

Workers' Power

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Labor And Phase II

On the evening of Oct. 7, millions of Americans watched as President Nixon outlined Phase II of his New Economic Policy. For those who had awaited his announcement with some anxiety, the speech was something of a letdown.

On paper, Phase II consists of three control boards, to work mostly by inducing "voluntary cooperation" but backed by the power of the Justice Department and the federal courts. The key to the apparatus will be the Pay Board, consisting of five top labor bureaucrats, five leading representatives of business and five spokesmen for the "public" — mainly university presidents, professionals, etc.

The second board will be a Price Commission, from which the largest corporations will be required to request permission for price increases in advance. The Commission's task will be to oversee price policies of about ten million enterprises, with a staff of about 400 people.

A third body, the Committee on Interest and Dividends — supposedly planned to hold down "windfall profits" — will "simply monitor developments and hold in reserve the enforcement power that Nixon is seeking from Congress" (*Business Week*, Oct. 16). The Cost of Living Council (CLC) will supervise the entire program and issue progress reports.

This plan should come as no surprise to those familiar with the analysis advanced in *Workers' Power*. Under the cover of "voluntary controls," Phase II is fundamentally a continua-

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EDITORIAL

Labor Off The Pay Board!

The week following Nixon's proclamation of his plans for Phase II saw the labor bureaucracy jockeying for tactical advantage in the new set-up of wage and price control boards. By agreeing to serve on the pay control board, the bureaucracy has taken on itself responsibility for Nixon's campaign to drive down the wages of American workers.

In the absence of a vocal, organized rank-and-file movement against labor participation of any kind on the control boards, this result was a foregone conclusion. The lynchpin of the entire Phase II strategy is the co-operation of the labor bureaucracy — with its ability to strangle the power of the labor movement by attaching it to the government's policy.

Without this co-operation the policy

of "voluntary controls" falls apart, as the leaders of business are well aware. Only the collaboration of Meany, Woodcock, Fitzsimmons, Abel and the rest enables Nixon to place the burden of a sick economy onto the "voluntary" backs of the working class.

The effects of this collaboration will be felt by all working people as the wage-control program unfolds. In the first place, the whole concept of wage controls means — and can only mean — wage cuts relative to what workers could win otherwise, let alone what they deserve and need.

The freeze, and now, the Phase II controls, came in response to a sharpening militancy that took the form of a "wage offensive" over the last several years. This was not a question of "unreason-

able" or "oversized" increases, but simply an attempt to keep up with inflation.

Labor participation in the wage board creates the illusion that the controls are "equitable" and acceptable to the "responsible" elements of labor, since workers are "represented" on the board. It also offers increased power to the labor bureaucracy as against the ranks. The power to sell out struggles for better contracts not only while they are taking place, but even afterwards — backed up by the state apparatus — represents a further step in the elevation of the union bureaucracy above the unions themselves through the intervention of the state.

It is not the cost of living that will

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Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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(Signed)
Kit Lyons



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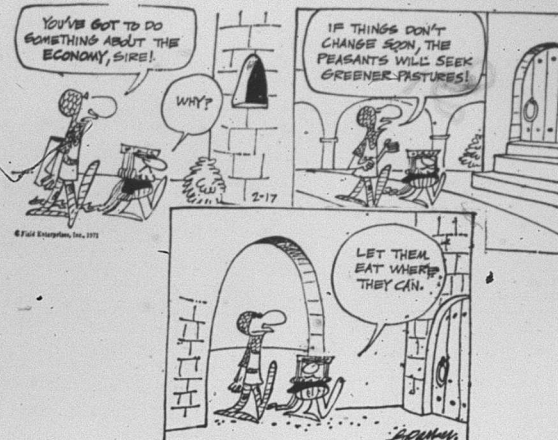
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Labor And Phase II

Franklin Gothic

[Continued from page 1]
tion of the wage freeze, of a long-term ruling class offensive against the living standards and working conditions of the American working class.

Faced with uncontrollable inflation, sagging productivity, general economic stagnation, and increased economic competition from abroad, U.S. capitalism is determined to force working people to bear the burden of the economic crisis.

Nixon's New Economic Policy means falling real wages, and worsening working conditions, coupled with rising taxes and sizable unemployment. The basic goal of the NEP is *increased profits*. When productivity has increased sufficiently — that is, when the working class has taken a beating and profits have gone up — inflation can then (so we are told) be brought under control.

Although Nixon didn't mention it in the speech, it is clear that Phase II will tie wage increases to increases in productivity, calculated on an industry by industry basis. This is the content of the mysterious "guidelines" that the various boards are supposed to devise. The idea is that the plan (if it works) will allow profits to expand greatly, while wages rise a little and inflation is reduced to 3 percent a year.

Key Role

Nixon's problem is that working people wouldn't accept this fraud if they knew exactly what was going on or could see some alternative solution. The key to his winning their acceptance is the role of the trade union bureaucrats. Their participation in the Pay Board sustains the fiction that the controls are fair and in everyone's interest.

The bureaucrat's job is to keep the rank and file in line. Their highly publicized opposition to aspects of the wage freeze was in part a publicity stunt, calculated to beef up their image before the ranks.

To play the role of sell-outs successfully, they have to talk like militants — hence their threat to boycott the Pay Board when Nixon (not as sensitive to the needs of the bureaucrats as he should be) indicated that the Board would be subject to the veto of the Cost of Living Council, a body chosen by the President.

A few sharp words from Meany, mostly for show, reminded Nixon of the importance of meeting the rather modest requests of the men who could

mobilize the immense power of the U.S. working class if they wanted to.

In spite of Nixon's show of self-assurance, Phase II may turn out to be a rather unstable policy. It's not that any of the forces now in the picture — the capitalists and bankers, their political representatives, or the union bureaucrats — have any major disagreements with the plan. The problem is that nobody quite trusts Nixon.

The large corporations, having watched Nixon vacillate among various ineffective "game plans," aren't confident that he has the ability and determination to make the NEP work. In the meantime, since nobody knows what will happen, they are pressing for a "price offensive" — the right to continue raising their prices as far as the unstable equilibrium will allow.

The liberals, angered that Nixon stole their program (after all, they were pressing for wage-price controls before anyone else) are looking for a new issue for the presidential election. Under the guise of fighting for "equality of dividends in the control program), they are really worried that Nixon doesn't believe in the NEP at all, and (that he is more interested in protecting his friends in the backward industrial sectors. What they would really like to see is a policy of more permanent controls over both corporations and unions.

For their part, the labor bureaucrats,

while they too support the general idea behind the NEP, would prefer to see it implemented by a mainstream Democratic administration, that they feel would be more sensitive to their increasingly delicate position.

Underlying these petty differences lies a deeper truth: capitalism needs a lot more than Phase II to solve its problems. The crisis presently wracking the United States, and now spreading Western Europe, is beyond the scope of Nixon's present program. In the long run, the maintenance of Phase II is impossible; the program will either break down, as did the incomes policy in Britain in 1966-67, or it will give way to harsher measures. The response of the working class is the key to the next period.

In the meantime, the ranks of the working class have hardly spoken. Many workers, painfully conscious of the need for *something* to control the inflation, have tended to accept the freeze and to support the mood of economic nationalism spurred by both the ruling class and the trade union bureaucracy.

But as the controls are extended and promised pay raises are withheld, the moods of the ranks will go through some sharp changes. Already, the large number of strikes during both Phase I and II have demonstrated that workers are not cowed by Nixon's NEP.

In the immediate future, what is needed is a major labor offensive — to

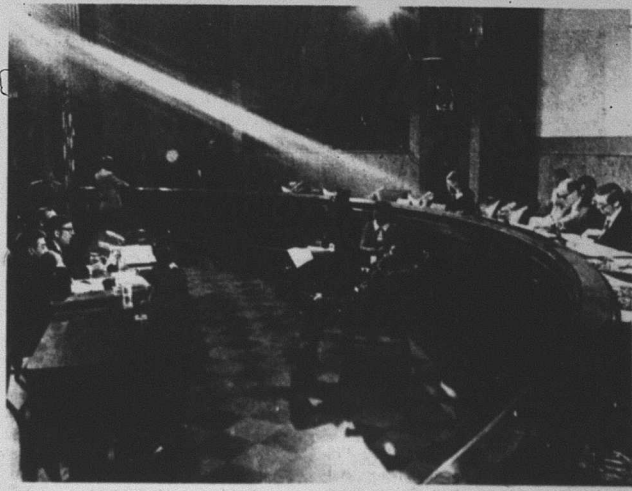
win pay the raises lost under Phase I, to secure retroactive pay, and to fight for new increases to keep up with the inflation.

Given the uncertainty in the ruling class concerning the international economic situation and the viability of the specifics of Phase II, such a labor offensive can build confidence throughout the working class and lay the basis for a movement to throw the bureaucrats off the control boards and destroy the entire NEP.

Build A Labor Party

With 1972 a major election year, labor militants must move now to undercut the liberals. Hiding their anti-working class program under a pro-"little man" appeal, liberals will win the votes of millions of working people angered by the NEP, unless labor puts forward as an alternative a pro-working class program in the electoral arena.

Militants must demand in their local meetings that the internationals call a Congress of Labor and Oppressed People to lay the basis for an independent campaign in the election. Such a campaign, organized around a pro-labor program, can become a rallying point for the working class movement — a movement which through its experiences — both victories and defeats — can become conscious and confident enough to begin an attack on the foundations of capitalism itself. ■



Congress' Joint Economic Committee hears Woodcock

The International Socialists' Program for the Economic Crisis:

Fight the Offensive Against Labor!

1. No Compliance with the Wage Freeze: For a 1-Day National Work Stoppage and Massive Labor Demonstrations to Roll Back the Freeze.
2. Pay All Wage Increases Due under Contracts, Enforced by Strike Action if Necessary.
3. United Labor Action to Back Unions Threatened with Sanctions.
4. Unlimited Right to Strike.
5. No Layoffs, No Speedup.
6. No Wage Restraints — No Linking Wage Increases to Productivity

Rises; No Trade-Off of Working Conditions and Practices for Economic Packages.

7. No Labor Participation in Wage-Price Control Boards; A Vote of Labor's Ranks on Compliance with Wage-Price Policy.

A Program for Labor to Fight the Economic Crisis:

1. Control Prices and Profits, Not Wages — Nationalize Inflation-Producing Monopolies under Workers' Control.
2. 30 Hour Work Week at 40 Hours Pay — Jobs For All.
3. No Freeze on the Fight for Equality: Equal Work for Women and Third World People; Equal Pay

for Equal Work.

4. Convert the War Economy to Rebuild the Cities.

5. Immediate Withdrawal From Vietnam — Withdraw All Troops from Foreign Countries — No Trade and Tariff Wars — International Cooperation among Unions.

6. A Labor Party to Fight for Labor's Needs — A Congress of Labor and Its Allies to Launch a Labor Party — Independent Political Action by Rank and File Organizations and Social Movements.

7. Build Rank and File Organizations to Fight for This Program and to Make the Unions Serve the Workers' Needs.

Nixon Stops West Coast Dock Strike

Jack Trautman

Nixon's wage freeze was designed as a bonanza for business; it aims to hold down wages while boosting profits. Thus, if the freeze is to succeed, labor must be kept in line.

Of course, Nixon would prefer to use the union bureaucrats to restrain the rank and file. But from the first he has made it clear that if the "leaders" failed and the ranks fought both against the freeze, he would not hesitate to use force against the unions.

A serious attempt to control wages must necessarily mean neutralizing the right to strike. This necessity is what underlies Nixon's recent intervention in the miners' strike and the West Coast dock strike.

When the miners' contract ran out, they walked out of the mines. They didn't wait for Tony Boyle, the United Mine Workers' President, to call them out on strike. Without coal, much of American industry would have to be shut down, so Labor Secretary Hodgson called in the miners and the owners and told them to reach an early agreement.

An early settlement can only hurt the miners. In all probability a lengthy strike will be necessary if they are to win their demands for a substantial wage increase. To settle early means to give up their demands or important parts of them. But if they refuse to settle early, they will get the same treatment as the dock strike.

The West Coast longshoremen



Japanese containerized cargo idled by strike in Los Angeles

80 days — almost three months. Its use underlines the anti-labor bias of Nixon's program and puts every other union on notice of the threat hanging over its head.

By forcing the longshoremen back to work, Nixon is trying to break the strike. After the 80 days the men will not even be caught up on the bills they ran up during the strike; but they will have to start all over again on wearing down their employers.

Nixon justified his use of the Act on the grounds that when the East Coast and Gulf Coast longshore workers (ILA) went on strike with the ILWU still out, the joint strikes constituted a national emergency. But, even assuming his reasoning to be correct, he could just as easily have ordered the ILA back to work, and they wouldn't have been hurt as much.

The ILA longshoremen had been forced to strike to halt an employer attack on their working conditions. If they were ordered back to work, it would have been under the terms of the old contract. After the 80 days they could at least have begun their strike fresh.

Nixon is out to get militant workers and he is pulling no punches. He cannot afford to. If the ILWU and the miners and the ILA win their demands and other unions follow in their footsteps, they will break Nixon's pro-business program.

(ILWU) have been on strike since July 1 (see Workers' Power No. 42); to a degree the future of the union is at stake. The shippers have been hurt, but were holding out in hopes of getting government help. The longshoremen were ready to stick it out despite the large

personal sacrifices they had had to make.

Last week, Nixon stepped in and invoked the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act against the longshoremen. The section he invoked allows the President to force striking workers back to work for

Carlos Feliciano Free On Bail Drake Levittan



Carlos Feliciano (center, with umbrella) leaves jail

After 16 months in jail without bail, Carlos Feliciano, 47 year old Puerto Rican Nationalist, was released on \$55,000 bail on September 28th in the Bronx, N.Y. He was greeted by his wife Lydia, his six children, and a large number of friends and supporters representing all the leading radical Puerto Rican organizations, including the Nationalist Party, the Young Lords, El Comite, M.P.I., the Puerto Rican Student Union, and Resistencia. The following Saturday a block party was held celebrating his release.

This victory represents months of efforts to have his bail lowered from \$175,000, including mass actions, rallies, and legal moves. With Carlos out on bail the defense effort has been greatly strengthened. A number of speaking engagements, interviews, and rallies are already planned.

The trial date, originally set for September 27, has been postponed until October 18. Carlos' lawyers, William Kunstler and Coprad Lynn, have several other cases coming up, including those of the Harlem 6 and of prisoners who are being victimized for last year's New York City prison revolt.

Carlos Feliciano was charged over a year ago with several bombings of public buildings, including the General Electric building and an Army induction center. The government and the district attorney's office have fabricated an elaborate thriller linking Carlos to underground terrorist groups and to the Cuban government. But there is no truth whatsoever to their charges.

Feliciano was long a member and leading militant of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, a mass revolutionary nationalist party. He was jailed after the 1950 Nationalist uprising, for advocating the overthrow of the colonial regime. In jail he shared a cell with the great Nationalist Party leader Don Pedro Albizu Campos.

For the last 14 years Carlos Feliciano has lived in New York City, working at two jobs to support his family. While politically inactive, he continued to advocate Puerto Rican independence and to oppose the tyranny and injustice of U.S. colonialism.

Now as in 1950, it is for his political views that he faces a long jail sentence. The attempt to victimize Carlos is an attempt to intimidate those who fight for Puerto Rican freedom.

On Friday October 15th, the "positive action" suit launched by Carlos and a number of Puerto Rican leaders and organizations against the State of New York will be heard in Federal Court. The suit demands that the reasons behind Carlos' arrest be produced.

On November 9th, Carlos Feliciano will address a forum co-sponsored by the International Socialists and the N.Y.U. New University Conference. For information on the forum, telephone 254-7961.

[For further information on the Feliciano defense, write to the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, P.O. Box 356, Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013. Contributions to aid the defense are welcome.]

Nixon Attacks Federal Employees

Beth Cole
Alex Cole



In Rochester, New York, on October 2, the Northwestern New York Council of AFGE, the American Federation of Government Employees, AFLCIO, held a rally to protest Nixon's attack upon its members.

In many ways, this rally was an important step forward. It adds to the resistance building among all workers to the infamous NEP. It was the first rally ever held by this union in upstate New York.

The rally expressed the union's understanding of the anti-labor character of the NEP, and one speaker after another rose to declare that the time for resistance had come. But the rally also had some serious weaknesses — and showed in many ways that the union is not now prepared to make good on its declarations of war.

This lack of preparation reflected in the disappointingly small size of the rally itself. No more than fifty-odd workers attended, most of them union officers and their associates. Very little effort was made to turn out the union ranks and to make the rally a real show of force.

The top-heavy nature of the rally seemed to characterize AFGE's whole approach to the crisis. Little or no preparations seem to be underway to mobilize the ranks for any kind of organized effective action.

The rally's main speaker was AFGE Vice President Joseph Gleason. Referring to Nixon's call for "temporary sacrifices" by labor, Gleason correctly declared, "Federal employees aren't making any kind of 'temporary sacrifice', as King Richard calls it — they are the sacrifice!"

Indeed, Nixon's NEP is an all out, across-the-board attack on this country's working population — and Federal employees find themselves among the hardest hit. President Nixon proposed — and the House has agreed — to impose a wage freeze on Federal em-

ployees for at least six months, which is twice as long as the current freeze on wages in private industry.

Nixon has also strongly hinted that he may well hold up the next scheduled round of wage increases when they fall due a year from now. On top of all this, he is already proceeding to drop 100,000 employees from the federal payrolls, as an "austerity" measure.

The Administration's attack on its own workers is a complete about-face compared to its earlier campaign promise to "restore the dignity of the Federal workers". Only a few months have passed, after all, since the President and the Congress began — with much fanfare — a system which was supposed to keep the wages of Federal workers in line with those paid for comparable jobs in private industry. This measure, it was declared, would guarantee to Federal employees (who are denied the right to strike for improvements) minimal economic protection.

But this about-face on Nixon's part should come as no surprise. He knows that because Federal workers cannot

legally strike they are the most helpless of all possible targets in the working class. So long as they observe the no-strike law, they can be squeezed tighter than anyone else without fear of rebellion.

The Federal employees will remain — to use AFGE's term — "patsies", so long as they allow the government to deny them the right to strike. The first lesson ever learned by the labor movement is that without the strike, there is nothing. A union which doesn't back up strong speeches with strong actions is lost.

And the only way to win the legal right to strike is by using the always-present power to strike. To wait for the government to grant this right out of the goodness of its heart — at the very time when it is counting on the inability of Federal employees to defend themselves — is a fool's dream.

AFGE's leadership knows (and even says) that the strike weapon is the only defense which labor has in the present crisis. But their solutions shy away from this fact altogether. They propose a hodge-podge strategy

First, they have planned two demonstrations. One is a "delegated march" on Washington, presumably to be composed of local AFGE leaders rather than the rank and file. The other is to be a larger demonstration scheduled for early November (the close of Phase One of the NEP) in New York City, around the slogan "Private Industry is Released, but Federal Employees are Held in Economic Bondage."

In addition, AFGE members are urged to express their discontent to their respective Congressmen, and to request — in Gleason's words — that Congress "make sure that we're no longer sacrificial lambs . . . We'd like to believe that they won't deny relief to Federal employees".

For good measure, some speakers — led by James Corcy, President of the National Border Patrol, AFGE — tossed a red herring into the discussion, calling for a new crusade against "illegal aliens . . . penetrating the borders and seeking employment in industry . . . taking your jobs from your pockets, taking your jobs . . . streaming over unguarded borders almost unchecked . . . organized by alien smuggling rings in full operation . . . to take your jobs and to commit crimes against you, you who have the right to be here!"

Timid Isolationism

The leadership's "solutions" here are united by two common themes. First, they all isolate the struggle of Federal workers from the struggles of their brothers and sisters in private industry. Second, along with this divisiveness, the leadership's approach is timid and toothless.

It is not true that in November workers in private industry will be "released". On the contrary, "Phase Two" will simply supply new chains with which to shackle them. Instead of envying other workers, Federal employees must join with them in a common fight against Nixon's entire NEP attack.

The especially divisive attack on "alien" labor was only the crudest and most narrow-minded aspect of the AFGE leaders' generally divisive approach, which sets one worker against another.

Moreover, marches and demonstrations along — especially those made up only of the leaders of a single union — will not budge the government now. And it is even more ridiculous to put any hope in the simple good faith of Nixon or the Congress.

To combat the NEP — and especially its specific attack on Federal employees — AFGE must replace divisiveness with a drive for labor unity and timidity with militancy. ■



Editorial

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be held down under Phase II, but rather the wages with which working people must meet that cost. Profits remain free of controls as a matter of principle, on the claim that increased profits will

stimulate investment, create new jobs and mean a better life for everyone. But profits are created only by labor, and greater profits will be created only by increased speedup, lower wages and layoffs for "unnecessary" workers.

Moreover, sudden new shocks to the world economy or monetary system could derail Phase II at any point, leading to much sharper attacks on the working class.

For the rank and file of the working class, the immediate necessity is to *smash the wage guidelines before they are set*, before Nixon's hammerlock on labor through its bureaucracy becomes strong enough for new moves against it.

A RENEWED OFFENSIVE NOW, based on the ongoing strikes and those about to occur, can overturn the collaboration of the bureaucrats with the government and win back what workers have lost during the freeze.

The demands of this offensive must include:

* Pay All Wage Increases! No Increases, No Contract — No Contract, No Work!

* Labor Off the Pay Board! Force Meany and Co. to Resign from the Board Now!

* No Freeze on the Fight for Equal Pay — Equal Pay, Equal Work for Black Women and Third World Workers!

* Full Support of the Entire Labor Movement for Every Strike!

The theme of the new labor offensive must be a united rejection of the government's controls and the beginning of a massive campaign against them. Such a campaign will be occurring in any case in hidden form — on the shop floor, in contract negotiations under the shadow of the Pay Board, in the public disputes over its decisions. Already Meany threatens that contracts may be regarded as void if scheduled increases are withheld — thereby giving verbal approval to a struggle he will never lead and will try to crush when it breaks out. ■

Roth Decision Shakes Detroit

Karl Fischer

A crisis in America's public school system was produced this fall by the establishment of court-enforced racial integration through bussing in schools across the country. This crisis was intensified in early October by a Federal Court ruling in Detroit.

Like many other American cities and towns, Detroit's public school system was challenged several years ago in a court suit launched by the NAACP and others, charging that the city's schools had been deliberately segregated along racial lines. Federal Judge Damon Keith ruled that Detroit's schools were, indeed, segregated, and ordered remedial action.

An integration plan, involving the use of busing, was formulated by the Board of Education. But the angry reaction of the city's white parents led to a successful recall campaign which removed four members of the Board. The new Board, dominated by a conservative majority, implemented a "freedom of choice" plan which essentially preserved the existing situation.

Given this background, no one was surprised when Federal Judge Stephen Roth ruled this month that the "freedom of choice" scheme amounted to legally enforced racial segregation of Detroit's school system. And although Judge Roth made no decision about exactly what action would be necessary to remedy the situation — instead order-

ing the parties to the dispute to submit plans to him for consideration — the ultimate outcome was not in great doubt. Given the fact that neighborhoods in Detroit, like most cities, are segregated, some form of bussing will unquestionably be necessary if the court's order for school integration is to be fulfilled.

But Judge Roth's decision contained a bombshell which makes it potentially one of the most significant court rulings on this question in years. The order for integration went beyond the school system of the city of Detroit. It included within its jurisdiction the school systems of the city's suburbs as well. It stated that, in some way, a "metropolitan" school system must be

created, and that this system must be racially integrated in nature.

If carried to its logical conclusion, the Roth decision means that black students will be bused, not only to schools in white neighborhoods within the city of Detroit, but to suburban schools as well; and that students from these overwhelmingly white suburbs will in turn be bused into Detroit. Such a scheme would produce schools not only integrated by race, but also by economic class.

Curiously enough, the impetus for this last provision of the ruling came not from the NAACP or like-minded groups, but from a conservative white parents organization which had led the fight against the original integration

plan two years ago. The logic of this group apparently was that if Detroit whites must "suffer" integrated schools, then suburban whites must also.

The chairman of the group, Aubrey Short, said: "We feel the people of Detroit should not be asked to bear the burden of ... let's say, the problem ... alone."

What makes this ruling potentially so significant is that it is the first court integration ruling which clearly crosses class lines. Most previous school integration plans, because they were confined to a single city, excluded the newer and generally better-funded school facilities in the relatively wealthy suburban areas, as well as excluding most middle-class white students, from its jurisdiction. The Roth decision, if enforced and extended, undercuts — as far as education is concerned — the traditional "flight to the suburbs."

It is this fact which makes the implications of the Roth decision so frightening to many white parents. In Detroit's suburbs, they are already organizing to resist this integration plan, even though its implementation is at least a year away. Precisely what form this opposition may take is at this point unclear. But given the previous history of race relations in Detroit, the outlook is hardly encouraging. Next fall in Motown may make Pontiac look like a Brotherhood Week Picnic. ■



"30 AND OUT" Strikes Out

John Weber

During the 1970 General Motors strike, the one contract demand for which the UAW leadership tried to build up strong emotional support in the ranks was 30 and out. The UAW demanded that any worker with 30 years service would be permitted to retire with a \$500 per month pension.

When the contract was finally signed, there were only two issues on which the leadership was in a position to claim victory. The cost of living clause was restored to the contract, and 30 and out was won.

It was difficult for Woodcock and Co. to make too much out of restoring the cost of living, since this had already been previously won by the UAW and then bargained away in the 1967 contract. Only over the issue of 30 and out could they claim that real progress was made.

Younger workers make up a large percentage of the UAW membership in auto. Few expect to stay in auto until their retirement; most hope to be able to get out someday and find better work. Only a small number will actually escape, but even so few young auto workers have resigned themselves to the prospect of enduring the assembly line for 30 years.

Still, it was difficult for anyone, young or old, to claim that the right to retire after 30 years was an unimportant goal. It has been accepted com-

mon knowledge in the plants that one is more likely to die than to retire. The demand for 30 and out held out the promise that older workers would have something to look forward to.

After the contract was signed, GM and the other auto companies made a lot of noise about how generous they had been in granting 30 and out. The UAW said very little to contradict

them. But when October 1, 1971, rolled around (the first date it was possible to retire under 30 and out benefits), only 4,500 — 16% of the 35,000 auto workers with 30 years or more service — chose to retire.

As a result, the cost of this concession to the auto companies is still quite low. The question is, why have so many workers with 30 years service decided to remain on the line?



To begin with, many auto workers feel that a \$500 per month pension will not provide them with enough money to support their families — especially since everyone expects inflation and taxes to continue increasing.

Moreover, \$500 per month pension benefits is far greater than what most auto workers will in fact receive.

Those who are younger than 58 will have 8% deducted from the \$500, or \$40 for each year of age under 58. (On Oct. 1 next year, the minimum age of retirement will go down to 56.) In addition, the \$500 per month benefits only continue until the age of 62. At that age, total benefits, including social security payments, will drop to \$450 per month.

At 65, total pension payments drop again. Those who retired at 58 will then receive only \$383 per month, while those who waited until they were 62 will get \$441 per month.

In other words, retirement at age 58 with 30 years service promises an old age of poverty.

It's no wonder that so many older workers have stayed on the job. The auto companies benefit because this saves them money. The union can still boast of its great victory in winning the demand for 30 and out at \$500. But most older workers feel forced to keep on working until their health and strength are broken. ■

Brian Mackenzie



Victory In Sight

As the strike of New York Telephone craftsmen enters its fourth month, a crack in the stalemate seems to be opening.

While active participation has been low throughout the strike, the rank and file has resisted all of the company's attempts to lure them back to work. At first the company insisted that the wage freeze precluded any improvement on the July national settlement.

The ranks stood their ground and the union said no.

When intransigence failed, the company tried to trick us back to work by hinting that we would not even get the national settlement unless we voted to return on the basis of the July settlement (in which case they believed they could get the Cost of Living Council to approve it). This too failed to break the spirit of resistance or to produce a back-to-work movement.

With the ranks holding out for a victory and the company and the union leadership both desperately looking for face-savers, something had to break.

It should not surprise us that the break did not occur in New York, at the bargaining table, but in Washington. On Friday, Oct. 8, Ricky Carnival, President of Communications Workers of America Local 1101, told a meeting of Chief Stewards that he had spoken with Senator Muskie and had been told that the Cost of Living Council would definitely approve a settlement of from 2 to 5 percent above the July settlement.

That this offer should come now and from Washington indicates that both the company and the union leaders (particularly, we suspect, the International) have been begging Washington to bail them out. We can expect that both Beirne, who is to address the N.Y. State Local Presidents on the 13th, and Carnival will be running around shouting victory.

If, indeed, there is a victory here — no settlement has yet been reached — it should be understood that it is not *their* victory. It is the ranks of the N.Y. State CWA Locals, not the bureaucrats, that have forced the company and the Government itself to back down in the face of united resistance.

Moreover, while we, as socialists and union militants, believe that mass militant participation in the strike could have won more, sooner, the ranks have much to be proud of. We have done what it seems no other union has been able to do: *break the freeze*.

Scarcely supported at all by our International, and then only because

we forced them into it, denied real strike benefits, opposed by the world's largest monopoly and the Government acting in its behalf, and burdened by a weak Local leadership in 1101, we have forced them all to give way to our power. Our show of solidarity, if not the conduct of our strike, is an example to all of labor.

Our pride, however, had better be tempered by a watchful eye. We have not won yet. There is no doubt in the mind of this writer and striker that our leaders will jump at the first paltry offer they get. They believe that Muskie, Eilingshaus, Beirne and, who knows, even Nixon; have done them a favor.

These frightened little men do not understand that it was our solidarity that moved these "giants." Still less do they realize that they can be pushed even further.

Rank and file telephone workers would do well to return to the picket lines so that the bargainers are aware of our determination. Through our picket signs, slogans on the line, and demands on the Local, we must make it clear that we will not trade our working conditions or benefits for a couple of percentage points wage increase based on some spurious productivity deal.

We have a responsibility to ourselves and to all of labor to return to work only on the basis of a victory and with the same disciplined solidarity we showed during the strike. ■

[Brian Mackenzie works for N.Y. Tel in the plant department and is a member of CWA Local 1101 and the International Socialists.]

Wildcat

New York Telephone Operators are once again showing that they will not submit to company harassment. Still "represented" by the decrepit Telephone Traffic Union, the operators are virtually without union protection (see *Workers' Power*, no. 41). Always harassed, their situation worsened after thousands of operators struck in sympathy with the Craftsmen in the Communications Workers of America.

At the time of the national CWA strike, a number of the women partici-

pated in a drive to bring their sisters into CWA. After this drive was defeated, due to the incompetence and condescension of the CWA organizers (all men) toward the women, the company obviously felt it had a free hand.

The women in at least two telephone buildings have shown them they were mistaken. About three weeks ago, the operators at the Albermarle Road building walked out for three days in protest against the harassment of one

woman, a known militant.

Hardly a week after the Albermarle Road walkout, the operators at 108th St. struck. Following days of petty harassment, the women on the night shift walked off the job when one of the operators was refused time-off to attend to a sick person in her family.

The absence of a real union will make it difficult for the operators to spread the struggle against harassment, and virtually impossible to affect bargaining. But there is plenty that can be done both now and when the Craftsmen return to the buildings.

The leaders of these strikes should join with the former CWA and District 65 committee members and try to coordinate their actions around the city. When the Craftsmen return to work, attempts should be made to establish ties between women militants and the CWA stewards so that the fight against harassment can be unified. ■



Rank and File Labor Groups To Protest Wage Controls

On October 21, rank and file union members in New York will demonstrate at the monthly meeting of the N.Y. Central Labor Council in opposition to the freeze and Phase II wage controls. The demonstration is being called by the Taxi Rank and File Coalition (members of Taxi Drivers Local 3036) and United Action (members of the striking CWA Local 1101), with other rank and file workers groups invited.

The demonstration will demand that the Central Labor Council oppose all forms of wage controls and any labor participation on control boards established under Phase II. In addition, the

rank and filers will call on the Central Labor Council to support any strike that occurs during wage controls and to call a one day work stoppage to protest the controls.

The leaflet for the demonstration points out that not only will wage controls rob organized workers of their right to bargain, but both the freeze and Phase II will effectively freeze black, Latin and women workers at the lowest pay and occupation levels.

All rank and file militants are asked to attend this demonstration in front of Roosevelt Hall, at 17th St. and Park Ave. So., at 6:00, Thursday, Oct. 21. ■



Bread & Roses

Sugar Pill

Six Chicanas became pregnant after being given fake birth control pills in an experiment financed by the U.S. Agency for International Development and Syntex Laboratories, Inc. 398 women, most of them Chicanas, were given free pills from a clinic in San Antonio, Texas, as part of an experiment to determine whether side effects from oral contraceptives were mostly imaginary.

The director of the experiment, Dr. Joseph Goldzieher of the Southwest Foundation for Research and Education, said that the women were told that they were participating in an experimental study. However, a spokesman for the foundation said they were not told that they might be taking fake pills, but that the pills they were taking might not be completely effective.

Those taking the fake pills, he said, were given other forms of contraception and told to use them along with the pills. The FDA is investigating, but is basing its report almost entirely on an analysis of the experiment written by Goldzieher and several colleagues for Syntex.

An attorney for the National Legal Program on Health Problems of the Poor in Los Angeles said that his group is trying to learn the names of the wom-

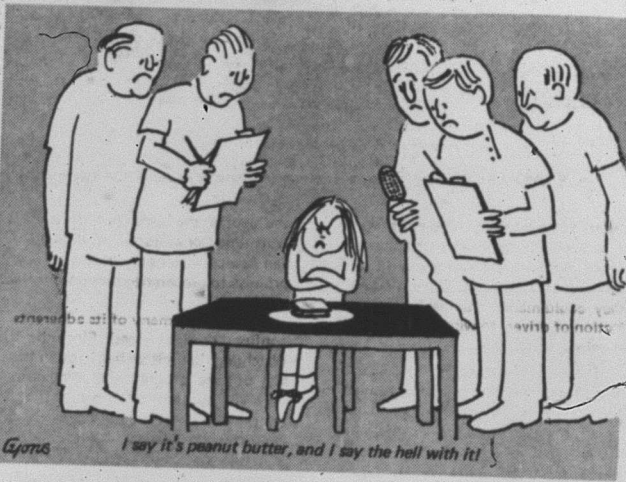
en who became pregnant so that they can be questioned about how much they were told about the experiment. He said that Goldzieher's foundation has refused to help.

Meanwhile, a study by scientists at Johns Hopkins University showed that women who use birth control pills were six times more likely than non-users to develop blood clots after surgery or injury. Brands of pills containing low doses of setrogen were safer in this respect than the older high dose pills.

Abortion

The maternal death rate in New York City has been cut by more than half since the liberalization of the state's abortion law 15 months ago.

Dr. David Harris, who was the city's Deputy Commissioner of Health during the first year of the new abortion law, attributed the current low rate of two deaths for every 10,000 live births — the



lowest maternal mortality rate in the city's history — to the replacement of criminal abortions with legal ones.

Deaths associated with legal abortions have also dropped from 15 in the first year of the law to 5 in the first eight months of this year. In 1969, before liberalization of the law, there were 24 such deaths.

Fortified Coke

A nutritionist from Johns Hopkins University says that women are relying more and more on prepared foods and that the well equipped American kitchen may soon be replaced by a refrigerator and a hotplate.

Dr. George G. Graham told reporters: "I could make peanut-butter and jelly sandwiches with fortified bread, with vitamin C added to the jelly, and with vitamins A and D added to the peanut butter. Then I could give these to a child three times a day, along with three Cokes, and he'd be just as well nourished as he would be with the best-balanced foods containing the traditional four basics of meat, fish, and eggs, dairy products, cereals, and vegetables and fruits."

This may be one way of freeing women from the kitchen, but we think socialized housework sounds tastier.

On The Job

Women have made news recently by entering the following occupations for the first time: Stevedore (two women in Providence, R.I.); "Flagman" for road construction crews ("several" in Alberta, Canada); "Waterboy" (groundskeeper) at the Utah State University campus; diesel truck driver (Dearborn, Michigan).

New American Movement Meets In Chicago

Jack Trautman

On the weekend of October 9-11, about 60 radicals from many parts of the country came together in Chicago. Their aim was to lay plans for a new, broad-based socialist organization — the New American Movement (NAM). They hope to unite the isolated and atomized segments of the radical movement.

Beginning with the split in SDS, the movement turned inward and very largely tore itself apart. Thousands of unaffiliated radicals dropped completely out of activity because they could see no fruitful channel in which to work.

Many others who wanted nothing to do with Weatherman terrorism or the various Maoist groups turned to small-scale activities in local areas. Some got involved in local community activities, some in anti-war work. An increasing number began attempting to link up with rank and file workers, some by going into industrial work themselves.

Meanwhile, those who led the split have become increasingly discredited. Even the Weatherman underground was forced to give up terrorism and grant the importance of mass action. Mao's latest zig-zags have helped to discredit Maoism as a political tendency.

All these developments have opened up the possibility of building a new national radical organization. There are many problems to be overcome, but the attempt could be well worth the effort. So long as people are isolated, even when they are doing good work, they will not have the impact

that they could have if their activity were coordinated on a national level.

The Chicago conference was marked by an air of seriousness. People made every effort to avoid the mistakes of the past. Speakers were not baited as being "racist" or "sexist" or "counter-revolutionary" — there was a



Taxi Drivers Organize To Fight Van Arsdale

David Katz

The general dissatisfaction in the New York City Taxi Drivers Union with the conservative and authoritarian leadership of Harry van Arsdale has crystallized. An opposition caucus has developed which is fighting to change the leadership and direction of the union.

Van Arsdale, in addition to being President of the Taxi Drivers Union, is also chairman of New York's Central Labor Council. He has long been a symbol to union militants of the worst in the labor movement.

After van Arsdale was kicked out of the last union meeting in April (see *Workers' Power* No. 35), the Rank & File Coalition was formed. The Coalition has published a regular newsletter, the *Hot Seat*, circulated a petition demanding a better contract, held a demonstration at the union office, and demonstrated at several garages in support of drivers' jobs. Rank & File Committees have been formed at a few garages.

Watchdog Committee

In early summer, another group, the "Watchdog Committee," was formed around several union bureaucrats who split with van Arsdale over the contract. (The taxi drivers have been without a contract for 11 months — the contract which was negotiated was never submitted for ratification, although the fleet owners have put portions of it favorable to them into effect.)

But from the beginning it was fairly clear that the Watchdog Com-



New York City cabs standing empty

mittee was just an electoral coalition, controlled by a very few people who aimed to replace the van Arsdale leadership with themselves. They thought they could manipulate the dissatisfaction of drivers to win the coming election.

The Watchdogs were able to attract a fair number of garage committeemen to their group and it seemed as though they had a good chance of beating van Arsdale. However, as is becoming traditional in the taxi union, shortly before

the election the leadership of the Watchdog Committee capitulated to van Arsdale, ostensibly in return for a promise to reopen negotiations on the contract.

This has left many of its adherents confused or discouraged. Since the Watchdog Committee had little in the way of a real program, including nothing so far as internal democracy is concerned, the defection of their leadership left the honest, rank and file Watchdogs without any purpose or direction. Sadly, many of them have swallowed the line that we must have unity now (behind van Arsdale, of course).

Rank and File Coalition

The Rank & File Coalition, on the other hand, has spent long hours working out its program for changing the union, and the demands it wants to make on the employers. The former include such items as putting the power for running the union into the hands of the garage committeemen, rather than an executive council which is elected only every three years.

The contractual demands that the Coalition is fighting for include: 60% of the meter, owners to pay all benefits (as they used to), proportional benefits for part-timers, no productivity clause, sick days, holidays, improved pensions, and maternity leave with pay. The Coalition also opposes Nixon's wage freeze.

One stumbling block for the Coalition is the question of "gypsy" cabs (unlicensed cabs not permitted to cruise for fares). Some Coalition members accept the union-fleet owner position that gypsies must be totally eliminated.

This position makes allies of taxi drivers and their bosses against other working people — the gypsy drivers. This is exactly what the fleet owners

would like to see. Their slogan might well be: "Fight the gypsies — not us."

Any solution to the gypsy question must take into account the fact that drivers for gypsy fleets and car services are workers like us and should be unionized (if for no other reason than that otherwise they are potential strike-breakers.) Further, the medallion (licensed) taxi industry alone is not sufficient to serve all of New York City. Many slum areas, as well as outlying regions, are not now served fully by medallion cabs, and must be provided for.

Long-term Struggle

The elections for the top positions in the Local will be held at the end of October. With the Watchdog Committee out of the picture, the Rank & File Coalition offers the only organized opposition. The Coalition will be running candidates for the top positions of President and Secretary and also for a number of lesser positions.

An indication of the way the election will be run was given at the October union meeting. The Rank & File Coalition had proposed a number of amendments to the union constitution. When the chairman of the meeting saw that he did not have a majority, he presented the proposals, declared them defeated, and adjourned the meeting before anyone had a chance to vote. Members of the Rank & File who were demanding a chance to speak were either ignored or jumped by the union's goons.

The developments of the last six months in the taxi union point up again what we have said from the beginning: the rank and file must rely on themselves and organize their own strength if any meaningful changes are to be made. We cannot trust any one individual or any scheme which would trade a reactionary set of bureaucrats for one slightly less so!

Although sentiment among fleet drivers is strongly anti-van Arsdale, the Coalition faces a very tough fight. Van Arsdale starts off with many resources that we don't have: money; the votes of owner-drivers, pensioners, and staff members; and sympathetic Labor Department officials. (The U.S. Department of Labor is "super-vising" this election because of irregularities in the last one. In setting the ground rules for the election, they have ruled in favor of van Arsdale on almost every question.)

If van Arsdale wins, there will be a strong tendency among rank and file to give up. Instead, regardless of the outcome of the election, we must continue organizing.

Our primary task all along must be the building of rank and file committees in each garage. Only when this is done can we prevent Harry van Arsdale from walking all over us. ■

genuine attempt to encourage discussion.

Unlike the SDS in its last days, real concern was expressed at this meeting for democratic control, both in the movement and society at large. The question of the relationship between socialism and democracy was a major topic of discussion at the conference. A resolution was adopted arguing that socialism must include full rights to form independent political parties, independent trade unions with the right to strike, free speech, free press, and freedom to demonstrate.

This question came up in the context of an attempt to define NAM. Was it a socialist organization, or a broad, mass organization, or both? People voted that NAM was socialist, but rejected the idea of trying to organize another tightly-defined ideological sect. They looked toward building a broad action organization.

NAM's strength is its proposed orientation toward action around a general program on which broad agreement can be reached. It was this perspective rather than detailed theoretical discussions which attracted most of the people who were there.

However, the specific interests of

the various participants were often quite different. They ranged from working class in-plant organizing to community health projects to prison reform to planning a radical bi-centennial celebration of the American Revolution. Such a diversity of interests can be healthy in an ongoing mass movement. But it could also make difficult coherent organized activity on a national level.

There was a lot of talk at the conference about the working class. But some of it was based on the old, familiar perspective of community organizing. That approach will lead nowhere unless linked to an orientation to the focus of workers' power — the workplace. It is there that workers have a natural community of interests and it is from there that any struggle for significant social change in America must be launched.

Many radicals have come to this understanding independently and have gone into the shops or are otherwise attempting to make link-ups with rank and file workers in struggle. The New American Movement could play a vital role in expanding, broadening and deepening the first, tentative contacts that have been made between radical activists and working class militants. ■

ONE MAN, ONE VOTE?

John Cartwright



On August 26, Tran Tuan Nham, a militant nationalist candidate for the lower house of the South Vietnamese National Assembly, was beaten and arrested by police in front of the Assembly building in Saigon. The arrest came during a demonstration against government interference with his campaign; Nham said he had been unable to campaign due to government harassment and two previous arrests.

Nham, who was running on the slogan "Smash U.S. Imperialist Aggression To Win Independence and National Sovereignty," charged that the government had ordered his election posters torn down. The government justified tearing down the posters, which bore a picture of President Nixon with a Hitler-like mustache crossed with a heavy black X, on the grounds that they slandered the head of a friendly government.

Nham was in the middle of making a protest speech when club-swinging police broke up the gathering. During a 10-minute scuffle, Nham was knocked to the ground and beaten. Police arrested him and a dozen student supporters.

This incident was only the most blatant of many cases of repression which have marked this year's campaigns for the South Vietnamese National Assembly elections (held August 29) and the presidential elections (held October 3).

Corruption Carnival

Introduced gradually during the late 1960's as opposition to the Vietnam war mounted, the South Vietnamese system of "free elections" has been unable to disguise Saigon's subservience to U.S. imperialism.

Designed mostly to placate the U.S. Congress and disarm liberal critics of the war, South Vietnam's "representative government" is a clumsy imitation of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. It has reproduced some of the worst abuses found in the West — rampant dishonesty, demagoguery and slavish dependence on an all-powerful executive.

For example, the lower house of the National Assembly which just completed its term was a virtual carnival of corruption. Many of its members were known to be deeply involved in smuggling gold, currency, weapons and drugs. The government often more or less openly bought its members' votes (at about \$2,500 apiece). Its reputation was so bad that the vast majority of its members who sought re-election were defeated.

At the same time, the National Assembly as a whole is virtually powerless. It exerts far less influence on the day-to-day conduct of the Saigon government than does the U.S. embassy and the American military command.

The basic election law not only excludes Communists and other adherents of the National Liberation Front (thus ruling out the best organized and most significant political force in South Vietnam) but also anyone who runs on what the government considers to be a Communist program; this includes anyone who advocates a coalition government as a means of ending the war or anyone considered to be a "neutralist" or a "pacifist."

By setting the limits of the electoral choice, this law limits the field to imperialist candidates and their more moderate nationalist critics.

At least as serious in practice, moreover, have been outright government corruption, intimidation and fraud.

Consider the following examples, gathered from the reports of Western correspondents about this year's legislative and presidential elections:

* On the same day that Tran Tuan Nham was arrested, police prevented another anti-war candidate, Nguyen Xuan Lap, from holding a press conference to tell of government efforts to block his campaign. Lap was arrested at the start of the campaign, held without charges for two weeks, and finally released only after his fellow students staged hunger strikes.

* In the Mekong Delta province of Vinh Binh, Representative Ngo Cong Duc, an anti-war newspaper publisher, complained that at many polling places his observers found ballot boxes filled and vote tally sheets completed before the polls opened.



Anti-Thieu demonstrators burning voting cards in Saigon

* In Bac Lieu province, another opposition candidate was prevented from inspecting polling places by Saigon troops who fired into the air and set off tear gas canisters to prevent his helicopter from landing. An American correspondent was detained briefly when he tried to see the province chief.

* In Gia Dinh province, a battalion of paratroopers (several hundred men) was brought to a polling place and handed sealed envelopes with pre-marked ballots in them.

* Throughout the country, units of troops were trucked and flown into constituencies where their votes were needed most by pro-government candidates. (Under the election law, troops on operation may vote anywhere, and provisions of the law make it difficult to insure that they vote only once.)

* In Ham Nghia province, a peasant woman turned up at a polling place on the legislative election day with 12 voting cards and a list of places she was to use each to vote for pro-government candidates. Her vote was not challenged. Similar incidents were reported in the presidential election.

* Representative Duong Van Ba charged that 20,000 fraudulent voting cards had been distributed in Bac Lieu province alone in the legislative elections. In the presidential elections, opposition groups charged that as many as three million blank voting cards were distributed nationally.

* In many Gia Dinh province parishes, Catholics were given lists of approved candidates on the legislative election

day. The lists, printed on government presses, were distributed by police along with gifts of up to \$50 to the parish priests.

* In the presidential election, in which a large voter turnout was important to the government since the opposition had called for a boycott, province chiefs readily admitted that they were given quotas to fill before the voting. "My orders are for a 90 percent turnout," one said. "Of those, 95 percent will vote for the president."

* In Saigon, during the presidential election, an election official said "all polling places received orders prior to the election to replace anti-Thieu (blank) ballots with valid ones. At my polling station, more than 400 ballots were replaced. Two plainclothes policemen supervised the entire operation. We were told that if any election workers objected, we were to notify the authorities and they would be removed."

* In Da Nang, despite bloody riots (2 dead, 57 wounded) which kept the polls virtually closed all day, the government reported a 76 percent turnout. Reporters on the scene said this was nonsense.

* In Qui Nhon, where anti-government feeling is strong, American observers called government claims of an 87 percent turnout absurd. "We toured the city all day and visited every polling station," one said. "Many were empty. None ever had more than a dozen people at once. The turnout couldn't have been more than 25 percent."

* In rural areas, Army troops helped get out the vote by going door-to-door to "encourage" villagers to come to the polls. Village chiefs kept lists of who voted and who did not.

Winner By Default

The frauds during the legislative elections were so blatant that the South Vietnamese Supreme Court was forced, in order to maintain appearances, to invalidate the results in three provinces and ask that Thieu fire the province chiefs (one of whom was Thieu's cousin).

Yet despite all the intimidation and fraud, the legislative elections did result in substantial gains for the anti-war opposition. Although pro-Thieu forces maintained control of the 159-member lower house, they lost their previous two-thirds majority, and the anti-war opposition grew from 18 seats to 40.

The opposition forces were strongest in the northern provinces (a stronghold of the Buddhist movement) and in the urban areas, where it was most difficult for the government to manipulate and control the voters.

In the presidential elections, Saigon's claims of an 88 percent turnout with 94 percent of the votes going to Thieu are believed by no one. In fact, Thieu himself was reported to have been angered by the overzealousness of his subordinates in making wildly exaggerated claims.

(Their zeal was understandable, since South Vietnam's 44 province chiefs — all of them full colonels — had their promotions frozen before the election. Naturally, they believed that those who got out the biggest vote for Thieu had the best chance to make general.)

In reality, the presidential elections represented a severe political defeat for both Thieu and the U.S. According to the Nixon administration's scenario,

[Continued on page 13]



SHAH REZA PAHLEVI ON PEACOCK THRONE

Living It Up In Iran

Chris Harman

Top people from all over the world are congregating in Iran this week to enjoy one of the biggest and most expensive junkets of all time, celebrating 2500 years of the Persian monarchy.

Kings and crown princes, presidents and political leaders from every conceivable country are there. Whatever their other differences, they seem intent on grovelling to the Shah and living it up on the scale to which they are accustomed.

They are not likely to be disappointed. Maxims of Paris are flying in 5000 bottles of wine, four tons of deep frozen delicacies, \$1000 worth of salami, 43 different sorts of vegetables, 18 kinds of cheese and 9½ pounds of

quails' eggs, as well as 30 chefs to prepare the food.

No one knows for certain how much the elaborate festivities will cost, but *The Economist* magazine has suggested a figure of between 50 million and 300 million dollars.

So Princess Anne, Vice-President Agnew, The Duke of Edinburgh, President Podgorny of Russia, Kuo Mo-Jo of China and the others should enjoy themselves. So too should the Shah, who must surely feel that the cost of the celebration is well worth while in terms of the massive and favorable press coverage for his regime.

And his sister, Ashraf, will have the opportunity of repaying some of the

fine compliments she received in recent months from unlikely quarters, as when she made a state visit to China in April.

The gaily must, however, have a bitter taste for the people of Iran. While rulers from every conceivable country toast their masters, they have to go on living in conditions of extreme poverty, subjected to crude dictatorial police repression.

A visitor to South Iran has given a glimpse of what life is like outside the closed and carefully guarded confines within which the Shah's celebrations are taking place.

"I have witnessed appalling scenes of human misery. I have seen children and young people, men and women, slowly wasting away from lack of medicines and food because of hunger and deprivation. I know of families whose utmost desire is a bit of bread; I know of bashful girls and women who do not leave their homes for months at a time because they lack the barest essentials of clothing. I know of children as skinny as skeletons who roll about in the dirt for years, naked as worms, and live on weeds and rotten fish..."

Even a U.S. senator was moved to report a few years ago that, "In Tabriz (Iran's second largest city) we encountered such poverty as we had seen nowhere else in the world up to then... I visited a carpet factory employing 800 workers, 600 of them children between the ages of 6 and 14..."

The Shah's own government cannot conceal all the facts about the country. It admits that 85 per cent of the population cannot read or write.

Its figures also reveal that infantile mortality is approaching 50 per cent

(as opposed to between 2 and 4 per cent in Europe) and that the average life expectancy is only 30 years (as against 60 years in Europe).

Yet Iran is not a typically poor country. Enormous wealth exists in the form of oil but it flows into the pockets of the Shah and his friends.

The Shah has also made millions out of his monopoly of the opium plantations (his sister Ashraf was actually arrested in Geneva in 1960 because she had suitcases full of heroin with her). When the Shah travelled abroad recently he paid out 853 dollars a night on hotel accommodation alone.

Standing between the impoverished millions and the minority who live so luxuriously is the Shah's army and police, above all the notorious SAVAK, the secret police.

Opponents of the regime can expect to be shot down in cold blood if they try to demonstrate peacefully, to be kidnapped, imprisoned without trial, tortured and perhaps executed after rigged trials.

Those feasting at the Shah's expense this week are not ignorant of such facts. But they are indifferent to them. Some employ such means in their own countries. Others feel they do not yet need to.

But one thing unites them. They feel it is a profitable undertaking to love up to the Shah, ignoring the blood on his hands and the poverty beneath his feet. And so from the US and the USSR, from Britain and from Czechoslovakia, from China and from France, they join in the adulation of the Iranian despot.

[Reprinted from *Socialist Worker*, weekly newspaper of the British International Socialists]

REVIEW:

One Day...

R.F. Kampfer

"One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich" is a story of survival. To stay alive in a Siberian labor camp of the Stalin era was difficult enough, but to remain a human being was even more so.

The film shows us how Ivan copes with one very ordinary day in a ten-year sentence. By the time the day is over he is transformed from an anonymous number in a herd of other numbers into a person we feel we know something about.

In order to do their jobs, the guards (who were themselves sent to the camps as punishment for various military misdemeanors) have to view

the prisoners as less than human. Otherwise it would have been impossible to treat them the way they were supposed to be treated. For the convicts the problem is to remember that they are human.

Ivan does it by adhering to the standards he has set for himself: not begging from other prisoners, sharing his food and tobacco with those who have none, not allowing the guards to provoke him to open defiance, taking pride in his work as a bricklayer, not depending on food parcels from his family, grabbing every chance to score off the camp administration.

Other prisoners cope in other ways.

Aloyshka the Baptist finds comfort in being a religious martyr. Caesar loses himself in endless discussions of the Russian cinema. The Captain is consoled by memories of his naval career, Tyurin, the straw-boss, devotes all his efforts to the well-being of his work-gang.

A few have lost the struggle for humanity; Fetyukov has become a shameless beggar and scrounger, while Panteleyev informs on his comrades.

It helps to read the book before seeing the movie. The director, Casper Wrede, tends to be over-subtle at times, and doesn't always get his points across clearly.

The movie was filmed in Norway, using mostly local talent. It seems incongruous at first to hear Russians speaking with Norwegian accents, but the cast is a fine one. Tom Courteney, playing Ivan, gives his usual excellent performance. A scene in which he watches a cat walk across the room, realizing that the animal has more freedom than he does, says a lot about the barbarity of imprisonment.

Courteney had the caps removed from several front teeth for the role; a concession to realism above and beyond the call of duty.

The camera work of Sven Nykvist is also outstanding. The fact that the film was shot in color only accentuates the drabness of the landscape of snow, uniforms and weathered wood. A red star on a guard's cap catches the eye like a beacon. The lack of color seems fitting since everything else to stimulate the senses is also lacking in the labor camp.

The political weaknesses of the

movie are the same as those of the novel, undoubtedly due to the fact that Alexander Solzhenitsyn published inside the Soviet Union. One of these is that no political discussion takes place in camp, even though Siberia was full of Trotskyists, Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, Anarchists, and oppositionists of every other tendency.

More seriously, the message that comes through is essentially one of passivity. Ivan is a peasant with the strengths and weaknesses of a Russian peasant. The strength is that he is capable of enduring incredible hardships, the weakness is that he is willing to do so.

"Why am I here?", he asks. "Because we weren't ready for war in '41." He knows that he has been made a scapegoat, but he doesn't feel called upon to do anything about it.

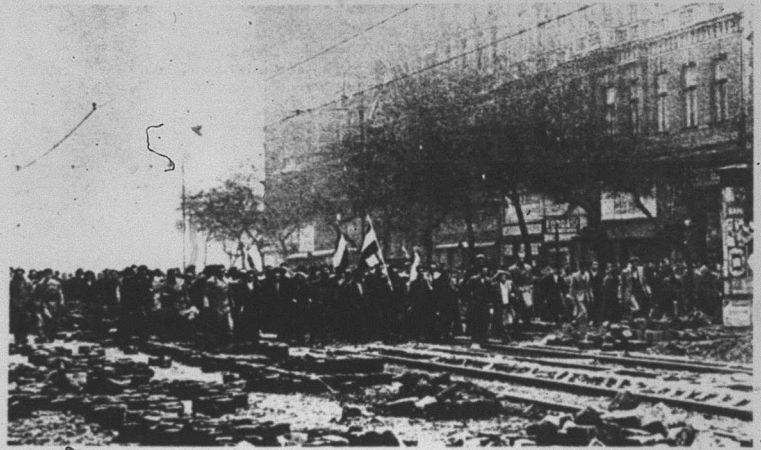
After all, the difference between life inside and outside the camps was only one of degree under Stalinism. Maybe the future will be better, meanwhile take one day at a time and figure out how to get an extra chunk of bread.

Such an outlook may prove healthiest for the individual, but it never brings about change. It must be remembered that the exiles of Siberia were in a much stronger position than the convicts of Attica. They played an important role in the Russian economy, providing most of its coal and almost all its lumber among other things. At Vorkuta and other camps there were strikes and uprisings that won concessions from the authorities.

"One Day" is a fine movie, but it doesn't tell the whole story.

Lessons of the Hungarian Revolt

James Coleman



Hungarian mass demonstration in a torn-up Budapest street late on October 24.

The unknown worker who brought forward an acetylene torch to cut through the knees of the Stalin statue in Budapest's City Park, the evening of October 23, 1956, was a portent of the direction of development of the revolt which was just beginning.

In class terms, this was a development from the first protests by writers to a movement under the leadership of the working class; in political terms, it was a development from reform demands (free speech, a free press) to the emergence of the Workers' Councils as an alternative government, having the loyalty of the vast majority of the Hungarian population.

In the course of this development, the Workers' Councils rejected any conception of returning to capitalist society. But they wavered between reform aims (expressed, for example, in the demand for a multi-party state) and the actual revolutionary possibility contained in their own existence.

1. "Anti-Communism"?

Most Americans, both then and now, have thought of the events in Hungary as a revolt "against Communism" and for American-style democratic institutions. The Communists in Moscow, and

their followers all around the world, produced their own version of this "anti-Communist" theory — according to them, the revolt was secretly led by American agents and Hungarian Fascists (Hungary had been Fascist before World War II).

The revolutionaries did have many illusions about America and the other Western powers. Many thought America, or the United Nations, would send armed assistance. Many had the goal of simply re-establishing a parliamentary government such as had existed in Hungary in 1945-1947. Others simply wanted Imre Nagy, the respected liberal Communist, as head of the government.

The revolution was directed against Stalinism — against Russian domination and against the dictatorship of the Hungarian Communist Party bureaucracy. But it was not directed against Communists or at returning to capitalism, as the Russians and their followers said. Many of the most active revolutionaries were rank-and-file members of the Communist Party (CP).

In their demands, the revolutionary committees which sprang up around the country endorsed the democratic right of farmers to leave the "collective farms" they had been forced to join. But unanimously, the Workers' Councils and general opinion rejected the idea of ending the nationalization of industry.

"Don't think we're going back to the old days," said General Pal Maletier, one

of the military leaders of the revolt. "And if there are people who do want to go back — we'll see." And he touched his holster.

The greatest safeguard against a return to capitalism, or an upsurge of Fascism, was the existence of the Workers' Councils themselves. Partly inspired by organizations with that name in Yugoslavia — which, however, had only advisory powers in factory production — the Councils in fact represented a natural form of organization for workers in revolt.

The Councils, like the revolution itself, had their greatest strength in Hungary's great industrial cities of Miskolc, Debrecen, Dunapentele, and Budapest itself. While General Maletier, touching his pistol, expressed the popular feeling against returning to "the old days," it was the armed workers, occupying the actual places of production, who had the real power to prevent the return.

2. Reform or Revolution

Because of their very power, the Workers' Councils could not remain in the position of simply making demands on the government. The re-establishment of the multi-party system, even though the Councils demanded it, was a danger

for them — for not one of these parties, not the Communists nor the Social Democrats nor the farmer-based Smallholders Party, was a revolutionary party in favor of a government based on the Workers' Councils.

If the Russians had not returned to crush the revolt, and if a government based on these parties had survived, it would have had to move to consolidate its authority by whittling down the authority of the Councils until they were mere factory advisory bodies, as in Yugoslavia.

The only other possibility would have been for the Councils to assert their authority over the government (as they were doing through their demands while the revolt lasted). This would have led to the need to take power directly.

The Hungarian revolt posed the basic question of all popular movements—that of reform or revolution. As in every revolution, the popular organizations moved from moderate to radical demands. Yet they continued to accept the legitimacy of Imre Nagy's government even while calling on him to carry out the demands of the revolution.

But Nagy could not take his place at the head of the revolutionary movement except to try to guide it into calmer waters. In his position as a Prime Minister hand-picked by Russia to try to restore order, he had to be a go-between and a conciliator, trying to persuade the Russians to accept some of the demands of the revolutionaries, and trying to persuade the revolutionaries to accept compromise with Russia.

Moreover, as a lifelong member of the Stalinist CP, he stood, not for workers' rule (an idea which had been suppressed in these parties in the 1920s), but for rule by the CP bureaucracy, although in a more humanized form than before. Had Nagy remained in power, his relation to the Russians and his own political position would have compelled him to whittle away at the position of the Workers' Councils.

Also, none of the imperialist powers wanted Workers' Councils to survive. The Russians demanded a one-party state with no political rights in order to maintain their control of Hungary. The United States, on the other hand, would have preferred an American-style democracy, preferably open to American trade; but in any case, the US informally recognized that Hungary was in Russia's "sphere of influence".



Russian tanks guard Budapest intersection

Thus the Workers' Councils could rely on none of the existing parties and on none of the powerful nations outside Hungary to guarantee their own existence or to fight for the democratic aims they put forward in their demands. To have maintained even what they had already won—workers' control of the factories and an independent political voice for the working class through the Workers' Councils—the Councils would have had to prepare for conflict with the legal government.

One of the greatest weaknesses of the Hungarian revolt was the lack of a revolutionary party which could have put forward this analysis and urged the Councils themselves to take power. It is hard to say how much difference this would have made. But in the absence of such a party, the Workers' Councils groped their way forward, caught between hope in Nagy and distrust.

None of them actually put forward the demand for a government based on the Workers' Councils. The Councils' actual achievements—their existence as a "dual power"—ran ahead of their political understanding of what the situation required; the growth of this understanding was cut off before it matured.

3. Results and Prospects

On Sunday morning, November 4, Russian tanks began shelling Budapest. It was a week before they were able to shoot their way into the last pockets of resistance, in the industrial center of Csepel Island, south of Budapest. Armed resistance in the countryside ended a few days later.

On November 12, the 11th District Workers' Council of Budapest, in an offer to negotiate with the new government headed by Janos Kadar, still defiantly proclaimed that "the revolutionary working class considers the factories and the land the property of the working people." Kadar paid no heed.

As the general strike which followed the occupation was beginning to peter out, in early December, he arrested the leaders of the Budapest Workers' Councils. Renewed strikes and riots followed, but winter froze the strikers back to work. Thousands had been jailed. (Imre Nagy, kidnapped while under Yugoslav protection, was finally executed in 1958.)

Kadar chipped away at the powers of the Workers' Councils, still not daring to ban them, while rebuilding the trade unions—under government control—as an alternative. Finally in mid-1957, the Councils were officially disbanded. The Hungarian revolt showed that

the class struggle had never really ceased, and that while Hungarians could not defeat Russia by their own efforts, they could destroy their own totalitarian government; and in their struggle, the working class played the leading role, creating as its weapons democratic mass institutions like those of revolutions in France in 1871 and in Russia in 1905 and 1917.

Politically, the impact of the suppression of the Hungarian revolt was also reflected in the fragmenting of the Communist Parties in the West. The CP leaders parroted the Russian line that Hungary was a "Fascist counter-revolution." More shamefully, some CP intellectuals, like the historian Herbert Aptheker in his book *The Truth About Hungary*, tried to back up the official line by repeating it almost word for word.

But many thousands of ordinary party members, both workers and intellectuals, left the CP's in 1957.



Imre Nagy

Janos Kadar

1958. Hungary forever destroyed the illusion that the Stalinist CP's were a force for revolutionary socialism.

A more sophisticated line of apology, came from some of those who disliked Stalinism, but hoped for reform without a basic upheaval—most notably Isaac Deutscher, ex-Trotskyist and biographer of Trotsky.

In 1953, when Deutscher's hopes for "reform from above" were greatest, he greeted the East German workers' revolt with distaste. The Germans "may have had their genuine and long-suppressed grievances," Deutscher wrote. "Nevertheless, their action had unfortunate consequences in Moscow. It compromised the men who stood for reform and conciliation." (This was true; it made them come out for repression.)

In 1956 he had less hope for the bureaucratic "reformers," but still condemned revolution. Praising the events in Poland, which had only gone as far as a change in government,

Deutscher wrote that in Hungary:

"What had begun as an interne-cine communist conflict and looked at first only like a shift from one communist faction to another, from Gero to Nagy, developed into a fully-fledged struggle between communism and anti-communism..."

"This was not a counter-revolution carried out by a hated and isolated possessing class... against the masses. It was, on the contrary, the ardent work of a whole insurgent people... The people of Hungary in a heroic frenzy tried unwittingly to put the clock back."

In these few deceptive words, Deutscher endorsed the bureaucratic dictatorship. To shift from one leader to another within the ruling circle was "regenerating communism"; the seizing of initiative by the armed people was "putting the clock back."

In the same essay, written after the suppression of Hungary, Deutscher spoke of the "twilight of totalitarianism" in the USSR. A year later, he foretold "the softening of social tensions, the weakening of antagonisms between bureaucracy and workers... the further growth of civil liberties."

The next years, ironically, seemed to show Hungary and not Poland as a textbook case of "reform from above." In Poland, the "reformer" Gomulka began paring down the reforms of 1956. For example, in 1957-1958 most independent magazines were banned. In Hungary, however, Kadar released all the prisoners of 1956 from jail in 1960.

A more free atmosphere grew up in night clubs, for instance, performers were able to tell jokes at the expense of the government. Kadar allowed non-CP members to take some part in the administration.

Basically, however, these reforms

were aimed at stabilizing the regime against two dangers—the danger of a new spark of discontent if the government were too heavy-handed, and the poor performance of the economy. Non-CP members were allowed into the administration simply in order to gain the use of their expert knowledge.

The workers' situation hardly changed—striking remained a punishable offense. And the "free atmosphere" was strictly limited. Though foreign newspapers were sold in a few selected places (mainly places frequented by the intellectual elite, not by workers), independent Hungarian newspapers were not allowed, and neither was independent political organization.

"Reform from above" remained a matter of strengthening the bureaucratic regime, not of democratizing it or ending it. Indeed, the revolt and its aftermath gave the lie to all those who hoped for "reform from above," either before 1956 or after.

In none of the Eastern European countries or in Russia has the "growth of civil liberties" or the "softening of social tensions" foretold by Isaac Deutscher occurred. In Russia, the writers Sinyavsky and Daniel, to name just two, have been jailed for their writings; so have revolutionary socialists in Czechoslovakia and Poland.

In Czechoslovakia in 1968 the limited reforms of the "liberalizer" Alexander Dubcek led to popular organization outside the CP—and Russia invaded to nip the possibility of another Hungary before it developed.

The lesson is most exact in the countries Deutscher himself contrasted: Poland and Hungary. In Poland the erosion of all the 1956 reforms and the worsening economic situation led in 1970 to a wave of strikes, the formation of workers' councils and a further wave of repression by a new government. In Hungary, where the bloody slaughter of 1956 was more effective than Poland's peaceful change in convincing the rulers of the need for concessions, the reforms remained strictly limited. There the working class, exhausted by the blood-letting of 1956, has remained quiet.

In both countries, the bureaucratic regimes have not become more democratic, but only more streamlined.

Only when the people themselves, primarily the workers, have stepped forward has the possibility of socialist democracy been raised. And in every case, the action of the bureaucracy in crushing the popular movement (if necessary, first replacing the waverers among the bureaucrats) has shown that even the most liberal bureaucratic rule cannot long exist side by side with working class organs of power.

The fundamental lesson of the Hungarian revolt is the necessity of revolution. ■

[Continued from page 10]

the '71 elections were supposed to show that Saigon had arrived at "political maturity." Instead, the one-man "contest" proved an embarrassment, further undermining the rapidly dwindling support for the war both in the U.S. and in South Vietnam.

Thieu, an extremely inept politician, has become almost entirely isolated. Some of his staunchest supporters in the government and the military are reported to have been alienated by his in-

sistence on carrying through the October 3 farce.

Probably the only thing that has prevented (so far) Thieu's removal by disgruntled elements in the military has been a very unsubtle warning from the U.S. embassy that a coup would not be tolerated.

In the immediate future, it is possible that Thieu may make some moves to conciliate the more moderate elements in the opposition (perhaps by co-opting some of them into his cabinet). It is like-

ly that he will also take new steps to repress the militant opposition (particularly the students and disabled war veterans), and perhaps also arrest figures like Ky and Minh, who might serve as rallying points for an attempt to overthrow him.

But it is not likely that these measures will calm the political situation or prevent Thieu's eventual ouster. Instead this coming winter looks like a time of deepening political crisis in Vietnam. ■

Vote



feedback

Murder ?

The recent story by Michael Stewart on the death of George Jackson calls for some comment. Brother Stewart asserts categorically that Jackson was murdered, but there is at least some doubt. Three guards and two other inmates were also killed. Their death is cause for regret and also a fact to be explained in any reconstruction of events that calls Jackson's death murder.

The California prison authorities were fully capable of carrying out Jackson's murder; whether they actually did so, however, is another question. Jackson, a political person, would be unlikely to attempt a violent escape on the eve of a public political trial. But it is equally unlikely that the authorities would choose to sacrifice three of their own men in order to do Jackson in. Or were these men murdered by outraged prisoners after Jackson's death?

I do not claim to know the facts; but I don't think the cause of the left is served if every victim with whom we sympathize is always depicted in our press as the passive and innocent object of a dastardly conspiracy.

Dastardly conspiracies do exist; but except in conjecture clearly labeled as such, it is unwise to assert their existence beyond the available evidence. may be proven wrong. At the very least, Brother Stewart has the obligation to make a more careful case for his thesis than he has so far done.

There is a broader question as well. Prison conditions everywhere are an outrage, a scandal. Yet crime exists, and if its definition and punishment are class questions, so is the identity of the victims.

The very real fear which haunts citizens, black and white, in our major cities, is the cause of a very real loss of



liberty, and those most likely to be the victims of crime are the workers, the poor, and the black. Women, the young, and the old are particularly subject to violent crime and to the fear of violent crime.

The perpetrators of such crimes are also, of course, victims. But their crimes hardly make them heroes, and it is a mistake for us to ignore the crimes and the victims, even as we admire those prisoners who transcend their past and convert their anger, formerly directed against individuals, into a social and political force.

The criminal, in short, is both a victim of oppression and its agent. He or she is not automatically a "good guy" — but can become one.

Socialists know, of course, that no full solution to these problems is possible under capitalism. But that said, we have to confront all the complexities of the current situation. The simple

identification of "white hats" and "black hats" will hardly advance our understanding.

Derek Briscoe

Rejoinder

The killing of George Jackson was a political murder, carried out by the state of California. From the beginning, we have been convinced that this was the fundamental "fact" about the case, and nothing that we have seen or heard since has persuaded us to change our view.

Briscoe approaches the question from the standpoint of an impartial observer, concerned only with the "facts" of whether or not Jackson was "the passive and innocent object of a dastardly "conspiracy." But Jackson was murdered pre-

cisely because he was neither passive nor innocent.

Jackson was an avowed revolutionist. That is the fact that explains why he was still imprisoned ten years after his conviction for a \$70 robbery — a crime against property, not people.

If Briscoe hesitates to call Jackson's death murder, he also fails to suggest possible alternatives. Justifiable homicide? Self defense? Suppose Jackson was trying to escape — we think he had a right to escape.

In any case, the autopsy evidence indicated that Jackson was shot from ground level, in the back, in a prison yard from which escape was impossible.

Briscoe also raises the death of the three guards, whom he thinks it "unlikely that the authorities would choose to sacrifice" (although his letter is dated September 29, two weeks after the Attica massacre). His suggestion is, "Or were these men murdered by outraged prisoners after Jackson's death?" (Our emphasis.)

Only in this case is Briscoe willing to entertain the question of murder — without reference to any facts at all, purely as random speculation.

Revolutionary socialists do not advocate or defend individual acts of violence. But we recognize that crime is a social product — not a matter of personal depravity or weakness, but of a social system based upon injustice, that fosters inhumanity.

Individual acts of "crime in the streets" merely recreate, on a microscopic level, the systematic degradation and exploitation — mugging and robbery — of the many by the few that is the hallmark of this society.

We do advocate and defend the right of prisoners to fight against a prison system which defends private property against human life — a system which sentences black and poor youth to one year-to-life terms for petty theft, while capitalist swindlers and war criminals are free to run our lives.

We stand for the abolition of the prison system as a mechanism of class and racial injustice. We struggle for a society in which the social, economic and psychological bases of violence and crime will no longer exist.

Briscoe states correctly that "Socialists know that no solution to these problems is possible under capitalism." But socialists also draw the appropriate conclusions — we oppose the prison system and support those in revolt against it, not as "heroes," but as the most oppressed victims of capitalist class justice.

We base our approach on the social relations behind "all the current complexities of the current situation," not on the "facts" of which side precipitates an incident in a given situation. If Briscoe regards this as "simple identification of 'white hats' and 'black hats'" that sums up his own misunderstanding of the realities of crime and imprisonment in American society.

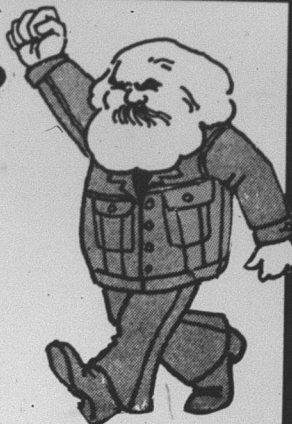
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Fred Heinze

Fred Heinze died last month in New York City as a result of head injuries sustained in an automobile accident.

Fred was a young man whose life had been dedicated to bringing about radical change in America. He had worked with the Southern civil rights movement, the Peace and Freedom Party, the Metropolitan Council on Housing, and many other organizations.

At the time of his death he was on the staff of the Workers Defense League and was engaged in research on the housing crisis in New York, some of which was published in the *Urban Underground* and the *City Free Press*.

Fred's death means a great loss to his family and friends and a loss of his considerable talents to the radical movement. His dedication and his abilities as an organizer were widely known. Fred always undertook more than his share, both in the work to be done and in making it worth doing.

\$\$\$

Fund Drive Bulletin

BRANCH	Quota	Amount Raised	% of Quota
Berkeley	\$2,400	\$925	39
Champaign	75	125	167
Chapel Hill	60	30	50
Chicago	600	254	42
Cincinnati	30	10	33
Cleveland	30	0	0
Davis	60	0	0
Detroit	1,000	1,335	134
Eureka	75	75	100
Lansing	30	30	100
Los Angeles	1,000	120	12
Madison	100	150	150
New Jersey	400	20	5
New York	1,500	1,083	72
Pittsburgh	45	0	0
Riverside	30	10	33
Portland	30	60	200
Rochester	30	30	100
San Diego	45	0	0
San Francisco	400	106	26
Seattle	600	336	56
Nat'l Office	1,120	410	37
M.A.L.'s	185	39	21
TOTAL	10,000	5,148	51

As we go to press, the fund drive is nearing the halfway point and is still running slightly ahead of schedule.

A look at the scoreboard shows that the success of the first five weeks has been due largely to the efforts of branches that have gone ahead of schedule, more than taking up the slack from the slow branches. Therefore, if we are to conclude the drive successfully, the branches and members-at-large that have been behind during this first half of the drive will have to make an effort to catch up without delay.

It looks now as if this has already begun to happen; since the last report Seattle, Chicago, Riverside and Los Angeles have sent in their first payments. That leaves only San Diego, Cleveland, Davis and Pittsburgh in the zero category,

although New Jersey remains at the 5% mark. MALs have begun to send in their payments too, but only a few so far. Berkeley is now beginning to move ahead, while New York continues to send in its payments on a regular basis. Detroit, of course, reached its quota several weeks ago, as did several of the smaller branches.

Generous contributions from friends of the I.S. and readers of *Workers' Power* have brought the N.O. up to 37%, although this is still behind schedule. Readers of *Workers' Power* who have not yet sent a contribution are urged to do so. Many thanks to those who have.

[Send checks to: International Socialists (or Joel Geier), 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, MI 48203.]

HELP THIS POOR BOY MEET HIS PLEDGE!



RUSSIA

How the Revolution was lost

Chris Harman

IS Books (Britain), 25c

In the Revolution of 1917, a workers' government took power for the first time in history. Yet today, the government of the USSR is a bureaucratic tyranny. What went wrong? Who was to blame?

This pamphlet attempts to answer these questions. It deals with the crucial years 1917-1929. It blames not those who made the Russian Revolution, but those who strangled the revolutions in Europe, for creating the situation in which the bureaucratic counter-revolution was able to take power from the workers and create a new, exploitative class society.

Available from: I.S. Book Service - 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48213.

in this issue

- Nixon Attacks Dock Strike /4
- Feliciano Free on Bail /4
- Hungarian Revolt, pt. 2 /12
- Roth Decision Rocks Detroit /6
- Vietnam: One Man, One Vote? /10
- N.Y. Phone: Victory in Sight /7



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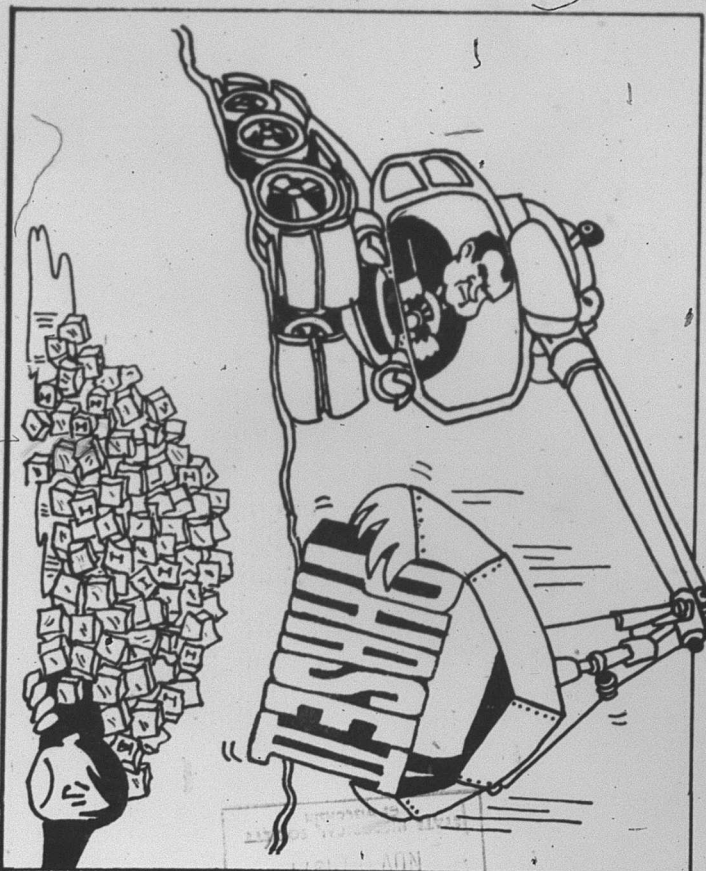
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