try to better his environment.

Zen talks of "acceptance" in the sense of keeping a calm and alert state of mind at all times so as to be truly aware of, and be able to live with, what is transpiring in one's world, not in the sense of accepting all things as god-ordained and unchangeable.

In fact, the philosophical writings of Plekhanov in *Fundamentals of Marxism* show much similarity on many points to the philosophy of Zen.

The point here is not to defend Zen (a good case can be made that Zen has been explicitly sexist). The intention is to demonstrate that Ms. Russell's remarks ignore important aspects of mysticism, that there is much more to it than her article would lead one to believe.

David Goldberg



feedback

Serious Omission

Reportage of the Farm Workers' Convention in *Workers Power 83* had a serious omission. While referring to the expulsion of *Workers Power* reporters, the story failed to mention that throughout the convention, United Farm Workers sergeants-at-arms harassed vendors of the left press, including supporters of the Workers' League, Spartacist League, and the Progressive Labor Party. Only vendors of the Socialist Workers' Party's

Militant and the Communist Party's *People's World* were permitted to sell on the grounds of the convention center.

The reason, of course, that the CP and SWP were allowed to sell is that these two groups follow a policy of total non-criticism of the Farmworker leadership, while the other groups have varying degrees of difference with the leaders.

Unfortunately, the International Socialists are not yet so large and influential that we can simply ignore all the other groups on the left, especially when we are common victims of a violation of workers' democracy.

Furthermore, it was important to point out the selective nature of these particular violations.

Derek Briscoe

Zen Marxism

Leshye Russell's article dealing with mysticism, written in *Workers' Power No. 81* has much to say regarding the historical and current role of religion and mysticism in diverting people from translating social discontent into effective social



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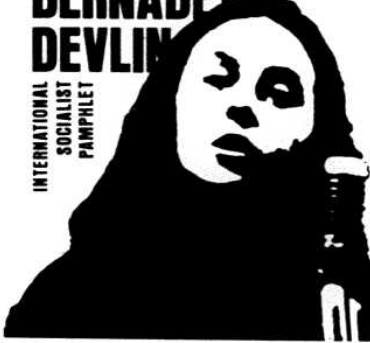
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Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NEW BLACK MAYORS FACE BALANCING ACT

Kay Stacey

This fall's round of elections have placed two more black politicians at the head of major city governments. Maynard Jackson was elected mayor of Atlanta last month; Coleman Young was elected mayor of Detroit this month.

These elections are a result of the changing voter base coupled with the continued, but slowed, white flight to suburbia. As major cities decay, black residents are trapped by low incomes and the inability to buy or rent in so called better areas.

Now becoming a majority, black voters are showing their strength by electing black representatives -- men and women, who blacks feel will better understand their needs.

But while black politicians like Jackson and Young are elected by black voters their campaigns are financed by large sections of the cities' business communities.

Supported by both the black voters and the businessmen, when the showdown comes --

who will win out . . . the voters or the money-men?

In Atlanta, according to the *New York Times*, the Chamber of Commerce counted the votes, tested the mood of the community and realized that a black mayor was on the books.

Various representatives of the Chamber tried to influence other, more moderate, black city figures to run against Jackson. When they balked, much of the business community threw their somewhat reluctant political and financial support to Jackson.

Even though a multi-million dollar downtown investment and building enterprise has been going on for a number of years, one of Atlanta's major problems is an eroding tax base caused by the white flight.

Why haven't city taxes on these new business and commercial operations more than made up for the departure of the whites? Because the organized business community has effectively kept the city from levying high taxes on it in exchange for rebuilding the Peachtree Street business district.

City services must be paid



Jackson

Young

for by someone, however, so residential taxes go up. This feeds the momentum of the residents leaving the city, and cuts deeply into the standard of living of those who are forced to remain.

Young and Jackson have deeper ties today to the business community than to the black community they grew out of.

Coleman Young has successfully participated in many business schemes over the years. In fact, part of his campaign literature proclaimed his understanding of the problems of small businessmen due to personal ex-

perience. Maynard Jackson has been a member of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce for years.

What do these business ties mean for the black voters who elect men like Young and Jackson?

Young is "deeply committed to ending crime in Detroit." This is well and good, and, if possible would mean a tremendous victory for Detroit's black residents, most often the victims of the crime.

But Young's solution to crime is to add 1,000 policemen to the force, with increased pay to those who live in the neighborhoods they work. Although against STRESS, the city's infamous undercover killer unit, he is not against plainclothes decoy operations, which is what STRESS, in essence, is.

Window Dressing

The campaign promises and programs only cover up Young's inability to deal concretely with the paramount social and economic problem for blacks -- racism.

Young will not take on the racism that is part and parcel of the capitalist system; a fight that begins with taking on the racist practices of the auto companies and the city hall politicians. Young will not organize black people into a movement capable of making a real fight and taking to the streets when necessary.

In fact, Young has explicitly stated that *one of the goals of his campaign was to bring black people into the democratic process*, that is, back into the Democratic party which has sold out the struggle for black liberation over and over and over again.

Instead he will continue to

side-track the issue by focusing on crime, a serious problem that can only be solved by eliminating the major roots -- poverty and racism. The phoney solution he puts forward for blacks to rally behind is cops in the neighborhood, a drug clinic on the corner, and free land for those who can afford to build their own homes.

By appearing to address the serious and vicious problems blacks face, and by virtue of their own black skins, politicians like Young and Jackson keep the faith of black people in the capitalist political system.

There are certainly differences between these candidates and the out and out racist law and order candidates they often oppose at the polls. But the differences are superficial and more a matter of style than quality.

Break With Business Politics

Instead of the self-help programs and a "better deal from the government" that Young and Jackson offer, inner-city people need to organize themselves into a potent collective force that can spearhead the fight to defeat the present powerbrokers that control the cities today.

Black militants and revolutionaries can offer real alternatives to city hall politicians by organizing the black community and workforce into that kind of vital force -- aimed at the creation of an independent political organization that can and will defeat the bankrupt politics of the Democrats and Republicans.

In the 60's, knowing that powerful revolts had exploded and were still brewing, the businessmen looked for and found liberal politicians to front for them and their profit-making enterprises.

Today the power-brokers count votes and decide that black liberal politicians are the window dressing they need to keep the ball rolling. Their support to men like Young and Jackson is the result.

These black politicians, relying on the business community for support and unwilling to break with established city-business relationships offer no alternative for change to black people. They only use them as spring-boards to power.

Calif. Voters Set Back Reagan's '76 Campaign

California voters have rejected Governor Ronald Reagan's Tax Initiative, known as Proposition One, in a special statewide election.

Complete vote totals showed the initiative had lost by 54%--46%, or more than 300,000 votes.

Reagan cannot be accused of not trying. He called homes all over the state with a special recording urging people to vote for the proposition.

He insisted on a special election to insure a low turnout of working class voters who stood to lose from the proposition.

Proposition One would have provided that no agency could raise money through an income tax without approval of two-thirds of the legislature.

It would have made it easier, though, to raise property taxes. At the same time, the proposition would have granted a 7% reduction in state income taxes.

According to one calculation, this means that a person making \$10,000 per year would save \$4, while a person making \$50,000 would save \$219! Behind the rhetoric, Reagan's proposition was just another tax giveaway to the rich.

With taxes at an all-time high and still rising, a proposal to limit taxes may sound like a good idea. But actually, Reagan's proposal would have probably only encouraged a shift of taxes to low and medium wage earners.

The defeat will hurt Reagan's dream of becoming President. If he had been able to put Propo-

sition One over on California voters, he surely would have tried to attack federal government spending in the same way.

Reagan's failure was the Democrats' success. Assembly speaker Bob Moretti, a candidate for Governor when Reagan quits next year, made a lot of very sincere TV spots emphasizing the small homeowner's fear of rising property taxes, and charging Reagan with planning to raise them.

In making Proposition One the big issue, Reagan has helped to block any fight for justice for welfare clients, for decent schools, or for equitable taxation. In beating Reagan, the voters have "won" the right to be robbed in the old familiar way.

