

Workers' Power

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Nixon's New "Prosperity"



**Polish Workers Revolt · La Huelga
Standing Fast: A Review**

**Hyden Mine Disaster · Dec. 8 in Britain
N.Y. Telephone Wildcat · Taxi Sellout**

Ma Bell, Go To Hell

Clinton McCain

New York City, Thursday, Jan. 14 — Today, thousands of New York Telephone plant workers proved that their four-day-old strike was not part of an inter-union squabble, as the company has implied. At noon today, three thousand of us held a militant demonstration at A. T. & T. national headquarters.

Chants of "Ma Bell Go to Hell" and volleys of snowballs and eggs aimed at the building were countered by mass police violence. The picket line, hemmed in between rows of street barricades, was twice charged by scores of helmeted cops. Pickets were prodded and shoved into the street, and individual pickets, particularly stewards wearing large orange buttons, were picked out and beaten or arrested.

When the secretary of local 1101 asked us to break up the demonstration, hundreds marched the few blocks to New York Tel's main office. Some windows broke, and the cops again charged, swinging indiscriminately, and sending at least one switchman to the hospital with a broken head.

The intensity of the police brutality, and the fact that many people were badly beaten but not arrested, leaves little doubt that the police were under orders to break up the demonstrations. There was no pretense of "neutrality" on the part of the cops. They were there to protect Ma Bell from us by any means necessary.

The strike, which began on Monday, Jan. 11, is over the importing of 1000 out-of-state craftsmen, supposedly to improve New York city's deteriorating phone service. The immediate effect of this is to threaten the amount of overtime available to the craftsmen. Since no one can live on Bell's straight wages, the loss of overtime would mean an intolerable cut in income.

The company's real purpose in bringing in these out-of-state men is to put New York Tel in shape to withstand a major national strike next spring, when Western Electric's contract expires. For this reason, the strike has become a test of strength.

From the beginning, this strike has rested on the ranks. There has been scarcely any scabbing. The leadership of Local 1101 (Communications Workers of America), however, started this strike on the most feeble basis imaginable. Little was done to organize or maintain mass picketing. And the initial demands — a guarantee of overtime, transfers and upgrading for local craftsmen — were minimal and based solely on legalistic contractual agreements.

Most 1101 members were surprised that Howie Banker, the local president and the executive board, had called the strike at all. Once it happened, though, a lot of anger developed over the poor organization of picketing and the possibility that the strike could be called off with nothing won.

By the union meeting this morning, though, Banker had become much more militant. He demanded that all the out-of-state craftsmen be sent home, ripped up the injunction he had politely accepted on Monday, and finally called for the spreading of the strike. Banker and the executive board changed their positions for only one reason — pressure from the ranks, which made them fear they might lose the upcoming local election.

The incumbent slate did in fact lose heavily to an opposition slate in November, but they threw out the results because not all the local members had received ballots and many non-members

had. (Ballots were mailed out from the local's membership list, of course; but 18,000 ballots were mailed to a membership of 12,000. Many members did not receive one, but many foremen did!)

As things stood before the strike, Banker's group couldn't have come close to winning the new election. When even more dissatisfaction developed during the strike, they realised they had better become a leadership before someone else did.

As of Thursday, all plant workers in New York state were out and the strike was growing. But in spite of all their new-found militancy, the 1101 leadership still hasn't developed a strategy which could really win this strike, and build for the upcoming national strike.

The key to victory in any telephone strike is united action by both craftsmen and operators. New York Tel's operators are in a company union, the T.T.U., which has played no role during the strike, except to reinforce the company's threat that operators who stayed out would be fired. The TTU is also supporting a company crackdown on operators dress regulations, breaks and lunch periods.

Even though the CWA is supposed to be carrying on an organizing drive among operators, the 1101 leadership hasn't made a move toward persuading the operators to support the strike, or promising them protection if they do.

The rank and file can be proud of the fact that their militancy has transformed local 1101 into a fighting union that can win this strike and prepare to win the strike in the spring. But to insure these victories, that militancy must be maintained and organized.

Rank and file committees must be formed to organize picketing and increase communication around the central offices. We cannot depend on the Banker leadership to organize our actions for us. We must demand that the local leadership go on record requesting that operators join our strike and offering them the full protection of the union against firings and harrasment.

The injunction must be dropped; we cannot be fined for fighting for our rights. The membership of 1101 cannot go back to work until that injunction is voided and all out-of-state craftsmen are home. We showed today that we have the strength to win these demands. Now let us use that strength. ■

[Clinton McCain works for New York Telephone and is a member of Local 1101 of the CWA and International Socialists.]



Workers' Power

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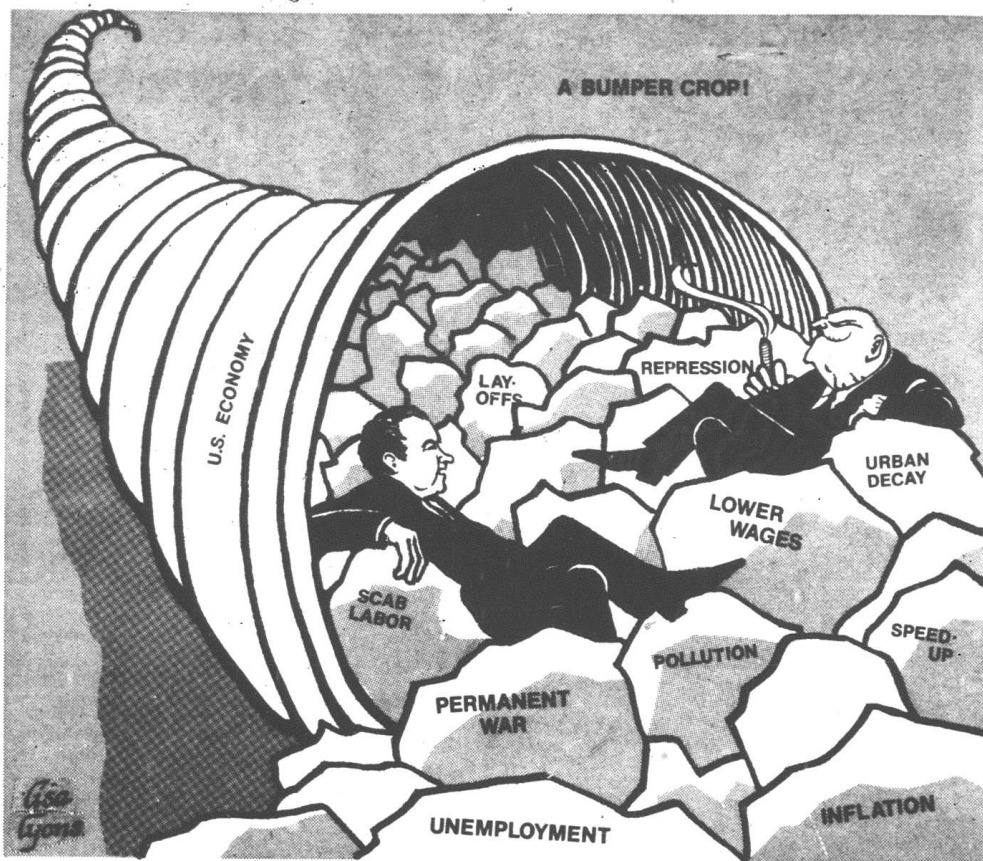
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NIXON'S NEW 'PROSPERITY'

When Richard Nixon, in a New Year's message to newsmen, stated that he thought 1971 would be a good year economically, and that 1972 would be even better, many were flabbergasted. Certainly such a prediction seemed like idle day-dreaming. We had just come through one of the worst years in a decade, with unemployment rising to 6 per cent in December, and inflation still at a very high rate. There didn't appear to be any evidence to justify the President's optimism.

However, Nixon has now made clear exactly what he meant. On Jan. 11, he announced a massive reduction in corporation taxes, amounting to \$2.6 billion in 1971 and rising to over \$4 billion by 1976. This does mean that things will be getting better for some people — that is, for businessmen. But for the mass of people who work for wages, rather than dividend checks, the prospects remain bleak.

With this tax cut Nixon has essentially adopted a new "game plan" for the nation's economy. As before, the goal is still to reduce inflation and raise productivity. In the past, his plan called for "slowing the economy" (read recession), which would force businesses to stop raising prices in order to make sales and also force them to resist the wage demands of workers.

This program has not been a total failure. Wage gains have slowed down, from an annual 7.4 per cent in 1968 to 4.3 per cent in 1970, especially among non-unionized workers who did not have any organizations to defend themselves. If history repeats itself, union wage gains will begin to follow non-union wages, and will begin to fall. But this was accomplished only at the

cost of a deepening recession which carries with it its own dangers. Hence, a new plan was necessary to spur the economy, in order to get out of the recession, while at the same time continuing the fight against inflation.

As Nixon motivated the tax cut, it is designed to "create jobs for the unemployed...promote economic growth...and increase the competitiveness of United States goods abroad." The last point is the key to his hopes for economic recovery and to the whole plan. The idea is that increased competitiveness will result from an increase in the productivity of U.S. business.

The tax cut involves a liberalization of the rules regarding the depreciation of business equipment, that is, money deductible for the wear and tear on machines. It is aimed at encouraging new investment in machinery which will hopefully raise the productivity of existing plant facilities. It is only through its higher productivity that U.S. business is able to compete with foreign companies who have much lower "unit costs" due to lower wages paid to their workers. But business is not reacting as Nixon hoped. The *Wall Street Journal* reported a rather lethargic reaction to Nixon's announcement, and conducted a survey which found that "corporate executives and economists overwhelmingly agreed that an improved business outlook will spur company spending in the months ahead for new plant and equipment."

What is an improved business outlook? That, the heads of the U.S. Trust Co. and the Bank of America pointed out, would be a "healthy rise" in corporate profits. Indeed, the criticism of W.P. Gullander was that Nixon's tax cut

was not big enough. He should have followed the recommendations of his Task Force on Business Taxation which recommended tax cuts double the size of the one proposed.

However, there is more to their lethargy than their greed for more profits. As the head of the Irving Trust Corporation pointed out, companies will not increase spending for any new facilities until they use up their idle plant capacities. Companies are currently using only 70 per cent of their plant capacity.

These facilities are not being used because of the depressed overall economic outlook. That is, those facilities are not going to be used to produce goods which can't be sold. Thus, Nixon's new plan will most likely fail precisely because of the recession he has thrown the country into, which is in part a result of his first plan.

Nixon's economic policies are beginning to look like the disastrous bumbblings of a particularly inept president. However, this latest policy does have a precedent; the late President Kennedy tried the same policy in 1962. Democrats this time will most likely be critical of the policy, for they have an alternative to propose: wage-price controls. This has some support inside the Nixon administration, most notably from the head of the Federal Reserve, Arthur Burns, and has wide support in the National Association of Manufacturers.

While all the various proposals call for controlling prices as well as wages, their essence is wage control. In the head of the Bethlehem Steel Corp., in one of the most honest statements made yet, said he favored a two year Congressional ban on any wage and fringe increases exceeding 3 per cent yearly. Prices then

would not have to be controlled. (Meanwhile, Bethlehem Steel just raised its prices 12.5 per cent. Steel workers have not received any new wage gains.)

When wage and price controls were used in the past, only wages were actually controlled. During the period 1941-1944, when wage-price controls were in effect, hourly manufacturing wages rose 23 per cent, while the cost of living (the rise in prices) rose 43.5 per cent and profits rose a whopping 225 per cent. Clearly, in practice, wage-price control turned out to be little more than a charade to cover the decline in real wages.

There is, however, an alternative to the two anti-labor programs proposed above, one that would attack the problems of unemployment and inflation without lowering the wage earning standard of living. The key is promoting consumer spending to increase the demand for goods and provide more jobs. The best way to promote consumer spending is a tax cut for wage earners, rather than corporations — for instance, an end to all taxes on incomes of \$12,000 a year or less (the amount a family of four needs for a moderate standard of living). This money would create a demand for more consumer goods, thus promoting the use of the idle plant facilities and providing more jobs.

In addition, the regular work week should be reduced to 30 hours while maintaining full 40 hours pay, with overtime work made voluntary. This would put more people to work without a decrease in workers' living standards.

If there is still unemployment, jobs should be provided through Federal work programs so that everyone has the right to earn a living and is not dependent on the fluctuations of the market.

Price controls would be necessary so that businesses couldn't take advantage of the increased consumer spending to merely raise prices rather than the production of consumer goods. Also, the expenditure of \$30 billion a year on the Vietnam war must be stopped, since it is these expenditures which are behind the current inflation.

Political Struggle

This last year, labor engaged in more strike activity than in any other year since 1959. While these struggles, mainly over inflation and its effects on wages, did offer some protection, they did not defend workers against unemployment, nor did they pose any long range solutions to the problems of inflation. These problems are not due to the policies of a particular company, but are the result of policies decided on in Washington; they are the result of political decisions. If they are to be fought, they have to be fought politically. Thus the program proposed here must be fought for politically.

This does not mean lobbying on Capitol Hill. (Unfortunately, the AFL-CIO is currently lobbying in favor of the war, and, in the person of George Meany, in favor of wage-price controls.) Nor will it be effective for labor to rally support for the Democrats who oppose Nixon's policies, since this mean, tacitly at least, supporting their alternative, which is wage-price controls.

Rather, if a program like the one above is to be won, labor will have to fight in its own name, independently of both the Republican and Democratic Parties. Both of these parties have indicated through their proposals that their solutions involve a general attack on the average standard of living. They are not about to support proposals which instead call for increasing it. ■

Polish Workers Revolt

Ron Flaherty

Angered by a huge hike in fuel and clothing prices announced just before Christmas, shipyard workers and students joined demonstrating housewives in the streets of Poland's Baltic port cities. The demonstrations exploded into rioting; the headquarters of the Communist Party was burned, and the "people's" government responded with tanks and guns, killing a number of demonstrators.

What lay behind the uprising was more than just resentment at increased prices — though the increases were enormous and covered most of the necessities of life (meat went up 11 per cent to 33 per cent; clothing, shoes, carpets and kitchenware 10 per cent to 25 per cent and coal 10 per cent to 20 per cent). These increases came on top of a new "incentive pay" plan (read: piecework) which had as its aim both getting more work out of each worker and, since quality was now being controlled, forcing them to work more carefully while at the same time lowering their wages.

The protests spread rapidly across the country, to Gdynia and Szczecin, near the East German border. Echoes were heard in Warsaw, where for days it was thought the movement would spread, and in several other towns and cities.

East Germany, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, all of whom face economic problems similar to Poland's, feared the movement would spread across their borders. Units of the army appeared in several Polish cities and along its borders. In Russia, a public campaign was begun against dissenters as a warning that such behavior would not be tolerated.

In the affected cities, workers refused to work and demanded to speak to party leaders. Rallies were called. Szczecin, in particular, was in a virtual state of insurrection. Strikers had taken over the town and were running it, with all its services intact — proving once again how unnecessary are bosses and bureaucrats, except to keep control over workers. The newspaper, *Głos Szczeciński*, was published with a front page notice stating that it was a strike paper.

The police were given the go-ahead to shoot the demonstrators. One eye-



Polish workers burn Communist Party headquarters in Szczecin.

witness described the events in Szczecin on the night of the burning of Communist Party headquarters. "Tanks moved against the population to give them a shock. The people fled to avoid being run over, but a mother and her child were unable to make it. An oncoming tank struck both of them. A young soldier, standing nearby and watching, broke into tears."

In the nearby city of Slupsk, there was a demonstration of sympathy on Dec. 18. Militiamen stormed the city center and clubbed down everyone in their path. Official figures report 30 dead and hundreds injured. Some observers claimed hundreds in Szczecin alone.

When the smoke had cleared, and order was restored, the Polish workers appeared to have won at least a moral victory: Wladislaw Gomulka, head of government since 1956, was forced to retire, and a new government promised to make things better. The economic policies of Gomulka had been "ill-considered," they said, and he had "lost contact with the working class."

Behind these fine words, however, the new leadership conceals its firm intention to perpetuate precisely those policies that led to the revolts of Gdansk and Szczecin in the first place. The government will not rescind the price increases, nor the anti-worker policies that lie behind them.



Wladislaw Gomulka

It has only promised — and promises are cheap — that those prices will now be held steady for two years. There will be no general wage increases to make up for them. Instead, the government will throw a few crumbs to the most "disadvantaged": it will pass out money to some of the poor, but give no relief to most workers. The new premier began by announcing that the workers could expect no improvement of their standard of living before 1972.

The determination of Gierk, Jaroszewicz and the rest to continue the policies of the old regime make it obvious that this is no liberal group of benevolent reformers. In fact, these men were among those who inspired the severe economic measures in the first place. The riots at Christmas were used as a pretext by the Polish ruling bureaucracy, to dispose of a politician who had outlived his usefulness.

"Gomulism," the politics and style of government in Poland in the late fifties and early sixties, was really dead some time ago. All that was needed was to get rid of Gomulka himself.

In 1956 Gomulka, a popular figure who had been persecuted for his opposition to the Stalinist regime, was carried to power by a massive popular upsurge against Soviet domination of Poland. He was seen as the representative of a new kind of politics: those of internal liberalization and greater independence from the Soviet Union.

He played the threat of a popular revolution off against the Kremlin, and used the threat of Soviet intervention to quiet the Polish masses. In this way he managed to establish a certain equilibrium between Moscow and the Polish people. On the one hand, he kept Poland more independent of the Soviet Union; on the other, he was the only man who could keep it within the Soviet orbit without resorting to the Soviet army.

Both in internal and foreign affairs, this equilibrium was extremely fragile. The confidence which Gomulka enjoyed among the Polish people gradually began to be dissipated as he wrestled with a long series of political problems.

Internally, the stability of the regime demanded that strong measures be

taken against the very forces that brought him to power. Bit by bit, Gomulka huddled away at the various concessions made by the regime in 1956. By 1968, he put his prestige on the line in order to suppress the growing unrest among university students.

Thus Gomulka found himself forced to saw off one after another of the branches he was sitting on. His power rested more and more on the repressive state apparatus, and as a result he found himself more and more at the mercy of that apparatus and of the men who ran it, in particular the reactionary nationalist Moczar.

On the international level, Gomulka's demobilization of the Polish masses meant that he had lost his trump card in dealing with the Soviet Union. With no active mass movement behind him, Gomulka came gradually under the domination of Moscow. Attempting to counter this trend, he eliminated pro-Moscow forces in the government, which meant the further strengthening of Moczar's nationalist tendency.

In the revolt of the Polish shipyard workers, Moczar's forces found the perfect opportunity to get rid of Gomulka. In the name of "restoring order," Moscow was persuaded to accept a new, more nationalist leadership.

The price of this gain for the nationalist group will be paid by the Polish workers. Gierk and the other new leaders could not take office until the revolt had been brutally suppressed, and they will only be tolerated by Moscow as long as they pursue the Gomulka course of internal austerity and repression.

Bureaucratic Rule

The people Gomulka was forced to repress were precisely those who are supposed to be the rulers in "socialist" Poland: the working class and its allies, such as university students. When the Soviet occupying forces helped the Communist-dominated United Workers' Party establish a bureaucratic state in Poland, one of its first actions was to eliminate all traces of independent organization of the working class, and bring the trade union organizations under the control of the state. As in all the bureaucratic collectivist states set up in Eastern Europe after the war, all civil liberties were abolished, and dissidents jailed or killed.

Among the freedoms destroyed by the bureaucratic state was one particularly precious and important to workers: the right to strike. Of course, no ruling class likes workers to strike, and our own Nixon and Agnew never miss a chance to limit or abolish the rights of workers. (Their recent intervention in the railroad strike was an example.) But the Communist regimes have a particular reason to fear this weapon of organized labor: in these countries, the ruling class is a bureaucracy, which controls all the factories, mills and offices through the state. All important industry is nationalized. As a result, any economic strike is directly a political strike against the state as well, and it threatens the continued existence of the entire social system.

Though strikes are outlawed in all these countries, and fighting against the system means risking violent repression, still the intolerable conditions of life repeatedly drive workers to challenge that state authority.

In all of the important uprisings in Eastern Europe — East Berlin in 1953, Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 — workers have played an important role. And it was the strike of many

[continued on page 6]



Defendants Lerner and Marshall (in rear)

SEATTLE: CONTEMPT OF JUSTICE

Danny McGowan

The Seattle Conspiracy trial ended in a near riot in mid-December, with Federal Marshalls dragging defendant Susan Stern, just out of the hospital, from the lectern in mid-speech, spraying defense attorney Michael Tigar with chemical "mace," and physically clearing all spectators from the courtroom.

The case had been called to a halt after only 10 days of trial, when Federal Judge George Boldt suddenly cited all the defendants for contempt of court and declared a mistrial, then sentenced them without a hearing to 6 months to one year prison terms. Following that, he declared them all "dangerous revolutionaries" and refused to set any bail pending appeal, declaring that they would serve out their sentences before he would reconvene the trial.

A few days later, the defendants were scattered to different prisons as far away as Los Angeles, making it extremely difficult to put a defense together on the appeal. In open court, explaining his actions, Judge Boldt declared that "Divine Providence" had guided him to the solution to the problem of unruly defendants in political trials. (Namely, jail them without trials.)

The trial ended with the Judge being echoed by both the press and usually sympathetic liberals and radicals; the trial has been characterized as a "circus," and the behavior of the defendants as a "plot to disrupt the entire proceedings." But what actually led up to the mistrial was in fact a much different story.

Judge Boldt had gone into the trial with a reputation as a deeply conservative, but strictly by-the-book jurist, who would surely avoid Judge Hoffman's excesses at Chicago. But Boldt is used to unswerving seriousness from defendants and undeviating brown-nosing from lawyers. As the trial went on, he visibly deteriorated.

Boldt seemed to be relating to his own nightmares of outrageous revolutionaries, rather than to the real people before him, although their wild hair and clothes, and obvious lack of awe for him, fit right into any stereotypes he accepted. He was also bothered by little things he couldn't prove, like the time his brown-bag lunch was missing after a late morning conference in his chambers.

By the time he declared the mistrial, he had begun to complain that he was unable to sleep at night, the whole thing upset him so much. This raised doubts about his real motivation in ending the trial, as opposed to his avowed legal reason — that is, his concern that the defendants were prejudiced in the eyes of the jury.

The last days of testimony had gone badly for the government. A "star witness," FBI informer Horace "Red"

Parker, turned out to be pretty much of a dud. Supposedly an expert on the inner workings of SDS and the Weathermen, he was wrong about when the important SDS June 1969 split took place, and unsure about what it was about.

On cross-examination Parker testified that he was paid over \$7,000 for his FBI work — which included his testimony at the trial. Part of this government expense account went for paint to throw at the Federal Courthouse, as well as guns, explosives, and drugs he bought to trap suspected "revolutionaries." Parker admitted that he himself was under the influence of various drugs most of the time he was posing as an agitator for the FBI.

This kind of police agent is an old establishment weapon against radical and working peoples' struggles — even older than the conspiracy laws. One early example was James McParland, Pinkerton infiltrator into the "Molly Maguires," a militant Pennsylvania miners' group of the 1800's. He functioned not only to gather information, but also as a "provocateur," leading workers into dangerous actions designed to discredit and destroy their movement.

Such agents are still a popular "law enforcement" tool. Just last summer, a black Seattle Vietnam veteran named Larry Ward was killed in a "bomb plot" organized and supplied by a police agent. However, effective as they may be in some situations, informers are such a low form of life they aren't very impressive in front of a jury.

When the cross examination of Parker ended Tuesday, U.S. Attorney Stan Pitkin did not have a witness ready to testify. Again, when the trial reconvened Wednesday morning, the government had not filed its copies of the witness' written statements as required by Federal law, so no testimony was taken all day.

Thursday began with just another episode in the long debate over the admission of spectators to the trial. From the start, the courthouse was an armed camp. Thousands of dollars were spent on barricades, even-electrified fences, and Special Federal Marshalls were flown in as a "security" force. You had to be searched by hostile guards at least three times to be admitted, usually after standing in line in the rain for hours.

After repeated requests by the defendants for some arrangements to let more people attend the trial, the government response was to remove about 25 per cent of the seats, supposedly on orders from the Fire Marshall. The defense lawyers finally negotiated an agreement that people would be allowed to wait in the downstairs lobby of the

building instead of outdoors.

But on Thursday morning, December 10, the freezing rain began again, and again the Marshalls kept people out on the sidewalk.

When Jeff Dowd, one of the defendants, knocked loudly on the Judge's door, shortly before 9 a.m., to try to discuss the matter with him, Judge Boldt responded by citing him for contempt for pounding too loudly on his door.

Three defense lawyers went into Boldt's office, and discussed the questions of the spectators and Dowd's contempt citation until 9:30. While the lawyers went down the hall to the defense room to tell the defendants what had happened, the judge called the court to order and brought out the jury. Previous practice had always been to call out the jury only after all parties were seated in the courtroom and had indicated they were ready to go.

Within a couple of minutes Jeff Steinborn and Mike Tigar, two defense lawyers, entered the courtroom with a motion from the defendants that the hearing on Dowd's contempt be held immediately, rather than waiting till after the verdict, like Hoffman did in Chicago, with the threat hanging over the entire trial. The judge refused to consider the request, and ordered the lawyers to summon the defendants to the courtroom, and sent his Baliff to make sure they did. They all left at 9:38.

The lawyers came back saying the defendants wanted a ruling on their request for an immediate hearing on the contempt charge. The Judge refused to consider it, and left the bench to summon the defendants himself, at 9:50 a.m.

At the door of the defense room, the Judge announced: "You are now, each and all of you, commanded to immediately come into the courtroom." Defendant Abeles: "We were just on our way." Judge: "On a penalty of contempt."

On the way back down the hall, Jeff Dowd, 20, and Mike Abeles, 19, started to race to see who could get there first. They were grabbed by Federal Marshalls, who threw them up against the wall. They responded naturally: "Get your hands off me, motherfucker." But by 9:52 all were back in the courtroom.

Defendant Chip Marshall, who was defending himself, began quietly to explain to the jury the reasons for the delay. He got two sentences out before the judge stopped him. He tried to start again, and then the Judge ordered him to be silent and dismissed the jury.

The Judge then announced that he was citing all the defendants present for contempt for that morning's conduct: "One of the most inexcusable and outrageous incidents of contempt of court

that I have ever read about or learned of in any way." He then declared the mistrial. And so ended the cycle of the echo of Chicago that had begun with the demonstration at the Federal Courthouse on "The Day After" the Chicago contempt sentences.

No Support

But in spite of this outrageous railroad, public support, even in the radical movement, never materialized behind the defendants.

Although a core of loyal supporters kept the Tacoma courtroom full to overflowing, and two large rallies at the University of Washington attracted sizeable crowds, a unified clear defense failed to emerge. This is very serious, since any movement which intends to grow must demonstrate its ability to defend itself against attack by the government.

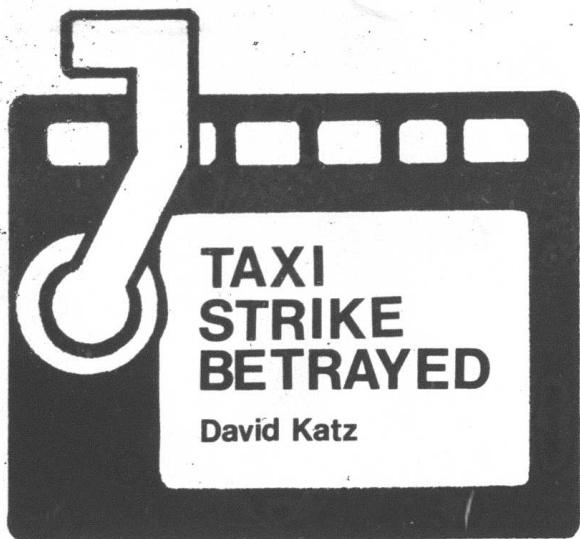
It was difficult to build such a defense largely because of the sharp differences in approach among the defendants. Their contention that several of them would never have wished to be in the same room with each other were it not for the accident of the trial was quite true, and was amply demonstrated at one open meeting called to rally workers for the defense, which split in two.

Vitaly important also was the final disintegration of the Seattle Liberation Front itself. Based on a system of "collectives," closely knit groups which fulfill personal as well as political needs, the founders of the SLF hoped to overcome the divisions which finally broke SDS apart. Any differences could be resolved by forming new collectives, and going off in separate directions, all under one "umbrella."

But the lack of a unity based on political development eventually took its

[Continued on page 6]





The leadership of Taxi Drivers Union Local 3036 has succeeded, during the course of a two-week strike by New York City cab drivers, in accomplishing a somewhat unusual feat. It has negotiated a contract significantly worse than the one it had rejected before the strike began.

The extent of this sellout came as a shock even to union militants, who had expected the union leadership to bring back a settlement at least slightly better than the earlier offer. The membership, weakened by economic hardship, under constant pressure from the local newspapers, and perhaps most of all, unable to see a clear alternative, was forced to accept the contract, although not without considerable dissent from those who voted "yes" as well as from those who voted "no."

For two weeks, the reports from the negotiations had been uniformly: "No progress." Yet, suddenly one morning, drivers woke up to the news that the strike had been "settled" during the night and that a ratification meeting would be held the next morning.

Stage-Managed

The union meeting had the air of a well-managed production. The terms of the contract were not available to the membership in advance. A few individuals who were leafletting against what they expected the contract to be were attacked and beaten by a goon squad wearing official union armbands.

Dissidents were harassed at the door and had their credentials thoroughly checked and rechecked. The only time the membership was invited to say anything during the meeting was at the beginning when we were asked to stand

and sing the national anthem. There was never an opportunity for discussion of the proposal, and the vote was taken immediately after the contract was explained.

The contract itself, in all respects except two, is virtually identical with that proposed before the strike. One difference is not substantial — it involves rearranging the fare increase proposal that is to be presented to the city council, and slightly changes the provision under which fleet owners will get a certain amount off the top of each fare before the remainder is split between the owner and the driver. (This provision, which in effect reduces the driver's

commission, was the cause of the strike in the first place.)

The second change further reduces the commission for new men, and also introduces a high degree of job insecurity for experienced drivers. This provision would reduce the commission paid to new drivers (hired after the strike) from 49 per cent to 42 per cent. A driver beginning at 42 per cent would only reach 49 per cent after a series of increases taking from 3 to 12 years (depending on how many days per week he or she worked).

Obviously, fleet owners now have every incentive they need to get rid of older drivers and replace them with the younger, less expensive ones. Harry van Arsdale, the union president, defended this provision on the grounds that (1) new drivers should get less pay, and (2) the fleet owners had promised not to fire the older men!

Organize to win

It's hard to believe that the man who accepted and defended such a contract is the president of the New York City Central Labor Council, and not the president of the fleet owners' association! Perhaps he has more in common with the fleet owners than he does with us. Maybe this is the reason we got such a bad contract (again! — we've never had a good one!). Harry van Arsdale has the guts to walk into a union meeting and tell us that our bosses are really on our side — that they agree we should get higher pay, but (alas) are just too poor to give it to us!

Even the New York City Council doesn't believe such garbage: In discussing the possibility of not approving as high a fare increase as had been proposed, the chairman of the council's Consumer Affairs Committee said, "I think there's substantial room for reduc-

tion. It's apparent that the fleet owners can live with a great deal less." (N.Y. Times, Dec. 24)

It's time that our union seriously began to fight. To begin with, we must get rid of Harry van Arsdale and his fellow bureaucrats. But as beneficial as this will be, it won't be enough. We lost the strike not only because of sell-out leadership, but also because we weren't organizing ourselves.

We need to form solid, militant groups in each garage which can challenge the owners on local grievances as well as on city-wide problems. This kind of organization is the only insurance we have against future sell-outs by the Harry van Arsdales of the labor bureaucracy.

Taxi drivers are now back at work, but still at the same low wages and under the same unsafe conditions as before the strike. The City Council, at some unknown time in the future, will consider a proposal to raise taxi fares to provide the fleet owners with additional profits. Supposedly, the fare increase will give higher wages to the drivers, but with the decline in both riders and tips that an increase will produce, drivers are likely to end up with very little net improvement in wages — certainly not enough to keep up with the rapidly rising cost of living in this city.

We have really won only one thing — the installation of bullet-proof partitions in the cabs by next June 30. This is an important victory, but it represents an exception to a generally disastrous settlement agreed to by our leadership. If we want anything better in the future, we'll have to get it ourselves. ■

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

CORE URGES SCABBING

Several days after the New York City taxi strike began, Leonard de Champs, the head of the Harlem chapter of CORE, and Calvin Williams, the black owner of a large gypsy cab fleet, jointly urged the city to allow the illegal gypsy cabs to operate without restriction during the strike. Gypsy cabs are technically allowed to respond to telephone calls only, although in practice they also cruise for passengers.

Those who, with CORE, favor President Nixon's idea of "black capitalism" will certainly be cheered by this proposal, as it shows that black capitalists can measure up to the worst anti-labor scheming that white capitalists have been able to devise in the past. Calvin Williams will be cheered when the city ac-

cepts such a proposal because it will add money to his pocket. Taxi drivers, on the other hand, should vigorously fight such proposals. This one is nothing but a blatant call for strikebreaking.

Williams, aided by CORE, is cynically trying to provoke a racial crisis for his own profit. It's true that some white cab drivers are openly racist. But it's also true that many medallion (legal) cab drivers are black and that more than a few of the gypsy drivers are white.

By fostering a racial split (white medallion drivers versus black gypsy drivers), Williams is trying to hide the deeper and more basic class division (drivers versus owners).

If the polarization between gypsy

drivers and medallion drivers deepens, a large share of the blame can also be laid to the leadership of Local 3036. Their attitude has simply been: "Fight the gyps!" Indeed, this was literally done a few times during the strike, although on a minor scale. But "fighting the gyps" in the long run will only send black gypsy drivers into the hands of black capitalists, such as Williams, who wish to exploit them as much as the medallion fleet owners exploit the medallion drivers.

The correct approach would be to organize both the gypsy drivers and the medallion drivers into one union. We could then work together for our common gain rather than fighting each other as the owners would like to see us do. ■

Poland

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

thousands of workers in Poznan, Poland, that brought Gomulka to power in 1956. Again and again, the workers of Eastern Europe mount explosive struggles against the oppression and exploitation they face in the "socialist," "workers' states."

Workers in many western countries, and to some extent even in the United States, have been attracted to the Com-

munist parties. Some workers in Eastern Europe look to the restoration of capitalism, and many have fled to the west. To workers in either system, the pattern of miserable working conditions and lousy wages, contrasted to the wealth and easy life of the ruling classes, makes the other side of the fence look greener.

But the only that this pattern of oppression can be ended is for workers in both East and West to unite to kick out the bosses — to kick out all the bosses, whether they are capitalist businessmen or Party bureaucrats, and to take power into their own hands. ■

Seattle

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

toll. When the 200 or so people in the SLF were faced with the need for united action in a larger arena, they fell apart. The Cambodia uprising was a turning point. From there on it was downhill.

The disintegration of the Seattle Liberation Front, like that of other broad radical groups, has left cynicism and apathy in its wake. There has been lit-

tle organized opposition to the railroad-ing of the defendants.

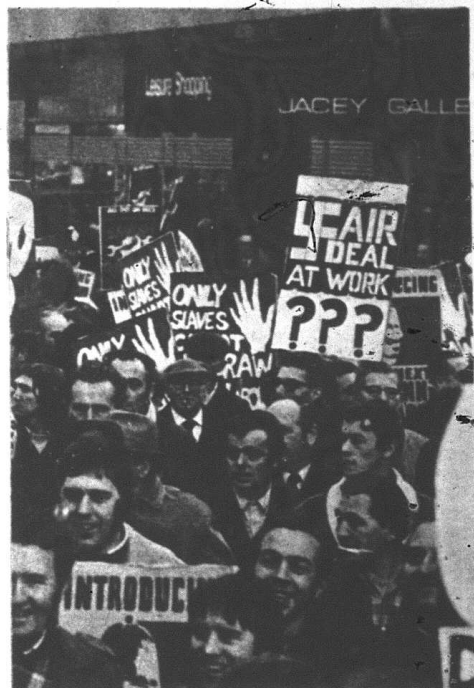
After Judge Boldt refused bail the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered bail to be set. Judge Boldt actually refused to do this, saying that he was surprised at the higher court's decision! By the time this is published, the defendants may finally be out on very high bail, the Ninth Circuit Court having insisted once again on bail.

The fight to defend the Seattle Seven against the law as a tool of repression will continue. All those interested in building a movement for social change must see it as their fight. ■



DEC. 8 POLITICAL STRIKE IN BRITAIN

Laurie Landy
Sy Landy



On December 8 over a half million workers protested the Industrial Relations bill proposed by the newly elected Tory Government in the biggest political strike Britain has faced since 1926. Work stopped throughout England and Scotland, completely halting national newspapers and large sections of British docks, shipyards and motor manufacture.

The ports of Liverpool, Hull and Southampton were at a complete standstill as over 30,000 workers stayed off work. The London docks operated at a minimal level.

Large, militant demonstrations took place throughout Britain. In London alone, over 15,000 workers marched from Tower Hill several miles to Hyde Park Speakers Corner. The column of marchers, eight deep, extended over a mile by the end of the march and took over an hour to pass. The marchers chanted, "Kill the Bill" and "This is just the start."

A wide array of workers participated; banners included British Leyland, Ford, Amalgamated Engineering Union, SOGAT A (printers), London Airport, London Teachers and the Transport and General Workers Union, to name just a few of those represented. At the same time similar demonstrations were taking place in Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Newcastle and other industrial centers.

Familiar Story

Prime Minister Ted Heath's proposed bill, which prompted the political strike, includes several features not unfamiliar to American working people. For example, strikes considered injurious to "national interests" can through injunction be delayed by a sixty-day "cooling off" period (a feature which might have been borrowed from the Taft-Hartley Act).

Furthermore, unions can be fined and their leaders imprisoned for failure to comply with the provisions of the law. Other important provisions of the bill will declare the "closed shop" illegal and outlaw all strikes not called by registered unions. (At present 95 per cent of the 80-strikes each week are unofficial.)

The Heath Government openly states that the thrust of the bill is to smash the shop floor organizations which in Britain play a role independent of the official union structure. The Tories correctly see them as the source of power for workers in winning both wage demands and controlling the pace and conditions of work. The Incomes Policy initiated by the Labour Government in the mid-sixties and supported by the official trade union structure failed to stem the wage rise because of strong shop floor organization.

The British economy is caught up in the general crisis of international capitalism which has intensified during the sixties, as the post-war boom fades away. There is a growing tendency for profit margins to decline as an effect of increasing pressure from international competition. Prices in Britain are rising even faster than in the United States, at a rate of over 7 per cent a year.

Faced with this situation it is essential for British capitalism to have a working class which is malleable and can be integrated into its national objectives. Therefore, the ruling class has mounted

a full scale attack on the shop organization of the working class.

On the economic front this battle is being waged through "productivity deals" which structurally transfer power from the workers on the shop floor to the employers, by trading off important defenses which are at present under workers' control. These defenses include control over the rate of production through piece-work agreements, control over deployment of work force and control over job grading. In return for these prerogatives the bosses offer wage increases.

Although the terms offered by the employers may appear seductive at first glance, experience with productivity deals has shown workers that the window dressing actually disguises deterioration in working conditions when shop floor control is given up. Furthermore, penalty clauses and inflation gnaw away at formal wage gains leaving the British workers who accept productivity deals worse off than before.

The Tory Bill is the political counterpart of the productivity deal. By making shop floor action difficult, if not impossible, the hope is to soften the workers and make them more amenable to productivity deals.

Actually, the present bill is the second such proposal in recent years. The Labour Government proposed a similar bill at the beginning of 1969. Barbara Castle, Labour Minister of Employment authored a White Paper, "In Place of Strife" which closely resembles the Tory Industrial Relations Bill. For example, both have provisions for injunctions to delay a strike, the difference between the two is that the Tories proposed sixty days "cooling off" while the Castle proposal only twenty-eight days.

The Labour Bill was withdrawn only after a massive work-stoppage of 250,000 workers on May Day, 1969. The Labour Party, hypocritically, has condemned the new Tory legislation, but not surprisingly, they have also deplored the December 8 political strike.

The official Trades Union Congress has similarly condemned the December 8 action by the workers and called upon

their members not to support the action. Furthermore, *The Guardian* reported that the TUC was putting out feelers to the Tories to accept a year's "voluntary" wage freeze in return for watering down the anti-union legislation.

The TUC's method of fighting the assault on the working class is through behind-the-scenes attempts at compromise which will only compromise the working conditions and wages of the working class they claim to represent.

On January 12, the TUC is belatedly calling a rally against the bill. But to ensure that no one is misled into thinking that they are proposing strike action, they call for workers to skip only their lunch break to hear Harold Wilson, leader of the Labour Party, who only a short time ago was proposing similar legislation. The TUC is calling for local rallies as well, along the same lines.

The Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions which organized the December 8 demonstrations has called upon workers to turn the TUC January 12 rally into a second, more massive political strike which the Tories cannot ignore. The Liaison Committee is bureaucratically managed by the Communist Party; however at a meeting in early November, attended by over 1000 trade unionists, a resolution for the December 8 political strike was pushed through. This despite efforts by the C.P. officialdom to limit the meeting to discussion.

CP Drags Its Feet

Britain's Communist Party has a large residue of influence in the working class movement, but the officialdom of the C.P. has snuggled up to the "left wing" of the Labour Party and the official union bureaucracy. On the other hand, many rank and file members of the Party are militant shop stewards and workers, and it is their pressure which has forced the C.P. to grudgingly support the strike.

The Communist Party has been half-hearted in its support of the December 8 strike; a number of important work-sites under their leadership did not support it at all. For example, at a Lucas



December 8 picket sign

[continued on page 14]



Standing Fast: A Review

"The idea of being witness to one's faith implies not only testifying to a creed, but also to participation...freely accepted, in the name of something larger than one's personal ego.

Once the intellectual stands outside the movement, once he loses sight of that vision exemplified by 1917 — the masses as a self acting force in history creating a totally new society out of themselves — then there is nowhere to go but back to capitalism...." — Richard Greeman (from "Victor Serge and the Tradition of Revolutionary Literature," *Tri-Quarterly*, Winter 1967.)

Harvey Swados has written a book called *Standing Fast*, published last September by Doubleday. It represents the first attempt by any novelist to deal in detail with what has happened to the Americans who became revolutionaries in the 1930's and 1940's.

Such a book does not get written by popular demand. The writer has to be driven to it by an inner compulsion. Too many writers do not respond to that compulsion. Day by day they find ways to evade it, and so a book that is really in them never gets written. Everyone loses.

Harvey Swados was willing to take on the job. Thus, for the first time, the cultural media is supplying the public with an opportunity to understand in more human terms the people and organizations whose existence was previously visible only during anti-radical hysteria or witch hunts.

This review makes a number of criticisms of *Standing Fast*. None of them can or is intended to detract from the importance and value of Swados' contribution. He has given life — by creating literature — to an almost totally neglected area of the American experience.

The "New Party"

As *Standing Fast* opens, most of its characters are members or sympathizers of the "New Party." Those readers who are familiar with the history of the revolutionary socialist movement in this country will recognize that Swados' "New Party" is a fictionalized version of the Workers Party, one of the two Trotskyist organizations in the U.S. in the 1940's and an ancestor of the International Socialists.

For example, Marty Dworkin, leader of the "New Party," is Max Shachtman, who was the National Chairman of the Workers' Party. Swados' characterization of Shachtman and a half dozen other Workers Party leaders is so expert that there can be no mistake. Most of the people who populate the book are composites; part the author's imagination and part one or more real people.

Ironically, *Standing Fast* is primarily about those who did not stand fast. Of the nine main characters who are in the New Party in 1940, only one remains a revolutionary socialist as the book closes a quarter century later and there is little in the book to explain that one survival.

Readers learn most about what happened to the marriages, families and careers of the men (not one of the main characters is a woman) that quit the movement. Never do we hear any of the characters really vent their rage against capitalism or Stalinism. They seem so very mild, more like early versions of Nader's Raiders than revolutionary socialists.

This is the book's main weakness. For all the insights it provides into the personal lives of the radicals of the 1930's and 40's, it neglects politics. It is about people whose destinies and self-images are determined by the politics of their movement years after they have left it, and who will continue to be so affected to the day of their death. Yet the reader learns only a scant amount about what those politics are.

Norm

Norm, one of the two major protagonists of the novel, and more or less the voice of Swados himself, leaves the movement at the beginning of World War II. Earlier than most he has seen that the movement has no great growth in store for it and knows that the movement will not be able to bring his special talents as a writer to a large audience. He respects his talent and sees no reason to kill it by working long years in a factory. He wants a career.

The question of whether or not one can both be a successful writer and still remain in the movement is not explored because Norm has another reason for leaving and is not sure which takes precedence: he no longer believes, he tells his friend Sy, that the working class is the foundation on which a new and better society can be built. As the war begins he realizes that some workers are opportunistically pro-war because it means sustained employment. Becoming cynical, he can no longer tolerate subordinating his career to the building of the movement.

Through Norm, Swados has demonstrated the reasoning process by which the various radical parties sustained the overwhelming majority of their losses. Thousands and thousands of the best young intellectuals in America entered radical politics because in the Thirties the ranks of American labor began to show the same power just previously demonstrated by workers in Europe and China. As that power diffused, they left the movement.

What we do not learn in any detail from Swados, however, are the political

beliefs of those who stood fast and who thought the others were wrong to leave. We get only impressions. Sy never does answer Norm nor do any other of the novel's characters.

Swados at no time sinks into making a hero of Norm. Norm left the movement to become an independent radical and encourage change wherever possible through his writing. He did, but winds up in a world where "increasingly his attitude was shaped by the opinions of editors, legislators, television reporters, columnists and commentators" and he has joined John Kennedy's New Frontier cadre in Washington.

The last lines in the book find him wondering "could you live for others when they did not know or care whether you lived or died?" and concerned that his former comrades will judge him by how long he stayed in the movement rather than by what he has since accomplished.

His concern is legitimate. Everyone has the right to demand that they be judged on their total contribution. The more important question, however, is that of the viability of the working class as the major force for social progress. The book raises it again and again, but in a one-sided manner, stating only the attitudes of those who would answer it out of their cynicism.

Even within its time span, the book avoids ideas and events that challenge cynical rejections of Marxism. The book opens with socialists leaving the movement because of working class defeats and closes the book with the assassination of President John Kennedy. Why not end the book with one or more of those events which demonstrated that the workers were once again resuming the struggle they had been forced to drop at the beginning of the war?

Why not end the book with the Hungarian Revolution in 1956? Prior to that event there was general agreement among professional intellectuals and political scientists that workers under

Stalinist regimes had been reduced to the level of George Orwell's proles, incapable of rising up against the total authoritarian regimes. But during the revolution the workers of Red Csepel (the Budapest industrial complex), who had for years been the "hero Stakonovite workers" of all Eastern Europe, conducted the longest general strike in modern working class history.

If that event was not the best, then why not France in May 1968? Only the complicity of the French Communist Party avoided the development of a worker-student alliance and a revolutionary dress rehearsal. Or, better yet, because Norm's doubts about workers developed out of what he experienced in the UAW shops in Buffalo, why not end the book in 1964, with the fourth of the general strikes of General Motors workers against Walter Reuther's collective bargaining ideas and methods.

Ending the book with the death of Kennedy may have demonstrated that those who left the movement to enter liberal politics were at the end of the road. That is a good point to make, if it was intentional, but given the main problems posed by the book, to end as it did seems a thematic non-sequitur. And the drama of that death, in terms of the book's impact, was lost.

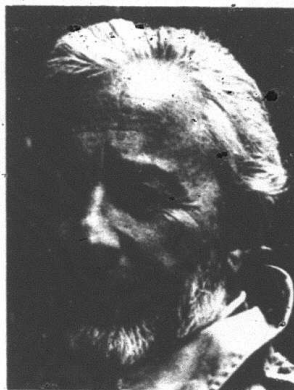
No one can dictate to a writer how he or she should write or finish a book. I believe that to have ended the book with one of the larger events that signaled the resumption of revolt in the rank and file of the American labor movement would have been one way of fulfilling the thematic and political responsibility that Swados owed his readers once having raised particular questions that are unanswered in the minds of millions.

Joe Link

Besides Norm, the other major protagonist of *Standing Fast* is Joe Link, the one character who does stand fast (his real life counterpart is a former member of the Workers Party who is today an active member of the International Socialists).

Toward the end of the book, Norm in effect tells Joe that he is a dreamer because, even though workers are again showing signs of restlessness, "the welfare state has a whole box of tricks to contain discontent." Joe does not answer him, nor does anyone else, not even by implication.

Half way through the last chapter, during the dramatic climax of the book, Swados develops a confrontation which leads the reader to believe that Joe Link is finally going to get his chance to answer. The son of one of Norm's and Joe's old comrades has all alone been attempting to do neighborhood work in Harlem and has been murdered by a ghetto gang. The funeral brings about



Harvey Swados

a reunion of the early members of the New Party.

The youth's embittered father decries the waste of his son's life, both its briefness and the tragic irony of the way it ended. His friends seek to persuade him that he is wrong to look at it that way. He turns on Joe with: "Don't kid me. He was like everybody else who tries to bring people to what they don't even want. Look at you.... Twenty years you blew, no, twenty-five. A lifetime. On something so laughable, so comical, all the survivors can do now is make jokes about it."

He is asked what idea the others that left the movement kept alive and he does not answer. He is told that he should not tell Joe that he (Joe) wasted all those years as an industrial worker in California and he again turns on Joe and asks: "All right. Was it worth it?" Joe is center stage and all the lights that Swados has turned on in the novel are on him.

It is neither the time nor the place for Joe to make a full blown statement in defense of his political beliefs, but the time has come for him to give some indication, at least in brief, of what he would say if he did have the time. Joe indicates to his friends that, by staying, "The one thing I haven't lost is my pride." He is asked: "What's your pride got to do?" Joe answers: "I had to keep the idea alive in myself before I could get anybody else to believe it." That's it, that is the last chance Joe gets from Swados.

Pride and Politics

Why did Joe want to keep the idea alive in himself and others? Pride? That's an answer? No one, literally no one has ever stayed long in a movement out of pride. Maybe twenty-five minutes, possibly twenty-five days, and at the outside twenty-five months, if the pride had an absolutely neurotic if not psychotic quality, but never for twenty-five years.

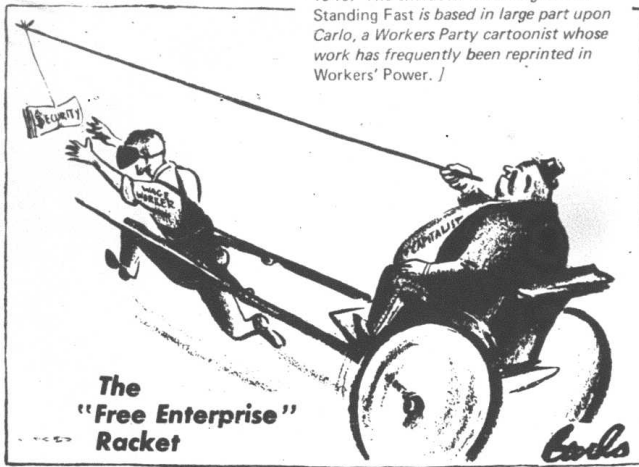
Does Swados see Joe Link's maintained activity as some sort of Sisyphean exercise, like that described by the demoralized Camus? Does he see Joe's radicalism as something built in or congenital? Cynical readers who are aware that the German translation of *link* is *left*, smugly see it this way.

For Joe, who is well known to many of us, pride, but of another kind, did play a role in getting him to join and stay in the movement. As Swados relates, Joe's first job was that of a deckhand on West Coast merchant ships. At that time the series of maritime strikes that had established maritime unionism was only a few years past. One of the first things that impressed Joe was the pride with which the strike veterans carried themselves. The lessons of those strikes were still fresh and being used by those veterans, and almost to a man they were eager to educate the newcomers to the industry.

But what if circumstance had led Joe to start life on the ships as an officer cut off from the unlicensed personnel? Swados does not understand that circumstance allowed Joe advantages that Norm and many others never enjoyed.

Joe did not stumble into the Oakland General Strike of 1946 by accident while on a motor trip, as the book indicates. He had been working in an Oakland factory in the months prior to the strike. He knew that, until the very morning on which the strike broke out, the workers of Oakland would have in vast majority opposed a general strike in order to aid the retail clerks who had long been striking two downtown

[Reprinted from Labor Action, July 5, 1946. The character Vito Brigante in Standing Fast is based in large part upon Carlo, a Workers Party cartoonist whose work has frequently been reprinted in Workers' Power.]



department stores. He saw them strike without warning, formal notice or official leadership, in the minutes after they witnessed Oakland police escorting non-union trucks through town to deliver goods to the Kahn's and Hasting's stores.

He experienced the hilarity of the early hours of the strike, the development of a determination to make a stand and the organization of committees and squads that ran the city for fifty-four hours. He saw how the strike began to pose power questions before it was a day old and saw its great weakness due to the lack of consciously organized revolutionary leadership.

The Oakland General Strike demonstrated to Joe that the basis for Marxist theory was correct. He saw that workers are able to initiate actions that can determine their own destiny and build upon them. During the lean years when there was not much action outside the shop, he saw that struggle contained inside the shop. When there was no action, the printed word together with the experiences *already lived* were enough to sustain his convictions.

Joe didn't waste his time or sacrifice anything to stay in the movement. He and others like him who did stand fast were not heroes and heroines. They were doing what they wanted to do. Not that Joe was always happy and ecstatic doing it. But it is probable that he was just as happy as those who instead pursued careers, given the jungle

that most career worlds are. It is certain that through blue collar work he was allowed more independence and dignity than most professionals and union staffers.

Then too, in recent years a reward has come from an unexpected source. Joe's nearly grown and uncynical children are finding it a mark of distinction among their peers that their parents are still radical. They do not experience that most alienating of family conditions, in which ex-radical parents communicate that the radicalism of their children is nothing but a phase that will pass.

The greatest reward will come as some of those who have left the movement return, both for what it will mean for them personally and because it will symbolize that there has been enough progress to stifle cynicism. Today's revolutionary socialist movement is in need of more links to its past. The increase in the number of young members has created more than enough work for those with experience to do.

There is more criticism of *Standing Fast* that should be made here. It is impossible to understand the radical experience in America unless it is seen as but one part of an international experience. The radicalization and then conservatism of American workers took place in the middle of the longest counter-revolutionary period in the history of the modern industrial working class.

The destruction of the Russian Rev-

olution of 1917, the establishment of a system that made Russia a workers' prison over the assassinated bodies of all the old Bolsheviks but Joseph Stalin, insured the defeats of the revolutions in Germany and Eastern Europe during the three years after World War I, plus the defeats of the Chinese Revolution of 1927-1929 and the Spanish Revolution of 1937-1939. Those defeats together made possible the exhaustion and demoralization of the international working class on which World War II was constructed.

That war literally and physically destroyed the revolutionary socialist organizations of every country containing a battleground. In the others, like the United States, social patriotism smothered the independence and militancy of the mass labor unions and organizations through which workers had been consolidating their strides toward class awareness. The destruction of educated rank and file worker cadres due to war mobilization and the elimination of organizations in which the development of consciousness could be banked, diffused and threw back progress to a point where more than a generation would have to pass before mass organized strides would be made again.

None of the above gets discussed in Swados' long book. How can people today understand the movement of thirty and forty years ago unless they know that there were twenty years during which half of all movement arguments centered around whether or not socialism could exist in Russia alone, as the Communists claimed? How can they understand it unless it is known that over ninety-nine per cent of all those who turned radical went directly to the Communist Party to join up, because the entire mass media perpetuated the myth that the Communists were revolutionary and that the revolution in Russia still lived? How, unless it is understood that all who were opposed to Stalinism from the left were forced for twenty-five years to watch it grow in one country as it betrayed the workers in another and another?

Dialectics and Struggle

No matter in what movement, the negative pressures on American radicals were many, going beyond the defeats suffered by American workers as this country entered World War II or the desire to establish a successful career. In order to survive it became necessary to learn that the capabilities and potential of workers as a progressive social force cannot be determined at any particular time by the methods of the pollsters.

Norm thought, when he heard workers make reactionary sounds, that they were therefore either in the right wing for good or yoyos. The survivors — whether they work in the factories of Detroit or the Lenin and Paris Commune Shipyards of Gdansk, Poland — learned that the reactionary things they heard from those around them one day on the job could change to their opposite on the next day, given a change in the reality of the pressures of events upon them.

They learned that workers willingly subordinate prejudices if it can be seen that there is something to gain. They learned that it is in those times when prejudices are cast aside and minds are open that great goals are assumed, new moralities created and educations begun. They learned that social change is a process that is dialectic and based in materialism...and they developed the wisdom not to be defensive when use of those terms caused cynics to guffaw. ■

E. R. McKinney - Our Candidate in Harlem

Ernest Rice McKinney, author of the article printed elsewhere in this issue dealing with the brutal lynching of four Negroes in Georgia, is the Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 22nd Congressional District (Harlem). For twenty years he has been an active revolutionary socialist and an organizer among workers.



Action. McKinney is now national secretary of the Workers Party.

He was at one time editor of the *Pittsburgh American*, a weekly Negro paper. He was a columnist for the *Pittsburgh Courier* and a contributing editor of *The Messenger*, which was published by A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen. McKinney was also at one time executive secretary of the Pittsburgh branch of the NAACP.

In 1936 and 1937 he was an organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, CIO. Previous to that he was vice-president of the National Unemployed League and editor of its paper, *Mass*.

Labor Action, Aug. 5, 1946. Hoover, in *Standing Fast*, is based upon McKinney, who contributed to *Labor Action*, under the name Coolidge.

Repression Of Foreigners In Japan

Don Philippi



Foreign residents in Japan, both Asians and Westerners, are bracing themselves for a new wave of political repression. Coincident with recent government efforts to crush internal dissent, during the past half year the Japanese government has instituted a crackdown on resident foreigners on a scale unprecedented since the forties.

The primary weapon in the present campaign is the Immigration system. The continued determination of the ruling Liberal Democratic government to override the Opposition parties and institute a harsh new Immigration Bill, and the recent wave of deportations and repressive measures against politically active foreigners, both point to a widening wave of repression in 1971.

The Japanese government has been perfectly explicit about its intention to forge a powerful tool of political control in the new Immigration Bill. Testifying before the Diet in June, 1969, when the proposed bill was first proposed, Nakagawa Susumu, director of the Immigration Bureau, explained the intended effect of the new bill:

All aliens subject to the rules will be strictly prohibited from political activities incompatible with Japan's established national policies or their execution. Foreigners will be banned from organizing, participating, or speaking at rallies or demonstrations and from distributing literature or pictures against government policies or aimed at harming Japan's international ties of friendship. (Japan Times, June 18, 1969)

International Protest

The primary target of the new Immigration system is Japan's large Asian minority population — 600,000 Koreans and 50,000 Chinese, many of whom are sympathetic to the Stalinist regimes of Korea and China, and all of whom, including second and third generation children born in Japan, are excluded from Japanese citizenship.

In view of the long history of Japanese imperialist intervention in East Asian affairs, it is no surprise to find hundreds of Korean and Chinese residents — former victims of the Japanese colonial system — languishing in Japanese immigration detention centers and jails and awaiting deportation to the anti-“communist” regimes of Taiwan and South Korea, where death or prison sentences await many of them for their political activities. What is surprising, perhaps, is the growing repression of foreigners, including an increasing number of American anti-war activists and students.

The political repression of Americans in Japan must be viewed in the context of the internationalization of protest

against the Vietnam War. Since 1965, but particularly during the past few years, Americans resident in Hong Kong, Vietnam, the Philippines, and other Asian countries have actively participated in anti-war activity. And nowhere in Asia has American anti-war activity been as sustained, widely publicized, and embarrassing to the government as in Japan.

In Japan the tide of protest has swept beyond ritual petitioning of the American Embassy to end the Vietnam War. During the past year, Americans in Japan began working closely with the Japanese movement which opposes the war and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty (AMPO), and supports the growing GI resistance movement.

Gaikokujin Beheiren

This new movement, centering around a small group of activists calling itself the Gaikokujin Beheiren (Foreigners' Peace in Vietnam Committee) or the Tokyo Mobilization Committee, has borne the brunt of the recent Japanese government offensive aimed at eliminating American activists through the Immigration system. Thus, within the past year, at least eight members of the group have been deported, detained by the Immigration authorities, or received notices to leave Japan (a fairly good record for a group whose activist membership probably never exceeded fifteen).

But the repression of Gaikokujin Beheiren activists is only part of the larger picture of crackdown on political rights of all foreigners in Japan. The following cases illustrate briefly the scope and tactics of the Japanese authorities working through the Immigration system.

In August, 1969, 22 exchange students from the University of California's Education Abroad Program (EAP) arrived at International Christian University (ICU) in Tokyo. At that time, at ICU, as at hundreds of campuses across Japan, student strikers had closed down the university in the course of their struggle demanding university reforms and against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. By August, a new ICU administration was in the process of bringing in the riot police to crush the strike.

When six of the U.C. students refused to break the strike by registering for classes, director Hans Baerwald summarily expelled them from the EAP program, and, on November 4, ICU denied their student status, thus exposing the American students to imminent danger of deportation from Japan for illegal residence.

Since then, three of the students, Kathy Horikoshi, Phyllis Ogata, and Sandy Sher, have continued the struggle demanding cancellation of their expulsion from the EAP program and reinstatement at ICU in the EAP program. However, with a September 24 court decision rejecting their appeal for reinstatement at ICU, the Immigration authorities are now taking measures to deport them, and detention appears imminent.

Japanese students at ICU and the Zengakuren (Kakumaru faction), a powerful organization of radical students, are mobilizing a campaign of demonstrations and sit-ins to support the three American students in their struggle.

Ron McLean, an American teacher in Japan, was denied a one-year extension of his visa, penalizing him for his anti-war activities. Like the three U.C. students, McLean plays an active role

in the Gaikokujin Beheiren, particularly in anti-war activities among GI's in Japan.

Following the refusal of his request for a visa extension, McLean filed suit. The court ruled in favor of McLean, and also ruled that the Ministry of Justice (of which the Immigration Bureau is a section) has the right to determine whether a visa is to be renewed, but that it cannot abuse this power.

The Ministry's appeal presents a complete dossier of police reports, photographs, newspaper clippings, etc., dealing with the activities of the Gaikokujin Beheiren, and claiming that political activities of foreigners are “detrimental” to Japan's national interests and must be “restricted.” The court battle continues.

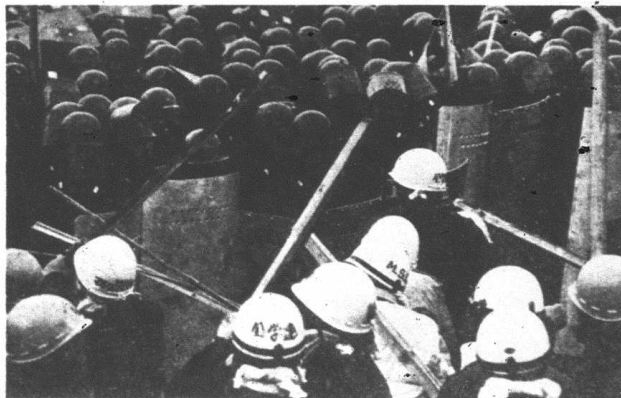
Other anti-war activists faced with expulsion have included Brian Victoria, a graduate student, Dr. Earl Reynolds, an anthropologist, and Roger Scott, an English teacher.

Immigration Club

In each of the cases cited above, and in numerous others which might be mentioned, the Immigration system has been used by the Japanese government as a club for the purpose of intimidation or expulsion of politically active foreigners in Japan. The recent expulsion of three foreign students from Hong Kong following their arrest for participation in an anti-Vietnam War demonstration against Pan American Airlines suggests that the problem is one which will continue to occur in many parts of Asia.

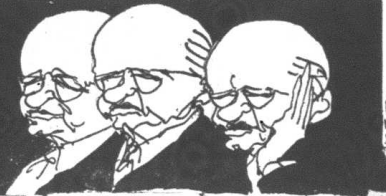
The American revolutionary movement has an important role to play in defending the rights of political activists in Asia, as well as those Asian nationals intimidated and deprived of their rights in the United States. The first step in this process lies in publicizing such arbitrary violations of basic political rights. But this can be only the beginning. Those visiting Japan are invited to join the struggle of Japanese and foreigners against the mounting use of the Immigration system for purposes of political repression. ■

[Don Philippi, an American translator who has lived in Japan for 13 years, was also denied an extension of his visa when he applied in May, 1970. The reason given was that his activities had been “detrimental” to Japan's national interests. Philippi plays an active role in the Gaikokujin Beheiren and is presently completing a study of the Japanese student movement. After returning to the U.S. in December, 1970, Philippi will continue his efforts to acquaint the American public with the Japanese revolutionary movement.]



White-helmeted students confront black-helmeted police in Tokyo

Repression Roundup



Moving Backward

James Coleman

Behind the meaningless glitter of the election campaign, the nation's universities and schools this fall continued to march backward toward 1950. Teachers were fired for what they said and who they had married, government and university agents spied on student meetings. Freedoms which were slowly recovered in the 1960's after the repression of the 1950's were being lost again.

The most outrageous campus repression this autumn has taken place at Kent State in Ohio, where the shooting of four students by National Guardsmen last May touched off the national student strike that closed more than 300 campuses. Ignoring an FBI report which found no reason for the Guard to have started shooting, a local Grand Jury indicted not the Guardsmen who had killed four students — but 25 of the surviving students!

To top it off, State Judge Edwin Jones issued an order forbidding any of the witnesses before the Grand Jury to comment on its findings. (He was stymied when a respected conservative professor, Glenn Frank, defied the order by denouncing the report and announcing, "I am in contempt of court." Later, a federal judge overturned the order.) Although last May even Vice President Agnew found it expedient to say he did "not condone" the actions of the Guard (which he called murder "but not first degree"), it should surprise no one that the Nixon administration has been absolutely silent about the 25 indictments, and Judge Jones' gag ruling.

Around the country, less dramatic but equally poisonous indictments are taking place. In Westchester County, New York, a high school teacher was recently suspended for tolerating criticism of the Roman Catholic religion by a student in her 12th grade class (she was reinstated after the American Civil Liberties Union intervened).

In Oklahoma it has been revealed that a state agency is keeping files on over 6,000 people considered actual or potential troublemakers; although the Governor denied that employers had access to the list, several individuals moderately active in civil rights and peace activities have been unable to find jobs or get into college — in one case a young man who had edited an underground newspaper was rejected as a teacher by 20 school districts even though his grades and references were excellent.

The Kurzweil Case

In California, Jack H. Kurzweil, an assistant professor of electrical engineering at San Jose State College, has been denied tenure because he is married to a Communist. Midway in Kurzweil's first year at San Jose, a local newspaper disclosed that he was married to Bertina Aptheker, who makes no secret of being a Communist and whose father,

the historian Herbert Aptheker, is the leading intellectual adornment of the Communist Party. Kurzweil himself was active in the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley in 1964-5, has been less active since, and properly refuses to comment on what his politics are.

According to a report in *Science* (October 1970), the early opposition to Kurzweil was openly political in nature. Six senior members of the Engineering faculty accused Kurzweil of "unprofessional conduct" — under a California rule which defines membership in certain organizations as unprofessional conduct. One engineering dean stated that engineers "are, by and large, in the middle of the spectrum.... There is some concern that an element may be introduced into our pattern of activities that doesn't fit into the middle stream."

Kurzweil appealed his original denial of tenure and the college's Acting President, reversing an earlier decision, upheld him. He was overruled by the chancellor of the State College system. In the new decision, the political elements had been sanitized out. The chancellor merely noted that there was a difference of opinion and that "any serious doubts in a tenure decision must be resolved in favor of the institution" (that is, by denying tenure). Kurzweil has appealed again, but as the *Science* reporter puts it, "his opponents have been changing the rules of the game faster than he can win appeals."

Cop and Gown

In the new wave of repression, now hitting high gear, government agencies often make the first move. The Kent State Grand Jury and the Oklahoma blacklist are examples. Similarly, the House Internal Security Committee took the initiative when it prepared a list of 65 radical campus speakers and suggested that the universities make sure they did not speak on campus.

And in Tuscaloosa, a well-known student "radical" at the University of Alabama has admitted being an agent for both the FBI and the local police department. Although he says his job was to find out the names of student activists, some reports say he encouraged students to start fires during demonstrations last May.

In these cases the government was doing the repressing. But just as often, the initiative has come from the other end, from the campuses. At San Jose, Kurzweil's own colleagues on the Engineering faculty were the first to demand his head.

In Chicago, the University of Chicago — whose reputation as a center of libertarianism has never really been deserved — has been quietly weeding out movement activists over the last three years. It was one of the first universities, in 1966, to meet the new period of student activism by declaring any

"disruptive conduct" to be grounds for expulsion. Political standards are used in admissions and, on October 23, a former staff officer in the University's Office of Public Information revealed that he had been employed for the specific purpose of attending student meetings and reporting on them to the University. Aside from his own boss, his reports went to the University President, Legal Counsel, and Dean of Students, among others. He was "told to and did attend all SDS meetings" as well as those of other groups. His boss quizzed him about names, but he gave evasive answers; after he refused to attend any more student meetings, the University fired him.

The University of Chicago, in a press release, admits all this and even justifies it, saying it is "appropriate for these officials to be as informed as they can be with respect to issues relating to their areas." (Such as what demonstrations the students are planning, and who the leaders are.)

What is going on now is not really an attack by conservatives in government on free universities. Both government and the universities are attacking the rights of radicals whether student or faculty. Often, in fact, the faculty rather than the administration takes the initiative against radical teachers.

The American Association of University Professors is supposed to guard the rights of teachers (its founding document, in 1915, pointed out that it would not guard the rights of students). But it has done nothing even about such blatant political firings as that of Staughton Lynd, denied a job by several major universities for having visited North Vietnam, or the present case of Angela Davis, fired by the University of California for membership in the Communist Party. Indeed, AAUP has just adopted new guidelines calling on the academic profession to police itself. (We shall discuss these in a future article.) Of course, the academics who deny jobs to revolutionary teachers turn right around and cry "academic freedom"

at disruptive acts by students.

Not all the forces behind the present attack are politically conservative. Sometimes they are. But with a few exceptions (like the independent journalist I.F. Stone and the historian Henry Commager) liberal opinion has been as much for campus repression as have the conservatives. Like the liberal University of Chicago, the liberal American Civil Liberties Union has declared "disruptive" protest out of bounds (*Workers' Power* no. 23).

In Illinois, liberal Senatorial candidate Adlai Stevenson III (Dem.) was able to defeat the incumbent conservative Senator Smith by stealing his platform of repression: First Stevenson named as his campaign manager Thomas Foran, the former U.S. Attorney who prosecuted the Chicago Conspiracy trial, in which Bobby Seale was chained and gagged to keep him from acting as his own counsel. During the campaign, he called for stronger anti-bombing laws (pointing out that he had written one while in State Assembly) and said he supported extraditing draft evaders from Canada.

Nothing New

All this is nothing new. Twenty years ago the universities defended themselves against Congressional investigations not by standing up for the rights of Communists to teach — but by swearing they employed no Communists. Harvard, Yale, Amherst and other liberal universities barred Communists from employment. Then, too, the AAUP did nothing to defend the teachers who were fired. While talking about academic freedom, the profession quietly cleaned its own house.

Dalton Trumbo, a Communist screenwriter blacklisted out of Hollywood in 1948, points out (in a collection of letters, *Additional Dialogue*) that neither Congress nor the courts blacklisted the 250 Hollywood writers and actors who couldn't find work in the 1950's — the owners of the studios did so. Similarly, Congress might identify a teacher who belonged to "subversive" organizations, but in most cases, the schools were then free to fire him or not — and chose to do so. Similarly today. The employers, the universities are able to do covertly what the Bill of Rights won't allow to be done openly.

The politician and the professor may look very different — they are different in many ways — but they both hold radicalism to be a threat, and they both care little for the "sacred liberties" to which they pay Sunday homage. The present repression cannot be understood unless it is realized that they are both acting (often together although not always, and sometimes in conflict about methods) to stop radical political activities on campus and in society as a whole.



Chavez Freed La Huelga Continues

Kevin Bradley



Steven Shames/LNS

Cesar Chavez has been freed from the Monterey County jail, but the forces which put him there have not yet been beaten. The local reactionary judge was acting at the behest of Bud Antle, Inc., the second largest lettuce grower in the country.

The farm workers union responded to the jailing of Chavez with intensified strike and boycott action against Antle and Dow Chemical Co., which owns stock in Antle and recently purchased land from him which it leased back for the growing of lettuce. Demonstrations were held at the various Dow plants in the United States and Canada. Finally the courts freed Chavez, although the legal restrictions on the strike action continue.

Jurisdictional Dispute

Chavez was jailed because Bud Antle has had a Teamster contract since 1961, and the Farm Workers' Union strike and boycott supposedly violate the California Jurisdictional Strike Act. The Teamsters' Union has retaliated, against the farm workers by refusing to handle United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (Chavez's union) lettuce in New York, and may soon spread their counter boycott to Boston and Philadelphia. The growers have come out with lettuce boxes labelled "Union lettuce" with the Teamster symbol of the team of horses and American flags decorating the boxes.

With the Teamsters cooperating with the growers in this manner and with many formerly sympathetic supporters of the Farm Workers Union uneasy about the so-called jurisdictional strike, it is important to understand how the Teamsters obtained a contract with Bud Antle.

The current lettuce strike is not the first unionizing attempt of lettuce workers. The most recent previous attempt occurred in the Imperial Valley in the winter of 1960-61. At that time, *braceros* dominated the farm labor force. These were contract farm laborers working in this country under a treaty with the Mexican government. They had no rights — if they struck for higher wages or better conditions they were immediately shipped back to Mexico — and the growers used them to depress the wages of domestic farm workers and virtually replace them in many areas.

Nevertheless, the domestic farm workers did go on strike in the Imperial Valley. But the newly installed Democratic Party Administration of John Kennedy violated the law when it allowed the *braceros* to be used as strikebreakers. Moreover, George Meany,

knew that the Teamsters had a nine-year sweetheart contract with Antle and would consider such a strike a deadly challenge to their pretensions to organize farm workers. But the Antle workers insisted on striking, and by doing so, both in Salinas and later in December in the Imperial Valley, they have shown that they don't want to be represented by the Teamsters and have chosen the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee instead.

Their action is equivalent to a decertification campaign under the National Labor Relations Act. It is our duty to explain to those people who are confused by the supposedly jurisdictional dispute that if they support the efforts of farm workers to democratically choose their own union, they must support the Bud Antle workers who have walked off the job and under the banner of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

The boycott against Bud Antle and Dow Chemical has been very successful. Antle products have been removed from many of the major markets of the country. But whenever a grower is hurt by the power of labor, as the grape boycott showed, the Government has stepped in with increased military purchases. Today the army has drastically increased its purchases of Bud Antle lettuce.

The farm workers have answered the army by massive joint demonstrations with GI's at military bases across the country. The farm workers union has done what few other unions in America will do today. It has tied Dow Chemical's production of napalm for the war in Vietnam to the military's purchases of Antle-Dow lettuce. It has

head of the AFL-CIO, was anxious to pass the Medicare Bill, which depended on the farm block vote. So Meany called up the AFL-CIO organizers in the Imperial Valley and told them to call off their strike. After the Democratic Administration and George Meany had broken the strike, the AFL-CIO refused to finance the farm worker unionizing attempts.

At this point, the Teamsters entered the scene. They signed sweetheart contracts with Bud Antle and Jim Mapes, two large growers, giving tiny wage increases and offering the Teamsters' support to the growers in the recruitment of *braceros*. In this way, they helped the growers prevent the unionization of farm workers until the *bracero* program was ended by Congress in 1964.

Naturally, the Teamsters' never were approved by the workers of Bud Antle as the union of their choice in an election. The grower had chosen for them. The Teamsters never bothered to hold union meetings. In fact, until the Farm Workers Union of Cesar Chavez started to organize lettuce workers in the Salinas Valley nine years later, many farm workers of Bud Antle were not actually covered by the Teamster contract. The Teamsters had never noticed this oversight!

As early as 1966, when the Teamsters tried to offer themselves as a cheap solution to the struck Delano grape growers, workers under the Teamster sweetheart contract with Bud Antle expressed their desire to be represented by the Farm Workers Union. When the Salinas lettuce strike was called in August 1969, Cesar Chavez urged Bud Antle workers to stay at work, since he

joined the farm workers struggle with the fight against the War in Indochina and the military establishment.

Today the growers are looking increasingly to a legislative solution to their problems. Up to now they relied upon the Murphy Bill before the United States Senate. This bill, sponsored by the reactionary Senator from California, would have outlawed farm worker boycotts and strikes at any time, but it got little support in Congress.

While the growers were pushing for this national bill, they gave up the attempt to get little "Murphy bills" passed the various state legislatures. For about a year, California had a Republican legislature and governor, but the growers muffed their chance. Now they are hoping to pass bills in other states where farm workers strikes have either broken out or been threatened, such as Idaho. They hope that, when enough states have restrictive legislation preventing farm workers from organizing, Congress will have to pass some law setting uniform national standards.

The growers' legislative threat is a real one, although Government strike-breaking through the use of injunctions and the military purchases of lettuce is the main problem facing farm workers today. The farm workers need a political response to meet the offensive of the growers.

Democrats and the Growers

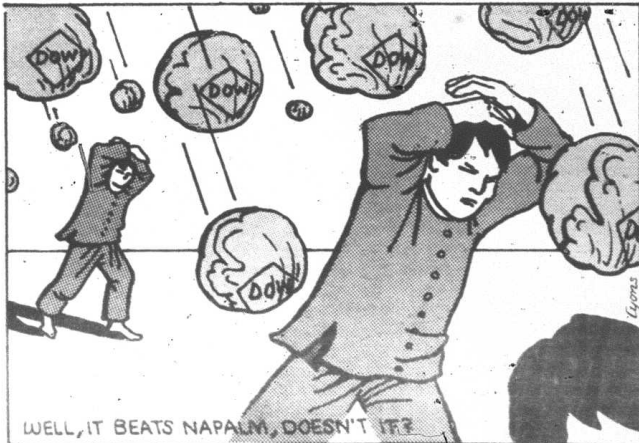
To its credit, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee did not endorse the Democratic candidate Jess Unruh for Governor of California, even when he ran against Reagan. They saw that bad as Reagan was, Unruh had done nothing for them when he was Speaker of the Assembly and Brown was Governor. So long as he was sure of their vote he would see no need to give them concessions.

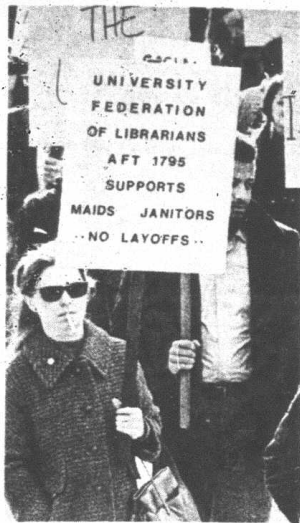
The farm workers see the senior Democratic Senator from California, Cranston, elected with the backing of the organized labor movement, as a corporate mouthpiece in Congress. Cranston opposed the limit on subsidies to big growers on the grounds that it would hurt family farmers in California. Bud Antle received the 14th largest subsidy in the country, \$596, 293 (*Congressional Record*, March 24, 1970).

The other Democratic Senator from California, John Tunney, was also not supported by UFWOC in the last election. He represented Riverside County, and particularly the Coachella Valley grape growers, in the House. He said he was "neutral" in the grape strike, just like Unruh says he is "neutral" in the lettuce strike.

These Democratic politicians want the farm workers vote, but they also want the Teamsters vote and the growers vote. Furthermore, they know that it is the growers and the giant corporations who are tied up with who have the real political and economic power today, not poor farm workers or even well-organized industrial workers.

The farm workers union supported neither Democrats or Republicans in the last elections. But that will not be enough if they are going to meet the growers' political offensive. If labor is going to be a power in politics, unions like the farm workers, who are willing to attack the military and the Vietnam War, will have to show the way. A UFWOC initiative of a workers' political campaign, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties, could lay the basis for a working-class political party in America and a working-class political offensive.





Campus Union Shakes UC

Ron Flaherty

On the first day of the winter term, at least five hundred students and workers rallied in Sproul Plaza at the University of California at Berkeley, in support of the campus dormitory maids, who have organized to fight for better wages and working conditions.

As the demonstrators formed a long, moving picket line surrounding the plaza, speakers for the campus employees' union, AFSCME local 1695, explained the issues and laid down the outlines of the union's organizing drive and fight for collective bargaining.

AFSCME organizer Maxine Wolpinski warned that the University's recent freeze on hiring, due to budget cuts, will result in a speedup for those currently employed. "We're not making any more sacrifices," she said. "We're going to fight instead. We're organizing a union, and its going to get bigger every day."

The dormitory maids, black women workers, are the most oppressed and exploited workers in the University system. Wages are painfully low, \$425 to \$517 a month, and most receive full paychecks less than half the months of the year. Most maids are laid off during summer and are not paid when the dorms close between terms and during student vacations.

The main campus counterparts of the maids — and of the janitors who are assigned to certain jobs in the dorms — are the custodians who clean classroom and administrative buildings. Custodians are paid higher wages (\$530 to \$646 per month) and have greater job security. They are not laid off during student vacations. They won these improvements through a bitter strike twenty years ago.

The last time the dormitory maids tried to organize and win improvement, in 1964, seventeen women were fired and several demoted, two hours after their representatives met with University negotiators.

Now the maids are organizing again. These are some of their demands:

1. *Equal pay for equal work.* This means reclassification of all maids to *matron* classification, and of all janitors to *custodian*.
2. *Full-time work, 12 months of every year.*
3. *Recognition of AFSCME 1695 as sole bargaining agent for maids and janitors in campus living facilities.*

Support for the union has been organized by the U.C. campus Labor Committee, which was formed during the Cambodia student strike last Spring. Along with activities in support of the auto strike and the Farm Workers' lettuce boycott, the Labor Committee has worked to inform students about the AFSCME organizing drive. Students gathered hundreds of signatures from dormitory residents on a petition in support of the maids (the University threatened them with arrest if they continued to circulate the petition).

Remembering that AFSCME has supported student strikes over Third World studies and People's Park, Cal students turned in large numbers for the first union activity of the term. Additional support came from the Black Students Union, the teachers' and librarians' union, Office Employees' Local 29, Chicano students, and women's liberationists.

Union militancy has already won significant gains for the maids: this Christmas, for the first time, there were no va-

cation lay-offs. Negotiations will continue until January 21. At that time, if the union's demands are not satisfied, campus employees may strike. If they do so, the University will grind to a halt.

In any case, the union came out of last week's demonstration stronger than ever. The significance of this show of union strength and student solidarity will not be lost on the University administrators. ■



Maxine Wolpinski

UCLA Faculty: Status vs. Unity

Derek Briscoe

The UCLA Faculty Union (American Federation of Teachers Local 1990) faces an uphill fight in defending its members' interests this year. Squeezed by severe cutbacks in higher education funding and a political counteroffensive by right-wingers on the faculty and in the administration, the union has not yet really broken with the polite, ineffective "academic" methods of the past.

Professors are hamstrung by their self-image as "professionals," and by their privileged positions compared to students and other employees. Unless they can be persuaded to engage in a militant, political fight on a broad front, they face shrinking real wages and increasingly regimented working conditions.

In a recent election, precipitated by the resignation for personal reasons of former president Arnold Kaufman, Local 1990 chose a prestigious but politically inexperienced phonetician, Peter Ladefoged, as president, over the former Secretary, Eric Gans. Although slow-

moving and somewhat bureaucratic in orientation, Gans was committed to the concept of a trade-union struggle for faculty.

Ladefoged, prevailed upon to run at the last moment by a caucus within the philosophy department, is uncommitted in this regard, and has expressed doubts about the new state-wide faculty union organization, the United Professors of California. One reason for Ladefoged's victory was the feeling that a senior, tenured professor should be president.

Faculty salaries have been deteriorating in California. Once among the best paying in the nation, the rank of California's universities has fallen below fortieth. Alone among state employees, professors were denied even the usual five-per-cent "cost of living" boost this year. While proposals are in the works for a larger boost next July, the chances are the final increase will

not restore the real wage level of two years ago.

At the same time, a fifty-per-cent increase in teaching load is in the works, and a flurry of directives has been spewing forth from the millionaire Regents, from University President Charles Hitch in Berkeley, and from the local Chancellors — all with the same message: "No more politics, no more educational experimentation, tighter belts, regimented classrooms."

Conservatives on the faculty are falling over themselves to pass "codes of ethics" and rules and regulation designed to purge the liberal activists and socialists from the faculty and oblige professors to act as cops on each other and the students.

In this context, something more than rhetoric about "academic freedom" and the "disinterested pursuit of learning" is needed, if these reactionary trends

are to be reversed. What is required is not "dialogue" among "men of good faith," but militant, organized struggle against the forces that are trying to put a straight-jacket on the University.

Organizations such as the American Association of University Professors or the National Education Association, which refuse to wage such a fight on the grounds that it is "unprofessional," are totally inadequate to the situation.

Only a union can mobilize faculty resistance, a union that can make alliances with students, minority and women's groups, and the labor movement at large — over such issues as tax support for education (it should come from corporations, not working people), open admissions (so the colleges will benefit minorities, workers, and women — not just the rich and the middle class) and free speech (so one activist sector after another is not picked off in isolation — first the Panthers, then Angela Davis, then the professors, then the labor movement, etc.).

TA Allies

One possible powerful ally within the university community are the teaching assistants. Graduate students who do much of the undergraduate teaching for pay less than half that of a regular college teacher, they haven't got a chance in a union dominated by the people they work for. TA's at Berkeley have had a fairly strong political union for some time. Now, the TA's at UCLA are organizing their own union, also within the AFT.

Intermediate between faculty and the student body, the TA's by their position are potentially more militant. They may provide the impetus for a more effective struggle for change in higher education. ■



FACULTY MEMBERS AT THE CHARTER DAY CEREMONIES



Barbara Rothkrug/LNS

WOMEN WORKERS

William Jackson

When most mass-circulation newspapers print stories covering the Women's Liberation Movement, they continually play up the "kookie" or "trivial" aspects of the movement. They emphasize bra-burning, or give extensive coverage to a woman jockey. In reporting demonstrations, the press always photographs the one sign reading "Death to all male chauvinist pigs!" and ignores the serious demands of the action.

The general idea is to make women's liberation look like a silly fad. The business owners and advertisers who run the daily press want the working people who read the papers to hold a low opinion of the struggle for women's rights.

However, in those few newspapers which are written just for businessmen, the editors show a more serious concern. For example, the *Wall Street Journal* is published by Dow Jones & Co. for investors — not for the likes of you and me. It ran a recent article on "Women at Work" (Sept. 21, 1970), which argues that women's liberation is not silly at all; indeed, that it has serious implications for business.

The *Journal* article tells the story of Mrs. Grace Easter, a "typical working woman," who wanted to operate an electronic addressing machine for the McCall Printing Co. Getting this job would have raised her pay from \$3.33 an hour to \$4.50. Although she had worked there for 20 years, she could not get the job because it was only open to men. It took a two-year court suit to win her right to the job. Besides being opposed by the boss, she said she also was fought "tooth and nail" by the union, the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. "All you have to say is 'women's rights' and all hell breaks loose," Mrs. Easter said. "Nobody hears another word you say."

The *Journal* comments, "Grace Easter isn't a woman's liberation activist, but like thousands of other working women, she depends on her wages to maintain the standard of living she and her husband have established. In recent months women like Mrs. Easter have been successfully pressuring their employers to end what is perhaps the country's most entrenched prejudice: sex discrimina-

tion on the job." (my emphasis) The first point to be made is that, on one point, the *Journal* is absolutely wrong. Mrs. Grace Easter and "thousands of other working women" like her are indeed "women's liberation activists." The fact that they do not formally belong to an organized Women's Liberation group is beside the point; for in striking out against an aspect of sexual discrimination in the workplace, these women have hit upon one of the most important ideas behind the whole movement. They very fact that so many working women are fighting these kinds of battles is a dramatic indication of the enormous potential for the women's liberation movement to reach out to broad layers of women in American society.

Another important issue is raised by the article in discussing the role of the union during Mrs. Easter's fight. The fact that the Bookbinders' union opposed Mrs. Easter's right to the better job is not surprising, for most unions do. The union leadership undoubtedly saw the issue as one of protecting its membership (or, more correctly, the male portion of its membership who have exclusive access to upgrading) from the encroachment of an "outside" group of workers.

Pure Suicide

Not only is this conception wrong from the standpoint of fairness and equality, it is pure suicide for all workers in the long run. By permitting companies to divide workers against themselves — white against black, skilled against unskilled, or in this case male against female — unions succeed only in weakening the bargaining position of all workers across the board. A union which is bitterly divided against itself is in no position to fight for better conditions, and the companies know it.

Male workers are faced with the necessity of supporting the struggles of women workers, not because of any dewy-eyed idealism, but for the simple reason that if they don't, they are cutting their own throats. No group of workers can better themselves at the expense of other workers; it simply doesn't work.

In any case, the fight of women workers against discrimination is here to stay, and both bosses and male workers are going to have to come to terms with it. For example, the *Journal* quotes a General Motors lawyer who complains that "Lawsuits are mushrooming all over the place." Most suits are based on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Equal Pay Act of 1963. The National Organization of Women (NOW) has filed over a thousand claims of sex discrimination with the federal government.

They charge that "most major companies" doing business with the government discriminate against women — while being paid with the tax dollars of working women. The Equal Opportunity Commission says that a third of its complaints involve alleged sex discrimination. And the number of complaints have risen sharply this year.

These complaints are only the legal surface of the pressure that working women are putting on business and on unions for more and better jobs. This pressure is not due to a "Women's Lib fad." It arose because women need the income for themselves and their families in order to maintain any decent standard of life, and sex discrimination keeps them from earning it.

An official of the Ohio Commission on the Status of Women, May Miller, told the *Journal* that, "Women no longer work for pin money; that's a Victorian hang-up. They work to pay off mortgages and educate their children." Working women know that already, and so do many men who need their wives' incomes for their families.

Sex discrimination does more than undermine a woman's self-respect — although it is degrading. It hurts pocketbooks. This is especially true given rising prices and increasing unemployment.

"Responsibilities"

The Presidential Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities underlined this fact. The Task Force stated that "Sex bias takes a greater economic toll than racial bias." For example, federal government statistics show that in 1968 both black and white women with some college education actually earned less than black men with eight years of school! (We wonder, by the way, what the term "Responsibilities" in the title of the Task Force means; probable that women should submit to compulsory overtime in exchange for the human right of equal pay.)

The point is not who gets the dubious award for "Most Discriminated Against." It is that women — like black people, like all workers — simply have to fight for their rights at every turn, and that all working people should support them in their own common self-interest.

Furthermore, all this indicates a clear direction for the women's liberation movement. Freedom for women certainly means more than equal pay, or even equal access to jobs. But the point is that if women are to forge a movement that can hope to fight for and win their freedom — on every level, from equal pay through the complete destruction of inferior feminine roles in society — the support and identification of the great mass of working women in this country is critical.

That support can be developed only when the organized women's movement consciously identifies with the needs and concerns of working women, and organizes to further their battles — in the shops, in the homes, in the schools, wherever they may be. ■

Britain

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

Motor Factory in Birmingham the C.P. shop steward did not even call a meeting to vote on participation in the strike, while other non-C.P. sections of the factory voted to strike.

The Communist Party Caucus in the London Region of the Teachers Union voted not to support the strike action. Nevertheless the Executive Board of the London Teachers voted to participate and several C.P.ers broke discipline and voted yes or abstained. Finally, in the huge Leyland auto combine where the Communist Party is strong, it dragged its heels in order not to antagonize the TUC, and as a consequence important C.P. strongholds did not participate in the strike action.

In their propaganda and work on the shop floor, the British International Socialists, building for December 8, emphasized the ties between the Tory anti-labour bill and shop floor struggles. They pointed out that the only effective way to defeat the laws (which in all probability will be enacted) is to force the union movement to break them.

Councils of Action

COUNCILS OF ACTION must be formed in all locales to lead these actions and to support those workers who refuse to comply with the laws. Such COUNCILS OF ACTION have come into existence especially in militant working class bastions like Glasgow, Newcastle and Liverpool and various London areas. A central task of these rank and file workers' organizations is mass propaganda activity among the working class on the meaning of the legislation and about how the laws can be effectively fought. Councils of Action are already pressing for more political strikes against the government.

In the face of the massive attack on the December 8 strike by the Tory Government, the Labour Party, the TUC and the press, the massive work stoppage is an impressive victory for the working class. Its impact, together with continued pressure from a growing Councils of Action movement opens up the possibility that the TUC bureaucracy will be forced to call a general strike on January 12. If they are forced to this extreme it will be the most massive working class action in British history. Even if they do not, January 12 will undoubtedly see an even more sizeable outpouring than that of December 8.

SOGAT A, a large printers union, where members of the International Socialists have displaced the C.P. as the leadership of the rank and file struggle, was one of the few unions to officially support the December 8 political strike in the face of a court injunction which forbid it. This kind of determined action which says "NO" to laws which attack the working class is the only way to defeat the laws.

Furthermore, the need is to build a mass political revolutionary organization of the working class, to counterpose a socialist ideology to that of capitalism: an organization which will fight not only to protect the economic needs of the working class but for a longer term perspective of a complete transformation of society. ■

support your local

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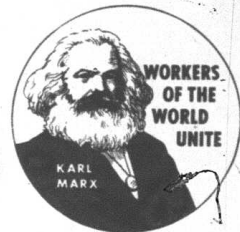
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Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nor can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos, and 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.



Michael Stewart

Hyden: Government Murders Miners



On Dec. 30, 39 men entered Mines 15 and 16 of the Finley Brothers Coal Company near Hyden, Kentucky. Only one returned. An explosion and fire ripped through the mines killing 38 of the men who worked there. The disaster occurred one year to the day after Congress had passed the new Coal Mine Health and Safety Act.

Both the owners and government officials tried to dismiss the event as just an unfortunate accident, regrettable, but predictable in an occupation as hazardous as coal mining. Charles Finley, one of the co-owners, to back up this interpretation, tried to argue that "the mine had been inspected several times since then [last March when the Finley's leased the mine] by the government authorities and found safe." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 31)

The facts tell a different story, a story of owners out to make a fast buck from the growing needs of the electric industry for coal fuel, and of a government bureaucracy so beholden to the companies it is supposed to be regulating that it has been unable to enforce the new health and safety act.

Far from being safe, the Finley Brothers' Mine had been guilty of 34 infractions in the nine months it had been in operation. Its short history had included a fire and explosives accident in August and another accident due to mechanical failure which resulted in the death of a miner; this latter accident an investigation showed to be the result of the failure of the owners to keep up the maintenance of its machinery. The mine had been shut down twice for short periods due to safety in-

fractions.

The number and nature of the violations gave the Bureau of Mines the authority to classify the mine as excessively hazardous and to require inspection at 10 day intervals. The bureau chose not to do so, for reasons as yet unexplained.

Furthermore, on Nov. 19 a safety infraction was noted which involved excessive coal dust and electrical hazards. Corrections were to be made by Dec. 22, when another inspection was to take place. The inspectors never returned, and eight days later the explosion occurred. Investigators reported that the blast had been touched off by explosives and then "propagated" by coal dust.

Dr. Elburn F. Osborn, the current head of the Bureau of Mines, explained the lack of an inspection on Dec. 20 by the fact that there were just not enough inspectors to do the job. There is a grain of truth in this excuse. The Bureau of Mines has only 499 safety inspectors now, and Osborn conservatively estimates that they need 750. The situation here is similar to that in other areas of safety regulation, where laws are passed, but no money is allocated for inspectors so that the laws could be enforced.

Yet in this specific case, there was not such a shortage of inspectors. During the week of Dec. 20, six inspectors from the Barbourville office, which has jurisdiction over the Finley mine, were on leaves of absence. Certainly, one of their leaves could have been postponed so that a mine with as many safety infractions as the Finley's could have been

inspected. Perhaps the real reason behind this failure to inspect the mine could be found if the Bureau would explain why it had not already classified the mine as excessively hazardous and required 10-day inspection periods.

This is not merely an isolated example of the Bureau's failure to act, but is part of an overall program of inactivity on the part of the agency which is supported by the government. For seven months last year, from March 1 to Oct. 7, the bureau had no director, obvious evidence of the government's lack of interest in its affairs. Even within the limits of the resources the Bureau has been given, it has failed to enforce the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act.

The act provides for fines of up to \$10,000 for each infraction. To date, not one fine has been levied. Last spring alone, there were 2,300 cases that could have been fined. But the small mine operators brought a suit in Federal Court alleging that the standards were hastily and improperly promulgated, and in the face of this suit, the Bureau dropped all 2,300 cases.

Since then, the Bureau has instructed its inspectors to issue only "advisory" and "information" citations or to cite the violations. Thus the only provisions of the new law which could have forced compliance with the new law were consciously not used by the agency.

Exactly how many deaths are due to the agency's failure to use the provisions of the new law cannot be determined today. However, in 1970 there were 250 deaths in the mines, the highest total since 311 were killed in 1968 (the year 78 died in Consolidation Coal Co. No.

9 mine at Farmington, West Virginia). Last year, one miner in 12 was killed or seriously injured while thousands more were disabled by pneumoconiosis (black lung). These terrible statistics will not be changed by a government agency so intimidated by the companies it is supposed to control that it can only issue "advisory" citations.

Neither the government nor the mine operators wanted the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act. It was something fought for and won by the miners themselves through wildcats and demonstrations which forced Congress to act. Nixon attempted to veto the bill, but was prevented from doing so by wildcat strikes. Last summer, wildcat strikes broke out again, protesting the lack of enforcement of the law. Perhaps this new tragedy will stir the government to action. But if it doesn't, the miners will know what to do. ■



Worked To Death

James Coleman

A medical report from Norway throws a sharp light on the exploitation of American workers (Detroit Free Press, Sunday, Nov. 22, 1970). In Norway, where the five-day work week is the rule, the medical report concludes that two days' rest is not enough — too many activities are crowded into the off-time and the worker returns without ever having really rested.

In the United States, the 40-hour week, and often the five-day week, is more myth than fact. Especially in unionized work, nine-to-eleven-hour days and six-day weeks are not uncommon. Even in the auto industry, under the

jurisdiction of the nation's best-organized union, the six-day, 54-hour week and even the seven-day, 63-hour week, are standard practice at some times of the year. Those who work these hours know their effect on the health; but now the Norwegian report, in showing that even the five-day week is unhealthy, shows how far U.S. workers are from human working conditions.

The report also contains medical recommendations for vacation time. In Norway, state law guarantees a four-week vacation each year. In the U.S., of course; only the workers with most seniority get four weeks — the new

UAW contract won, for the first time, four weeks for workers with more than 20 years. Workers with less seniority — almost everyone — must be satisfied with three weeks, or even two. Two weeks are standard in many office jobs.

The Norwegian report indicates that even Norway's four-week vacations are medically inadequate for people over 40. Medically, it recommends five weeks for 40-year-olds, six weeks for 50-year-olds, seven weeks for workers over 60.

Again this shows how far American workers have to go. Our jobs are literally killing us. ■