

Workers' Power

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Massacre At Attica

Charles Leinenweber

In the early months of 1914, John D. Rockefeller organized a private army and declared war on Colorado miners. The miners and their families were on strike against Rockefeller's mining companies. Rockefeller's army killed dozens of them, men, women, and children.

On April 20, 1914, they burned to death eleven children and two women, in the Ludlow Massacre. The mining families of Ludlow had moved from town and set up a tent colony on the outskirts, as a sign of protest. The massacre victims were burned in their tents, which first were cut with machine gun fire, then set ablaze by Rockefeller's army, reinforced by the state militia.

Fifty years later John D. Rockefeller's grandson, Nelson Rockefeller, sent his army to storm the tent colony of Attica prison. Thus came the Attica Massacre, and with it Nelson Rockefeller took his rightful place as head of the bloody Rockefeller clan.

One story of the Ludlow Massacre was told by the wives of the Rockefeller managers. "They are ignorant and lawless foreigners, every one of them that caused the trouble," one said. "I've often thought if we could have a tag, and tag all foreigners so you could recognize them at a glance...." "They're nothing but cattle," another said, "and the only way is to kill them off."

One story of the Attica Massacre was told by a prison guard: "I don't know what we're going to do with them, but we've got to do something or they'll wreck the whole country." This story was told too by state police who chan-

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Oswald hears prisoner demands

EDITORIAL

Defend Prison Uprisings

Three weeks after the murder of George Jackson at San Quentin, another chapter has been added to the book of atrocities committed by the prison system in the United States. The assault on the Attica, New York, state prison, which had been taken over and held by the inmates for five days, was nothing less than a premeditated mass murder ordered by the highest political officials of New York State.

The entire Attica uprising, which has sent shock waves throughout the prison system and indeed the whole society, exposes in the most naked form the actual relationships and political lines of authority that lie behind the capitalist "system of justice."

The most significant aspect of the rebellion was the degree of organization

achieved by the prisoners and the clarity with which they expressed their demands for treatment as human beings. It is impossible, within the totalitarian regime of a prison, to organize for better conditions or elementary human rights in an open way — precisely because those rights do not exist. It is the essence of the prison to deny them.

Thus, the prisoners' ability to carry out a coordinated uprising, and to put forward united, concrete demands for minimum wages, sanitary conditions, and other basic improvements — as well as for amnesty for the uprising itself — once again proves that the struggle of the exploited goes on despite the depths of brutality and degradation to which the system attempts to reduce them.

Such an achievement also testifies

to the depths of the struggle taking place in the broader class society *outside* the prison, from which the prison movement draws its strength — for only in such circumstances is it possible for mass, collective uprisings (as opposed to individual resistance alone) to occur within such institutions as the prisons and the Army.

The Attica events also illustrate the role of the political establishment as the direct authority for the brutal prison system. The all-out assault by 1,000 troopers and guards, after it became clear that the uprising could not be bought off or outwitted, was carried out on the direct orders of Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

When pressed against the wall, the Governor and the prison officials were forced to strip away the facade of "re-

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editorial

Defend Prison Uprisings

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habilitation" and "human considerations" that usually masks the nature of the "correctional facilities" they administer. The revelation that it was the police — not the prisoners as first assumed — who shot down nine hostages, came as a shock to some commentators quite prepared to excuse the massacre of thirty prisoners.

One journalist wrote, in bewilderment, "Some of the most vicious and brutal criminals in the New York prison system refused to wantonly take human life."

But it was the prison system which wantonly took human life. In turn, the fact that the prisoners showed far more respect for human life than the state of New York underlines their contention that they are political prisoners, prisoners of capitalist society.

In the first place, most prison inmates are sentenced for minor crimes — petty thievery, drug offenses, minor sexual offenses, etc. This does not excuse crimes of violence against innocent citizens. But what must be seen is that this crime is social in nature, created by a racist, class society.

Every class society has a bottom layer of victims, people cast off by a rotting economy, without jobs, without decent housing, subject to never-ending violence from the police. Crime and violence are inevitable in this setting. In every class society, this bottom layer of society fills the prisons.

In the United States a half century ago, when the slum population was heavily Irish and Italian, so too was the prison population. Today, when the slum population is heavily Black and Spanish-speaking, so too is the prison population — in Attica Prison, 85 percent of the inmates were non-white. The prison population mirrors exactly the layers of society for which the economy cannot provide even the beginnings of a decent life.

Thus, the prisoners at Attica were social prisoners. But in addition, once in prison, their awareness of their victimization by society grew and became political. Through prison libraries, many inmates gained their first understanding of the social oppression they had experienced all their lives.

They spread this understanding to others. Although Black prisoners were among the most dedicated students in this "prison school," the understanding spread to whites as well. The Attica rebellion was completely interracial.

Ironically, this growth of political consciousness represented the "rehabilitation" which the prisons have never accomplished in the way meant by well-intentioned reformers. The failure of



prisons to turn criminals into "good citizens" is notorious.

But despite themselves, the prisons have always "rehabilitated" a few exceptional individuals, who used their time in prison to become revolutionaries. Malcolm X, Eldridge Cleaver, George Jackson, and the leaders of the Attica rebellion were all "rehabilitated" in this way.

Recently, this tendency has spread beyond the few exceptional individuals, and created mass prison rebellions which were marked by widespread political

awareness. First in the Tombs last year, and now at Attica, the mass of inmates have learned to think of themselves as "political prisoners," and many have become radicals and revolutionaries.

No wonder they were shot! What the authorities fear is that these people are no longer "vicious and brutal criminals." What the authorities cannot tolerate is that they have been rehabilitated — as revolutionaries, dedicated to fighting the system the authorities defend.

It was for this reason that the demand

for amnesty was "non-negotiable" in the eyes of the authorities. This was one of the most logical of the prisoners' demands. If their rebellion was justified, then those who took part in it ought not to be punished. The Warden and Governor Rockefeller responded with a different logic, equally persuasive from their own standpoint: if amnesty were granted — indeed, if the rebellion were not smashed with the most extreme and wanton brutality — other prisoners, all over the country, would also demand to be treated as human beings.

The murder of thirty prisoners is only the first step in the wave of suppressions that will follow. Hundreds of prisoners will be indicted for participation in the rebellion, and probably dozens will face death-penalty charges under a brand-new New York State law against such uprisings. Every one of these prisoners must be defended by the movement with all the forces at our disposal.

In prisons across the country, the entry of political literature may be curtailed. The segregation of "politicals" from other prisoners may be increased. These inroads must be fought.

The prisoners at Attica have struck a heroic blow for human liberation, despite their short-term defeat. It remains now to build from that uprising a systematic exposure of the nature of the prison system in capitalist society and a massive defense against further victimizations.

The leaders and participants in the uprising should be honored by those who believe in the right of rebellion against oppression. One day, they will be honored by a new and free society. ■

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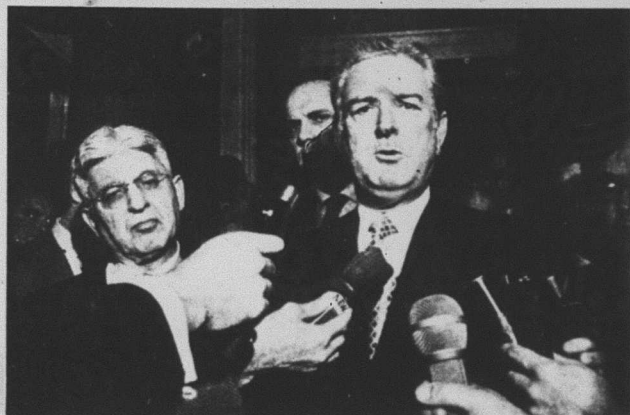
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Wage Freeze Scoreboard:



Burns and Connally in London

EUROPE, JAPAN FIGHT BACK

Michael Stewart

Nixon's New Economic Policy is running into increased opposition from abroad. While most of the attacks remain on the level of establishing bargaining positions, the threat of an international trade war still exists should the bargaining break down.

The World Trade Council in Geneva was the first to raise its voice, denouncing the 10 percent surcharge on goods

imported into the United States as a violation of world trade and tariff treaties. This raised fears of retaliatory measures by other countries if the surcharge is not lifted soon.

Japan, which sells 30 percent of all its imports to the US, is also refusing to knuckle under. Japan has offered to lift import quotas on eight items, including computers, light aircraft, fuel oil, etc.

— all items the US would like to export to Japan. But this is not acceptable to the US government, which wants changes which will not only increase exports to Japan, but also allow for more US capital investment there.

The most significant development of all, however, has been the new-found unity in the European Economic Community, otherwise known as the Common Market. Unable, just a month ago, to decide how to respond to the floating of the dollar, they are united now in demanding a devaluation of the dollar — and they were joined by Britain and Japan, thus presenting a united front of all the major capitalist countries against the US.

Then on September 15, Treasury Secretary Connally, at a meeting of Finance Ministers of the major capitalist countries, spelled out America's economic objectives. He demanded arrangements which would guarantee America an improvement of \$13 billion in her balance of payments. This figure was what was necessary to assure the US a comfortable surplus in the future, and it was an admission of a very large deficit for this year, projected to be at least \$9 billion.

The size of the turnaround demanded by the US shocked the other Finance Ministers. Mario Ferrari-Agradi, chairman of the Common Market Finance Ministers, expressed his fears that such a large turnaround would cause severe economic dislocation in other countries.

His fears were not soothed by Connally's bland comments that "We had a problem and we're sharing it with the world, just like we shared our prosperity," in-

deed, what the US is "sharing" is its stagnation and unemployment.

The question at stake in the negotiations is not whether the US will be able to share its problems with the rest of the major capitalist countries, however. It is only how much of them it can share, and with whom. In spite of their bitter

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The International Socialists' Program for the Economic Crisis:

Fight the Offensive Against Labor!

1. No Compliance with the Wage Freeze: For a 1-Day National Work Stoppage and Massive Labor Demonstrations to Roll Back the Freeze.

2. Pay All Wage Increases Due under Contracts, Enforced by Strike Action if Necessary.

3. United Labor Action to Back Unions Threatened with Sanctions.

4. Unlimited Right to Strike.

5. No Layoffs, No Speedup.

6. No Wage Restraints — No Linking Wage Increases to Productivity Rises; No Trade-Off of Working Conditions and Practices for Economic Packages.

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

A Program for Labor to Fight the Economic Crisis:

1. Control Prices and Profits, Not Wages — Nationalize Inflation-Producing Monopolies under Workers' Control.

2. 30 Hour Work Week at 40 Hours Pay — Jobs For All.

3. No Freeze on the Fight for Equality: Equal Work for Women and Third World People; Equal Pay for Equal Work.

4. Convert the War Economy to Rebuild the Cities.

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

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

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



Meany meets Nixon

LABOR LEADERS TALK

James Coleman

On September 10, the leaders of the major unions met President Nixon to present their proposals for the "Phase II" period which will follow the end of the wage-price freeze on November 13.

The union delegation represented a triumph over internal differences. Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons, who had originally praised the wage-price freeze while other union Presidents de-

nounced it, was there. AFL-CIO President George Meany and United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock, who have had important differences in their positions, spoke in unison.

Unfortunately, this achievement of unity was about the only good feature of the union leaders' performance. Their meeting with Nixon, and the events which followed, only underlined the weakness

of their approach to the present attack on labor.

The labor leaders' proposal had four main features: (1) they called for three-sided wage-price boards representing business, labor, and the public, but not the government; (2) these boards would have only the power to recommend, not to force compliance with their proposals; (3) there would be some form of profits control; (4) wage increases delayed by the freeze would take effect retroactively.

The proposal was basically a mixture of recommendations previously made by Woodcock ("voluntary" controls, profits tax) and Meany (three-sided boards).

Three days later, a delegation of business leaders met with Nixon to present their own recommendations. They had no unanimous proposal. The newspapers reported, however, that they did all agree that they wanted control boards with mandatory powers, not just advisory powers. And, with one exception, the business leaders wanted control powers vested in a government agency, with private business and labor having no votes.

These proposals illustrate a fundamental truth about politics in America. The text books tell us that American politics consists of the competition of "interest groups," such as business and labor — each more or less equal in influence. The government does not represent a "ruling class," the text books agree, but tries to balance the competing interests to everyone's satisfaction.

Many labor and business leaders themselves believe this text book version. Ne-

vertheless, their actions tell a different story. Even though the labor leaders are not radicals, they instinctively demand that labor have a guarantee that its case will be heard. (They should have realized that one-third of the votes guarantees nothing at all.) The businessmen, on the other hand, were quite ready to give up

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Black Workers Congress Meets In Gary

Clarence Jones

The national conference of the Black Workers' Congress (BWC), held in Gary, Indiana, on September 3-5, holds significance not only for black workers, but also for the entire American working class.

A gloomy fog hangs over America, paralyzing the thinking and ambitions of millions of frustrated working people. Shrinking paychecks and higher bills, inhuman working conditions, unresponsive union leadership, racism, and other complex social problems are eating away the fibre of the individual's life.

The mumbo-jumbo, deceptive talk of Nixon and other capitalist politicians doesn't provide any beacon of light; on the contrary, it adds to the confusion. In the absence of a clear, honest direction and a leadership capable of generating confidence, this confusion paints the entire day a cynical gray.

It is this situation which made the conference so important. The main goals of the conference seemed to be the solidification of the BWC as an organic part of the black working class and the building of the BWC as a national means of expression for the black worker. Both objectives are important, possessing the potentiality of providing some direction out of the maze in which most workers find themselves today.

All across the country black workers, both inside and outside black union caucuses, have been among the most conscious rank-and-file strata in almost every trade union and shop. Their struggle against the employers' racism has many times led to an awareness of the employers' general oppression of all workers in the shop. Thus, we see black workers among the first to call for an end to speedup, for higher wages, etc.

The organization of this militancy and consciousness is important because it contains a reservoir of rank and file leadership. Also, with an organized base in the working class, the BWC can fight, as a national cross-union organization, to utilize the full power of the AFL-CIO to the benefit of the black liberation movement (strikes against racist hiring practices, etc.).

With over 300 participants present — a significant portion of which were trade union militants, plus the presence of a number of radical movement groups (predominantly third world), the conference demonstrated the potential for action in the trade unions, actions taking on the cynicism of the rank and file, and action clearing away the fog by exposing the issues.

But along with the good points, the

conference also contained a number of bad points. The BWC seemed to be striving for an organizational growth and, at the same time, treating the question of political content as a secondary matter.

In the workshops, most of the discussions remained on a pragmatic level, such as the ways and means of building union caucuses, shop-floor tactics, etc. In the anti-war workshop, the response to the question of imperialism was Third World solidarity, draft counseling, and GI organizing. All are good things, but they do not attack the heart of imperialism — capitalist production — and they do not speak to the role of workers in opposing imperialism.

The overall strategy of the BWC — whether to build caucuses in existing unions or call on black workers to form new unions — also remained unclear.

Bureaucracy

On some political questions, the BWC leadership expressed sympathy with the ideas of Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung. But black workers fighting for control of the unions and factories will not find an ally in a bureaucratic class regime, which denies all rights and independent organization to its own working class.

To fight the bureaucracy and racism of the unions what is required is an ideology of workers' democracy. An organization which fights for workers' control of the unions must itself be a model of workers' democracy. Unfortunately, and probably because of the influence of Maoism, the BWC adopted an organizational structure that is in essence anti-democratic. This structure minimizes the decision-making power of the rank and file (conventions only once every four years) and grants authority to the Central Committee of the BWC without specifying limits and checks.

Whether or not these bad points are symptoms of a growing organization in its birth stage, or revelations of obstacles which may hinder that growth, remains to be seen. But one thing is already clear, and that is the need for organization. ■

[Clarence Jones, a member of the International Socialists, was an observer at the Black Workers Congress conference.]

Carlos Feliciano Faces Trial

Drake Levittan

After 16 months in jail, Carlos Feliciano, a 41-year-old Puerto Rican nationalist militant, will come to trial September 27 in Manhattan. During most of these months, his bail was set at \$175,000, a sum which a working man and father of six could not possibly raise.

Feliciano's bail was recently lowered to \$50,000 in a court appearance which combined a demonstration of support by the Puerto Rican movement in New York with the legal arguments of radical lawyer William Kunstler. To date, however, the Defense Committee has been unable to raise the bail.

As Defense Committee literature points out, the Feliciano case is "a test case by which the US government hopes to smash the Puerto Rican liberation movement." [See Workers' Power no. 37 for details of the frame-up charges against Feliciano.] Repression is mounting both on the island of Puerto Rico and in the US, as capitalism, less able to offer the carrot of reform, uses the stick of suppression.

The present crisis has been far more drastic on the island than on the mainland. Unemployment in Puerto Rico is almost double the mainland rate, wages are much lower, housing and other social

necessities are in deep decay. The squatters' shanty towns outside San Juan have been bulldozed away. Professors and others suspected of supporting independence have been fired.

In the US, Puerto Ricans face conditions common to all oppressed minorities — racism, high unemployment, squalid housing, lack of medical care, marginal low-paying jobs, deteriorating schools, and cultural genocide. There is a growing militancy in the Puerto Rican community, particularly among the youth. At the same time that the Puerto Rican movement in the US is emerging, the movement on the island continues, where mass demonstrations are taking place against the Governors' Conference.

For over 20 years, Carlos Feliciano has championed the cause of Puerto Rican independence. He represents both a symbol of the movement for self-determination and social emancipation, and a living link between this movement and the heroic fight for independence in the past. Carlos Feliciano must be freed! ■

[For further information, write: Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, P.O. Box 356, Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013.]



Carlos Feliciano

Massacre At Attica

Charles Leinenweber



Attica prisoners during the revolt

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ted "White Power!" as they left the scene of the massacre.

And it was told also by Nelson Rockefeller's chief prison manager, Russell Oswald, who said in a candid moment that the prisoners' insurrection represented anarchy, and freedom and anarchy cannot coexist. Did Oswald mean that the Attica prisoners enjoyed the benefits of a free society, but sought to destroy their own freedom through anarchy? No, because even he would never say that prisoners are free.

"Anarchy"

Oswald meant that he saw the Attica insurrection as part of a broader assault on American capitalist society. This was his only true and honest thought.

That thought was not lost on CBS News' Eric Sevareid. On the night of the Attica Massacre, Sevareid warned of an awesome white backlash against black revolutionary extremism. The next evening, after it had been revealed that Nelson Rockefeller's army themselves had killed the prisoners' hostages, Sevareid was unmoved, and continued with his lecture.

Adlai Stevenson, he reminded white liberal viewers, had taken time out from his first presidential campaign to put down an Illinois prison insurrection, all the while refusing to negotiate. There had been no massacre then, Sevareid said, but times have changed. The prisoners of today are different. They hate the Establishment. They defy law and order.

So did the Ludlow miners: a town marshal told a reporter that the strikers had gotten so unruly, he personally "had to plant a few of them."

Nelson Rockefeller is one of the world's richest men. Writer Stewart Alsop once noted, "People who meet Nelson Rockefeller are always aware of the dollar sign that floats conspicuously if invisibly above his head."

Another writer, Joe Alex Morris, tells how as children, Rockefeller and his brothers travelled to their private school:

"They made the daily trips of several miles by all modes of transportation. Sometimes they walked or roller-skated

part of the way from their home on Fifty-fourth Street and rode the rest of the way in the family limousine, which had followed them along the street and was ready to pick them up whenever they became tired or the hour grew late."

George Jackson, killed at San Quentin prison just a few weeks before the Attica uprising, told of his school in the book *Soledad Brother*. Jackson went to a Chicago Catholic school that was divided into two parts, with two separate buildings:

"We played and fought on the corner sidewalks bordering the school. They had a large grass-and-tree-studded garden with an eight-foot wrought-iron fence bordering it (to keep us out, since it never seemed to keep any of them in when they chose to leave). They were all white. They were driven to and from school in large private buses or their parents' cars. We on the black side walked, or when we could afford it used the public busses or streetcars. The white students' yard was equipped with picnic tables for spring lunches, swings, slides, and other more sophisticated gadgets intended to please older children. For years we had only the very crowded sidewalks and alley behind the school."

During winters, young Nelson Rockefeller lived in his family's nine-story mansion, in a "dignified residential section of New York City." Nelson and his brothers spent their summers at the family

country estate, Pocantio Hills, overlooking the Hudson.

"Here the father owned some 3,000 acres high over the river, here he and his bride had planted sapling spruce and hemlock trees across a great hill sloping down from the big house, here he had built driving and riding trails and, later, a \$500,000 playhouse with bowling alleys, tennis court, swimming pool and squash court."

George Jackson remembered his first home:

"It was in one of the oldest sections of Chicago, part ghetto residential, part factory. The el train passed a few yards from our front windows.... There were factories across the street and garage shops on the bottom level of our flat."

Later, Jackson's family moved: "Six of us in a little walk-up. The only thing I can think of that was even slightly pleasant about the place was the light. We had plenty of windows.... In '49 we moved to a place in the rear on Warren near Western. That was the end of the sun. We had no windows that opened directly on the street, even the one that faced the alley was blocked by a garage... the neighborhood around the place was so vicious that my mother never, never allowed me to go out of the house or the small yard...."

Like Nelson Rockefeller, Jackson spent his summers in the country: "I spent most of the summers of those school years in Southern Illinois with

my grandmother and aunt.... My mother, Georgia, called it removing me from harm's way."

The Attica revolt was the challenge of one thousand George Jacksons — black, white, and Puerto Rican — to Nelson Rockefeller. The Attica Massacre was Rockefeller's reply.

Race War?

From the point of view of John D. Rockefeller's soldiers, Ludlow had been a race war. So too was the Attica Massacre. The news media, particularly television, emphasized the racial aspects of the struggle. They called the hostages "white hostages," and the leaders of the insurrection "black leaders."

Race is a strange concept. No less than 57 different languages and dialects were spoken by the Colorado mine families that fought John D. Rockefeller's army, but for the purposes of slaughter they were all grouped together as one race. And so were the Attica prisoners.

There is a reason for this. Where the most severe divisions in a society are racial divisions, race becomes the most convenient explanation for the ruling class's acts of repression. Race hatred becomes the motive force for public support of repression, and the uppermost factor for those entrusted with carrying out the acts of repression.

We can be sure that the state police and prison guards who carried out the Attica Massacre saw their victims as rebellious niggers. But some of the victims were white. These would be seen as nigger-lovers. Dressed in prisoners' clothes, the white hostages who survived the killings reported that they had to beg police for their lives.

From the point of view of the Attica prisoners, race was much less important. A *New York Times* reporter who sat in on prisoner meetings writes:

"The unity displayed by the prisoners would have been impossible if there had been racial discord.... None was apparent to observers. The human security chains were interracial; the leadership committee featured at least three white men, although the rebelling inmates must have been at least 85 percent black and Puerto Rican."

But, the reporter continues, as prominent as was racial harmony, "It was not so prominent...as were radical class and political views. Every orator pictured the rebelling prisoners as political victims, men at the bottom of the heap for whom society cared nothing, to whom it gave the worst of treatment."

Fifty years earlier the Ludlow miners had written, "Let it be understood that the strike is not directed against any specific evil or evils, but against an entire

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Commissioner Oswald



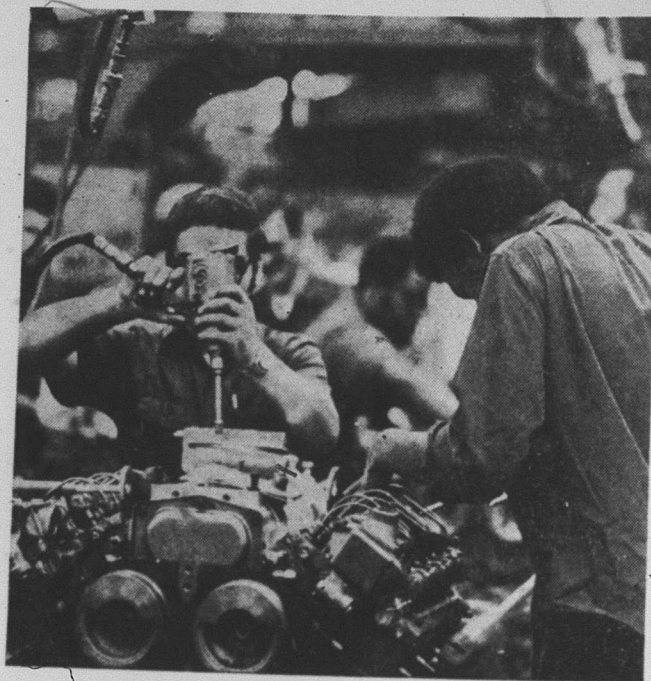
Prisoner Blyden



Governor Rockefeller

NPAC and Labor

John Weber



The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), the organization planning the November 6 mass demonstrations against the war in over a dozen cities, has announced plans to make a special appeal toward labor in building its marches.

In a letter sent out by NPAC National Coordinator Jerry Gordon shortly after Nixon's imposition of the wage-price freeze, local affiliates of NPAC were urged "to make the tie-up between the wage freeze and the war the central focus for building the fall demonstrations." In the same letter, Gordon urged the groups to solicit participation from trade unions and trade unionists, and to prepare special leaflets for plant-gate distributions.

This focus on labor marks a new direction for NPAC, and one that we welcome. NPAC has already prepared a letter to be sent out to unionists across the country, urging them to participate in the march and to endorse it. This has been signed by over 150 union officials.

Freeze and the War

The letter stresses the relationship between current economic problems and the war. It asserts:

"Nixon's wage freeze is a direct attempt to shift the burden of the Vietnam war even more directly on to the backs of working people.... Nixon says high wages cause inflation. This is a lie. It is the war that causes inflation. To end the wage freeze and to check inflation, we must end the war in Vietnam."

But even while NPAC intends to make the tie-ups between the war and the economic problems a central focus in building for the demonstrations, it appears that they still intend that the demonstrations themselves have only the single focus of opposition to the war.

The approach they take toward labor can be summarized as follows: (1) the Vietnam war causes the current economic problems; (2) the way to overcome the economic problems is to end the war; (3) therefore, if you are concerned about the economic problems, demonstrate against the war.

Unfortunately, the economic facts of life are not quite as simple as that. To be sure, the Vietnam war is one of the major contributors to the current economic situation. But ending the war will not automatically create full employment and prosperity.

The economic crisis goes far deeper. Opposition to the Vietnam war is a necessary ingredient for any labor strategy which can even hope to combat the new offensive being waged against labor. But it is far from a total strategy.

NPAC intends to tap the widespread opposition to Nixon's new policies among labor, as a means of building the November 6 marches. We agree with this, but believe such a move entails certain responsibilities. If working people are to be mobilized for a demonstration on the basis of their opposition to economic policies which they see as an attack on themselves and on the labor movement, that demon-

stration must be part of a strategy for combatting those policies.

November 6 must be more than just another anti-war march. Besides raising the demand for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, other demands and slogans are needed, geared toward building a fighting movement of opposition to the freeze and to the new anti-labor policies being prepared to follow the opening 90-day period.

Counter-Offensive

The current attack on labor is a serious one. It is not at all clear, yet, that the counter-offensive needed to defeat this attack is forthcoming. Those who attempt to tap the widespread opposition to Nixon's economic policies in order to swell the ranks of an anti-war march, but who are unwilling to transform that march so that it is also a tool in building an effective counter-offensive against Nixon's economic policies, are doing a disservice to both the labor and the anti-war movements.

The march should express mass opposition to compliance with the wage freeze. It should demand that prices and profits be controlled, but not wages. It should raise the possibility of labor direct action, such as work stoppages, as a means for working people to defend their interests against a government attack which was carried out in the interests of big business. This could all be done while the march maintained the demand, "US Out of Vietnam Now," as its central slogan.

What must be avoided is the notion that the Vietnam war is the sole cause of the economic crisis. England, France, and Italy, to name only three countries, have been having similar problems for years. The economic problems we face are world-wide in scale, and are intensifying.

The period of economic prosperity that followed World War II is over. We can now expect a prolonged attack on wages and working conditions, coupled with attempts to destroy those unions which refuse to go along. Only a militant labor movement which understands its interests and is willing to fight can effectively defend its membership from such an attack.

Tail-ending

Unfortunately, most of the current labor leadership is only willing to take, at best, half-hearted and ineffective measures to defend its ranks. They remain politically tied to the Democratic Party, which in turn is committed to defending the interests of big business.

Most unions intend to go along with government-imposed wage controls, or at least are not willing to mobilize the kind of opposition needed to reverse such policies. An announcement of no compliance with any policies designed to attack the wages and conditions of labor, backed up by mass strikes if necessary, would be one effective way for labor to fight back. But most labor leadership today is afraid to fight effectively. The leaders have grown soft since the days of the mass sit-down strikes when the CIO was organized.

NPAC has refused to permit a strategy for fighting Nixon's economic policies to be included in the political definition of the November 6 marches. One reason for this is that NPAC has embarked on a policy of politically tail-ending the existing union leadership.

NPAC identifies labor with the union officialdom. In its approach toward labor, therefore, it will only support policies for which there is already support among labor officials. It is unable to champion the kind of program needed to launch a counter-offensive against Nixon's economic policies, because as of yet, few if any labor leaders are ready for such a program. But unless such a program is launched, the ranks will suffer.

NPAC is led by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), an organization that should know all this. But so long as NPAC and the SWP are tied to a strategy which leads them to politically tail-end the union leadership, they will be incapable of building support for the kind of program needed to keep the ranks of labor from suffering a severe setback.

While it is important for NPAC to work with union officials, its primary orientation should be to the ranks of labor. ■

Europe

CONTINUED FROM
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The US is less dependent on foreign trade than any of the other major capitalist countries. Thus it has less to lose in the event of a trade war.

Further, as it is presently organized, the international monetary system depends on the dollar. A large payments deficit for the US undermines the dollar, and thus threatens the stability of the entire monetary system.

Without a stable monetary system, international trade would break down. Thus the use of the dollar as the international reserve currency greatly strengthens the US position, since all countries

are forces to defend the dollar in order to defend the monetary system. That is why the Common Market is also demanding a new monetary system where the dollar as a reserve currency is replaced by Special Drawing rights, or "paper gold," from the International Monetary Fund. Such a reserve would not then be linked to any one country.

The present negotiations have a great deal of significance for workers throughout the world. What in fact is being negotiated is how to spread the unemployment around. For unless new markets are found, the thousands of dollars other

countries lose in trade to the US will result in a corresponding number of workers being laid off.

Workers must not, however, fall into the trap of thinking that the best way to defend their interests is by supporting the governments of their respective countries and proposing new protective tariff legislation. For this can only lead to retaliatory measures abroad, and an international trade war, whose biggest losers would be the thousands of workers thrown out of work when the trade war leads to economic stagnation and sharper economic crisis. ■

"Dump Nixon" Comes South

Ken Daly

Allard Lowenstein, the man behind the "Dump Johnson" movement in 1968, has been organizing conferences around the country to mobilize students to get out to register the new 18- to 21-year-old voters. One of his latest efforts, a Student Action Conference in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, took place over the weekend of August 13.

This gathering of students from the colleges, technical institutes, and high schools of the Tar Heel State, indicates where Lowenstein's new "Dump Nixon" bandwagon is heading.

Anti-Working Class

From the questionnaires distributed to the participants, student body presidents drew up a list of issues which concerned the "youth" of North Carolina. Implicit in this statement and in the whole conference was the identification of "youth" with "student."

This assumption, like the conference as a whole, ignored the thousands of Young Carolinians (as the bank ads like to call them) — the black, the Indian, the woman, and the mountaineer — who are kept out of North Carolina's highly stratified educational system.

Moreover, this shopping list of issues "important to young people" did not speak to the needs of the Carolinians whose youth is being sweated away in textile mills. While vaguely calling for an end to sexual and racial oppression, the student "leaders" forgot the harsh reality that one of the most important mechanisms for that oppression in North Carolina has been and is union busting. Instead of calling for a drive to unionize their fellow youths as well as registering them to vote, they called for wage and price controls.

Nixon obliged them the next night, and, in so doing, pulled the rug out from under the campaign to organize the tobacco workers, which was just starting to pick up momentum at harvest time.

The most blatant example of anti-working class bias surfaced in one of

the warm-up speeches before Al Lowenstein spoke. In an attempt to defend the need for "liberal reform" (as opposed to what, was never made clear), an over-thirty preacher warned his audience of blacks and students that if they went off into separatism and counter-culture, they would pave the way for the upward mobility of white working-class people.

According to the preacher, this threat is personified by George Wallace, who might run in North Carolina's Democratic Party primary next year.

This call to arms against the bogey of working class racism seemed particularly out of place coming from a man who in the early '60's cautioned civil rights activists not to engage in sit-ins because they might alienate the more "responsible" citizens of Chapel Hill: But such is the essence of "liberal reform" in North Carolina, and the nation: vicious attacks on democratic movements from below as "threats to democracy," and supine spinelessness before the real holders of wealth, power, and privilege.

While the white liberals in the audience took this enthusiastically, they went into a frenzy over Al Lowenstein. Consisting mostly of reminiscences of his years in school in Chapel Hill and of anecdotes about how little Al sew

the Texas giant, Lowenstein's talk aimed at warming the group up for the new giant-killer from California, Paul McCloskey, the independent Republican trying to challenge Nixon for their party's nomination.

Lowenstein offered unbounded praise of the "heroism and integrity" of McCloskey, while warning against ill-fated forays into splinter-party politics which might divide the "Dump Nixon" movement.

When McCloskey himself spoke the following day, he too aroused the fervor of his audience — and he too showed the same blindness to the needs of the working people of North Carolina and the US as a whole.

McCloskey first went right along with the Nixon-Laird propaganda line that peace is responsible for unemployment and a sagging economy. He then characterized the recent wage gains won by some unions as inflationary.

Just as greedy workers have caused inflation, according to McCloskey, an apathetic public is responsible for the "decadent" structure of the two major parties. His making this statement in a state with one of the oldest functioning oligarchies in the country, and in the *alma mater* of this ruling class, can only be excused by



Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey

the circumstances which brought "Pete" McCloskey to Chapel Hill — Lowenstein's campaign to shore up an even greater myth, namely, that real change can be achieved by working within the "two-party system."

McCloskey told a news conference at the Raleigh-Durham airport that American withdrawal from Vietnam must be tied to the release of American prisoners. As many of the families of these men have pointed out, this Nixon policy is just another way of saying American troops will stay there indefinitely.

Echo, Not A Choice

If McCloskey provided more of an echo than a choice in regard to Vietnam, his statements about busing and school desegregation perhaps outdid Nixon's in opportunism. "The federal government should never have got involved with school desegregation in the first place," he said. "The whole thing is patently absurd."

North Carolina is particularly sensitive about busing. The recent Supreme Court decision upholding the constitutionality of busing stemmed from a case in Charlotte.

Last year, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare imposed a busing plan on Raleigh, the capital city, which hit black and white working class neighborhoods very hard, but barely touched the affluent white suburbs. This year Raleigh and surrounding Wake County are again in the midst of battles over busing.

McCloskey praised the South for desegregation, and followed Nixon and Wallace in opposing busing over long distances. This meant that the poorer whites and the blacks will continue to bear the brunt of the disruption that busing causes in family lives (blacks were always bused for long distances to maintain segregated schools, a fact that doesn't seem to sink into white heads in the heat of the debate about busing).

If you say, as McCloskey does, that "where we can bus children a short distance, maybe two or three miles, and achieve a racial balance, then we should bus," then you are effectively protecting the better-off, white suburbanites from bearing the burden that blacks have borne under both regimes, and that poor whites are beginning to bear under the weight of liberal desegregation policies.

In sum, then, Chapel Hill's recent Student Action Conference provides little hope that North Carolina's new voters will be mobilized to meet the real needs of Young Carolinians and their parents. If Lowenstein and McCloskey are the best the Democratic and Republican parties have to offer, if the liberal reformers of the "Dump Nixon" movement look on the working class as a threat, then the workers of America have all the more reason to form an independent, labor party in 1972.



Southern textile mill

Labor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

any guarantee, to let the government have a free hand. Evidently they believed that the government would, by and large, act in the interest of business. The next episode

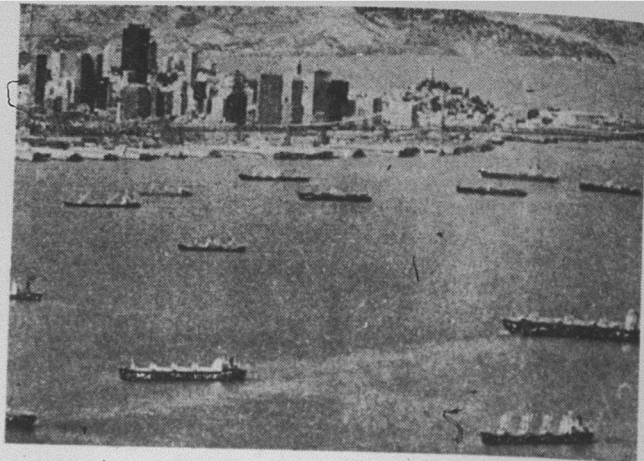
in the drama indicated that they were quite right. On September 16, in a message to Congress, Nixon gave labor the short end of the stick. Although he did not reveal his full plan for "Phase II," he did give hints. These shaped up to a plan which, one newspaper reporter wrote, was "somewhat closer to the recommendations of business and industry than of organized labor." Nixon rejected the idea of boards with advisory powers only, and called for controls "with teeth," that is, compulsory controls. He did not mention profit con-

trols or retroactivity. (Shortly after, his Secretary of Labor, James Hodgson, flew to Detroit to warn UAW President Woodcock that "Phase II" might mean UAW members would not get raises scheduled for November and December.) Nixon's message did not deal with the composition of wage-price boards, either. If they are created on a representational basis, they may well include a seat for "the public," rather than for government. This may look like a victory for labor. But the "public" representatives would probably act like the "neutral" members of arbitration boards — drawn from the

law profession or from the ranks of the independently wealthy, these "neutrals" in fact see eye-to-eye with business on most questions. Thus, the labor leaders' call for "public" representatives may play right into Nixon's hands. Nixon's rejection of the call for "voluntary" controls already indicates how ineffective are the labor leaders' preferred methods — trying to influence government through top-level meetings. Trying to influence the decisions of wage-price boards, through persuasion, would be equally ineffective. The method of struggle is the only effective one.

West Coast Dock Strike: What's at Stake

Robert Battle



Idled ships at anchor in San Francisco Bay

Since July 1, 15,000 Pacific Coast dock workers (longshoremen) have been on strike against employers in 24 ports, the first coast-wide strike since 1948. The strike signals a new era on the docks, reversing a 20-year policy of cooperation between the employers — the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) — and Harry Bridges, President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

For 10 years, PMA and ILWU rhetoric about "peace on the waterfront" has obscured a growing bitterness and frustration among longshoremen as working conditions have deteriorated. Due to the nearly total abandonment of traditional work rules in the 1960 and 1966 contracts, underemployment and speedup have become a way of life for many.

Safety conditions have been so seriously undermined that today the longshore industry is the most hazardous in the nation, with 69.9 fatalities or disabling injuries per million man-hours worked (as compared with 41.1 for underground miners, the second highest).

At the same time, worker productivity and employers' profits have skyrocketed. Conservative estimates put productivity increases from 1960 to 1970 at about 85 percent. But the real hourly wages of longshoremen have remained stable, just barely keeping up with inflation.

In addition, the huge increase in the use of containerized freight since 1966, combined with the irresponsibility of the top union leadership, has meant the stealing away of longshore work to inland container "stuffing and stripping" stations, where it is performed by Teamster (truck driver) union members or even by non-union workers.

Militant Traditions

In the face of these threats, longshoremen have begun to revive long-submerged traditions. Without strike funds, they have gone to other unions and to the communities for support. They have revived the tradition of mass picketing.

The leaders of various local unions have begun to actively oppose the Bridges leadership. Only a few years ago, Bridges and the PMA successfully played the one local against another; this year, the San Francisco local has side-stepped Bridges and sent delegates to other locals up and down the coast, attempting to come out with a unified rank and file position on all major issues. Thus the ranks have held Bridges back from compromise.

The ILWU was once among the most militant and democratic of American trade unions. In the 90-day Pacific Coast maritime strike of 1934, 14 workers were killed by scabs and police, and hundreds more wounded and arrested. Their demands for union recognition, the closed-shop hiring hall, coastwide bargaining, and the 30-hour week were won only after a three day general strike that brought San Francisco to a standstill.

The West Coast longshoremen's example helped to inspire other American workers to organize and strike in what became the greatest labor upsurge in American history, culminating in the sit-down strikes and the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

The degeneration from this militant stance to the ILWU-PMA collusion of the last 20 years was gradual. Bridges' undemocratic methods, as well as government harassment, played a part in the process.

The 1960 "Mechanization and Modernization" ("M&M") contract was the culmination of the ILWU's retreat. The PMA, other employers, and the government had created an atmosphere hostile to "featherbedding and restrictive practices" on the waterfront — namely, to those work rules and conditions which protected jobs, defeated the speed-up and defended the health and safety of the workers.

Bridges told the union members that because of these pressures, they would lose their conditions, their hiring hall, and their union, if "compromises" were not made. He persuaded them to give up job control in exchange for a fund into which the employers would pay \$5.5 million a year, insuring a guaranteed work week and a large cash payment for each man upon retirement.

After the contract was signed, longshoremen soon discovered that this work guarantee was illusory since there were so many "fine print" restrictions that few ever actually qualified for benefits when underemployed.

Up to this time, the employers had been prevented from introducing labor-saving machinery without maintaining old manning scales. Now these standards were abandoned. In order to provide for the likelihood of a reduced work force due to mechanization, a special category of expendable men was brought into the industry, on a second-class or "B-list" basis.

These new, mostly young and black men were denied job security, work guarantees, and union rights to vote, hold office, or speak at meetings. Just as important, they were *de facto* denied the right to grieve on the job, since they could be fired — deregistered — from the industry for any reason at any time.

The B-men became the kind of work

force totally missing from the waterfront since 1934 — docile, and capable of being speeded up on the job. B-men got all the hardest, dirtiest, most onerous work, worked mostly in the holds rather than on the docks, and bore the brunt of underemployment. These "second-class citizens" on the docks worked as much as 50 percent harder than full registered "A-men."

When, in 1964, some B-men attempted to speak up against these conditions, 82 of them were railroaded out of the industry and deregistered by the ILWU-PMA, protests from their local union notwithstanding. This and other repressive actions created an atmosphere of fear among the B-men, reinforcing their docility.

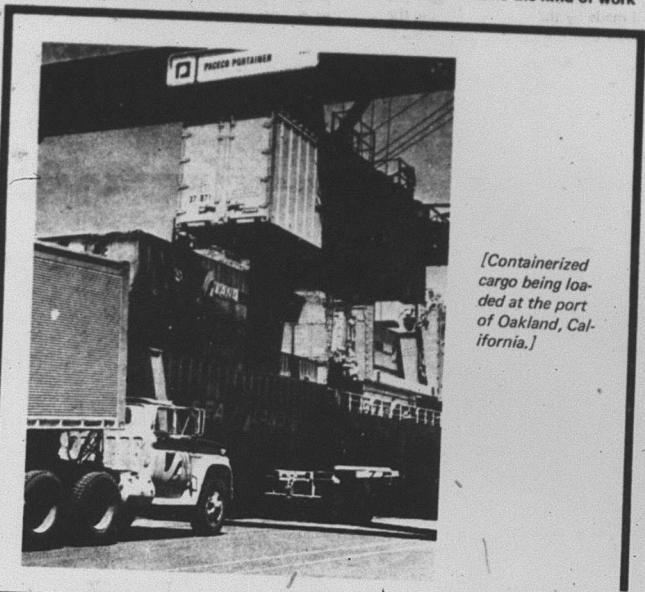
All of this undermined the union's real strength. The strategy of the PMA has been to divide the workers and play them off against each other: A-men against B-men, longshoremen against Teamsters.

Containerization

The container issue threatens the very life of the union, for if longshoremen are deprived of container stuffing and stripping, most of them can expect to face permanent unemployment in the industry, and will be forced to seek non-existent jobs elsewhere. Thus, the hardest question in the present strike is, who shall stuff and strip containers, work now performed mostly by members of the Teamsters Union. Longshoremen feel that this work belongs to them, since containers have replaced their old work.

Until roughly two years ago, the full effects of containerization were offset by the huge volume of Vietnam war cargoes. Until then, the ILWU passed militant-sounding anti-war resolutions, while paychecks depended on military work. With war trade declining and containerization accelerating, however, longshoremen found themselves working less and less. But the Teamsters have also been hard-hit by underemployment; men now working the container vans obviously are not willing to be laid off their jobs.

The ILWU, from top to bottom, has made this "jurisdictional" fight the main issue of the strike, with the Bridges leadership naturally trying to emphasize this to the exclusion of other equally important issues. Clearly, however, any "solution" that gives exclusive jurisdiction to either group of workers will only divide them and destroy the solidarity that is essential to the welfare of all wage earners in the transportation industry.



[Containerized cargo being loaded at the port of Oakland, California.]

Trucking lines, railroads, and shipping companies are united in wanting to weaken or dismantle the transportation unions. Both longshoremen and Teamsters must find an equitable and democratic way of sharing the work and reducing the hours while maintaining earnings.

A step in the right direction was made this year by the Seattle local of the ILWU when it put forward the demand for a 6 hour day at \$10 an hour. This is a practical answer to underemployment, which goes beyond Bridges' narrow "jurisdictional" approach.

Organize To Win

The situation today is remarkably similar to that faced by dock workers in 1934: speedup, unemployment, and a favored elite of "loyal workers" getting all the good jobs with the privilege of working full time. Added to this is the apparent determination of the employers to have done with the inconvenience of a strong and meaningful union organization.

In 1934 and again in 1948, the solidarity of all transportation workers combined to defeat the employers' offensives and to win better conditions for all workers. The present jurisdictional dispute is perhaps the single most powerful weapon in the employers' hands.

The morale of the strikers is high, despite the fact that negotiations are stalled and Nixon — whose wage-price freeze punctuated the strike's seventh week — has begun to intervene. There is real determination to win this strike — longshoremen are prepared to stay out for months, especially since military and passenger ships have not been struck, providing some work despite the strike.

However, an important prerequisite for victory — an organized, determined, and militant leadership with a worked-out program — is still missing. Most local leaders are opposing Bridges, but they have no real alternative program, having been driven into opposition not on their own initiative, but by the anger and actions of their members.

A return to real job control is constantly being implied by working longshoremen in job action and protest. It has yet to be raised programmatically. There have been only scattered demands for the abolition of compulsory arbitration, for example.

Serious reduction in hours has been raised, but is not being fought for in any meaningful way. The jurisdictional fight with the Teamsters cannot be won by anyone as it is presently posed — except ultimately by the employers.

The revival of militancy on the docks points to victory. Whether victory will be achieved remains to be seen. ■



New York Telephone strike rally in Queens

NEW YORK TELEPHONE: REBUILD THE STRIKE

As the strike of 40,000 New York Telephone Plant craftsmen enters its tenth week, the obstacles in the way of a successful contract fight are increasing, despite efforts being made to rebuild the strike.

N.Y. Tel has done everything possible to defeat the union. On numerous occasions, they have broken off bargaining on the pretext that "acts of violence and sabotage by the strikers have occurred." But they have never produced a single shred of evidence to prove their charges.

In fact, the only real violence during the strike has come from the company. At least six pickets have been run down by company-operated vehicles; some were seriously injured. Strikers have been attacked by scabs. The police have been arresting pickets and harassing union officials and stewards during rallies and on the lines.

The company has rejected every proposal made by the union, including the proposal that the July offer, rejected by the members in New York, be the basis on which to build a new offer. The Communications Workers of America (CWA) bargaining committee has asked for round-the-clock bargaining — the company has refused. When a demonstration was

called in front of the hotel in which the bargaining was supposed to be taking place, the company called off negotiations until it was over.

N.Y. Tel is also trying to demoralize the strikers through the use of scabs. The number of craftsmen scabbing has actually been cut in half, in part due to the rebuilding of the strike and the opening of the union's defense fund. But the company has played up the fact that it is importing out-of-state foremen as scabs.

There is a New York City ordinance prohibiting this practice. But the phone company, a well known defender of democratic rights, has decided to challenge the constitutionality of that law and has therefore been enlarging its force of imports.

They are also hiring new people off the street with the understanding that they are willing to cross picket lines. These new hires pose a real threat to people's jobs. *We must not return to work until the job of every striker is guaranteed.*

The response of CWA President Joe Bieme and the International to the scabs has been minimal. Bieme is trying to take the company to court for violating the law. But he has not called

out those locals which cover the areas from which the scabbing foremen are being sent.

Bieme, of course, would be embarrassed if Local 1101 and the 22 other New York Locals made real gains. A clearcut victory for the New York Locals would make him look bad for urging acceptance of a much inferior contract. Bieme has to appear to be with us while not taking any of the steps necessary to win the strike.

Nixon's wage freeze has given the company another club to hold over our heads. The company's official position is that we will not get any wage increase until November 13, and then what we get will be limited by the "Phase II" controls.

Moreover, as the Western Union settlement shows (see box), the CWA International has no intention of fighting the freeze. Bieme's proposal for the New York strike, after talking with Nixon, is that the new wages are to become effective after November 13 with retroactivity. But a White House spokesman has already rejected any such retroactivity.

The members of Local 1101 and the other locals have to fight to get the increase now. We must use every weapon at our disposal, including working with other unions to build demonstrations and work stoppages against the freeze.

Originally the position of Local 1101 and its President, Ricky Carnivale, was that we are leading the fight against the freeze by staying out on strike. But now there are signs that the local is falling back from that position and may be willing to settle for the same rotten deal that the Western Union local got.

This would be a disaster not just for 1101 members, but for the whole labor movement. A victory in the New York Telephone strike would be a first step toward defeating the general anti-working class offensive represented by Nixon's New Economic Policy. The Local must not retreat from the demand for an immediate raise.

Strike Committee

If the strike is to be won, the rank and file must take the initiative. In 1101, a rank and file strike committee has been formed. Dennis Serrette, Vice President and strike coordinator for the local, called a meeting attended by many who felt the need for a strike committee composed of all stewards, chief stewards, and rank-and-file workers who were active in the strike and interested in a real victory. The stewards' body under Ed Dempsey, another Vice President, then voted to set up a meeting to combine the two groups.

The first strike committee meeting, of over 100 people, took place after the rally at the Hotel where bargaining was going on. We planned for future rallies and the rebuilding of the strike.

Unfortunately, the next two meetings of the committee have gotten progressively smaller. Carnivale has done little to help the strike committee; in fact, he has weakened it by the poor publicity he has given to our rallies. Dempsey has decided to pull his machine out of the committee. Serrette feels he has the strike committee fully under his control, which is just the way he wants it.

The strike committee has also been weakened by the mistaken proposals of some of the radicals in the union. They made a motion that the focus of the committee be the calling of a mass march of unions, community groups, etc., against the wage freeze. Such a march should indeed be organized, but the immediate need is the building of a real strike committee which can force the local to stick to its position of opposition to the wage freeze. ■

[Bill Hastings is a shop steward in CWA Local 1101 and a member of the International Socialists.]

Western Union Settles

The 3½ month strike by CWA Local 1177 against the Western Union Company is over. The two-year settlement provides for only 23 percent, about what was offered before the strike.

The settlement provides for no wage raise during the 90-day freeze and says that any raise after the end of the freeze is subject to whatever controls may be imposed by Nixon.

This is exactly the type of settlement that Nixon wants and that the labor bureaucrats like CWA President Bieme have decided to give him. The CWA International played a large role in achieving this "victory"; no word has yet come from them about the loss of income since the last contract was signed, due to the rising cost of living.

The labor movement needs a few victories for the ranks, not for Nixon. ■



KHRUSHCHEV: Why No One Mourns

Chris Harman

Nikita Khrushchev's death this week has met with quite different assessments in the western press and in Russia itself. Western journalists have gone out of the way to stress what an important figure he was, with some quite lovable qualities. According to the [London] Times he had 'elements of greatness' and was 'bluff and jovial.'

Yet in Russia itself his death has been hardly noticed. Those who now rule have not thought him worthy of any large official tribute. Nor have the mass of ordinary people expressed much interest.

This can only be explained by clearing a way through all the mythology of the East and the West to see what Khrushchev really stood for. The story of his early rise to power was far from 'bluff and jovial.'

The Great Vozhd?

Khrushchev is perhaps most remembered for his open criticism of the methods of Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956.

Yet Khrushchev himself was one of the keenest employers of such methods. As Secretary of the Moscow region of the party in 1936 he praised Stalin repeatedly as the 'genius of humanity,' 'the great vozhd of all toiling people.'

When in January 1937 13 Old Bolsheviks, including well-known leaders of the 1917 revolution like Radek, Sokolnikov and Piatakov, were sentenced to either death or long prison sentences (from which none returned). Khrushchev declared:

"Before the workers of the whole world we approve this sentence... The Trotskyite clique was nothing but a gang of spies and mercenary murderers. The sentence passed on these Trotskyite murderers, diversionists and agents of fascists is a warning to all the enemies of the people."

Nor was this just talk. Khrushchev showed in practice that he meant every word of it, whether he believed it true or not. His real rise to eminence began when he was appointed first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party by Stalin.

This followed the sacking, and later execution, of his two predecessors in the job, the old Bolsheviks, Postyshev and Kosior, within a few months of each other.

But the party press in the Ukraine soon made it clear that the purge really began there in earnest 'after the Central Committee of the All Union Communist Party sent the unswerving Bolshevik and Stalinist, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, to the Ukraine.'

Within a year 70 per cent of the members of the Ukrainian Central Committee had been removed—an unknown number ending up in the death cell or the concentration camp.

In a speech before a hundred thousand people, Khrushchev glorified his work.

"This has been a distinctive year



as far as the crushing of the enemies of the people is concerned." He proclaimed: "Our work is holy. He whose hand will shake or falter half way—the person whose knees give way beneath h'm when he has to kill 10 or 100 enemies—that person exposes the revolution to danger."

Khrushchev's climb to power was over a pile of corpses. Such was the bloody past of a ruler so beloved of western statesmen.

Yet soon after Stalin's death, Khrushchev was denouncing his and Beria's crimes (not, of course, those of Khrushchev). The reason did not lie in any strong feelings of humanity in Khrushchev's heart, but in the enormous problems bequeathed by Stalin to his heirs.

Stalin had built up Russian heavy industry with his brutal methods. But in most other fields when he died things were as bad if not worse than when he took full power in 1929.

For instance, although the population had grown by 30 per cent, the total grain crop was hardly greater in 1953 than in 1916. And the total meat production was even less. The housing shortage was worse in 1951 than 30 years earlier.

Under a regime of fear, people did not feel like putting any effort into their work. Even within the privileged sectors of the ruling bureaucracy there was enormous resentment against Stalin's methods. This was still more widespread among the masses of ordinary people in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Khrushchev sought to improve the performance of the economy and to provide a firmer and more secure basis for his rule. He could not do so without carrying through certain reforms from above.

He set about making the middle layers of Russian society feel more secure by offering them more bureaucratic privileges and by reducing the threats of physical terror. For

the workers and collective farmers he offered marginal improvements in living standards.

In Eastern Europe he offered to the local Communist rulers an increased degree of autonomous power.

But the one thing he was not interested in changing was the monopoly of power held by those at the top of society. Russian workers were allowed no greater say in politics or in the running of the factories than they had been under Stalin.

Challenge From Below

Yet the very act of reforming the old organization of society encouraged demands for much greater change from below.

In East Germany in 1953 a general strike broke out which rapidly grew into an insurrection. In the depths of Siberia the giant slave labor camps like Vorkuta saw massive strikes by prisoners demanding freedom.

The summer of 1956 saw large scale riots in the Polish industrial city of Poznan. And finally, in October of that year, the people of Hungary rose in armed revolt against their local Stalinist rulers and Russian domination.

Exactly the same sort of organs of revolutionary power that had been built by Russia's workers in 1917, workers' councils, now appeared in the factories of Budapest.

Khrushchev showed what a good disciple he was of Stalin. 20,000 people were killed in putting down the Hungarian uprising and tens of thousands more were deported to Siberia.

The dangers of talk of reforms had been illustrated to Russia's rulers. From this point on they were to be more careful in their behavior.

But without thoroughgoing reforms they could not begin to solve their basic problems. The USSR's rate of economic growth fell from an average of 9.2 per cent in 1955-60 to 6.3 per cent in 1960-65. Khrushchev prepared elaborate schemes to try and overcome

this deficiency.

None, however, involved any real shift away from the concentration of power in the hands of those at the top of Russia's bureaucratic pyramid. None was able to deal with the source of the problems.

Internationally the old monolithic Communist bloc disintegrated. China, Albania and Rumania began to openly argue with Russian policies.

The rest of Russia's top leaders became disenchanted with Khrushchev's methods. The changes he had introduced, full of menace to their position, had done nothing to overcome their long-term problems.

The Russian workers also became disillusioned. Khrushchev had promised them that 'within five years' the food shortages and bad housing would be overcome. Yet, when he fell, real wages in Russia still averaged less than \$25 a week.

It was not surprising that no one at all inside the Soviet Union was prepared to put up a fight for him when he was kicked out or even to mourn him when he died.

Khrushchev rose to power by aiding Stalin to establish the rule of a new bureaucratic state capitalist class in Russia. When Stalin died he tried to reform the rule of this class in order to safeguard its long-term future.

But thorough-going workers' revolution alone can overcome the problems that plague Russian society. Khrushchev and his successors feared that more than anything else. That is why no one mourns Khrushchev and no one will mourn Brezhnev and Kosygin when their turn comes.

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Bloodbath in Guatemala

Juan McIver

Few people in the United States are aware of the ferocious political repression going on in Guatemala, the small Central American republic. The present dictatorship of President Carlos Arana, "elected" in 1970 (against no left opposition), has instituted a bloodbath which has eliminated thousands of trade union leaders, workers, university teachers, students, peasants — and anyone who even mildly opposed Arana's servility to the United States and the native landed oligarchy of Guatemala.

Guatemala is a country with a population of five million. Its main products are bananas, coffee, cotton, maize, and other agricultural goods. Huge American corporations such as United Fruit and Electric Bond and Share own the best land and the major communications networks.

Guatemala faces problems similar to those of its small Central American neighbors which for generations have suffered the direct interference of American companies and the US Marines, and an appalling backwardness and poverty upon which a degenerate and bloodthirsty ruling class thrive. The majority of the population lives off the land, and the cry for land reform is extremely vital to any mobilization of the peasantry.

Arevalo and Arbenz

The nationalist regimes of Arevalo and Arbenz (1945-1954) took various steps in the direction of agrarian reform. These included moves against the 22 landlord families that control 50 percent of the arable land, and an attempt to expropriate unused United Fruit land (with full compensation).

Arevalo and Arbenz had the support

of the peasantry and the agricultural workers in the banana plantations. But they feared any independent initiative on the part of the masses, who were never given the chance to arm themselves and create their own leaderships and independent mass organizations.

The nationalist regimes drew their main support from the army. In the last analysis, the army decided to throw its lot with the landlords and its main arms supplier, the US government. In 1954, Arbenz was overthrown by a coup organized by the CIA.

Since then, each regime has been more murderous than the last. In 1962, guerrilla movements led by nationalist army officers such as Yon Sosa and Turcios-Lima began to pose a serious threat to Guatemalan "law and order." The government launched a campaign of terror in the countryside.

Butcher of Zapaca

Arana, the present dictator, gained the nickname "The Butcher of Zapaca" for his massacres in that rural region in 1968. The CIA and the US government helped the Guatemalan army to exterminate thousands of peasants by napalming them and destroying their crops in 1966-68.

The guerrillas were incapable of developing a secure base in the countryside, essentially because of the impossibility of finding a "sanctuary" in the neighboring countries (Mexican and Honduran border patrols killed them or returned them to sure death) and the utter reign of terror against the villages launched by the government in what is relatively a small territory.

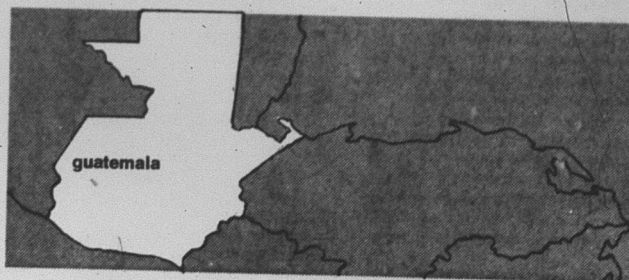
Internal squabbles of the guerrillas (the "MR-13" and the Fuerzas Armadas

Revolucionarias, or FAR) also led to demoralization. From Cuba, Castro attacked the MR-13 leadership publicly in 1966 for "Trotskyism," and finally helped drive it to the arms of the FAR, which collaborated closely with the underground Communist Party in the cities.

In the cities, the CP engaged in electoral deals, supporting "lesser evil" candidates for President (such as future butcher Mendez Montenegro). Turcios Lima, leader of the FAR, died in an auto crash, and Yon Sosa was finally killed by Mexican border patrols in 1970.

But the guerrillas still exist and the fierce repression in the countryside has driven many of them back to the cities. Composed in many cases by unemployed intellectuals and ex-students, they have executed two foreign ambassadors and a few military attaches of the American Embassy.

The abject poverty of Guatemala, where three-quarters of the population live on 25 US cents a day (workers are paid 60 US cents a day in Guatemala City, the capital), precludes the development of stable, class-conscious working



class organizations. Half the population is out of work, and the annual population growth is 3.1 percent.

This lack of working class and peasant political organization has allowed Arana to slaughter all political opponents with the most vicious impunity. To insure a more "lawful" regime, he has beefed up the armed forces. Between 1945 and 1966, the US Military Assistance Program gave Guatemala \$15 million; recently, US AID made a \$23 million loan.

Chichicastenango, an Indian village of around 47,000 people, has no doctor — but keeps a local police force of eight cops! It's the same in all villages in Guatemala. The army swallows up nearly 50 percent of the national budget. Arana's presidential income itself is \$48,000 a month!

The extermination of all the oppositionists began around seven months ago, when Arana declared a state of siege in Guatemala. Arch-reactionary clandestine organizations, such as "Ojo por Ojo" — "Eye for Eye" — supported by the Catholic Church hierarchy, the CIA, and the army, have systematically tortured, castrated, mutilated and killed hundreds of people, including leaders of liberal parties and a Miss Guatemala, a beauty contest winner who was vaguely connected with the guerrillas.

Between November 1970 and February 1971, 600 people were murdered by these reactionary thugs. The army admitted that in November, 70 persons were being arrested daily; in some rural areas, 10 peasants were killed a day. Bodies are tortured and thrown into the Pacific from planes. They are washed ashore, torn by sharks and horribly mutilated.

In January, 2,000 people were in jail. Many others simply disappeared. Even to inquire about lost relatives is dangerous.

The killings will continue in Guatemala. Arana's regime hasn't solved any of Guatemala's economic problems, and his regime resorted to enforcing "law and order" to divert the attention from its utter bankruptcy. But in so doing, it has immersed the country in the most repulsive barbarism and anarchy that can be imagined.

The Guatemalan bourgeoisie itself has felt Arana's wrath. A future return to a "democratic" regime might find Guatemala with a completely terrified and demoralized ruling class, many of its own political leaders having been liquidated mercilessly.

What is happening in Guatemala demonstrates the extent of the brutality that is used by American imperialism and its local servants when faced with social unrest. In Central America, all the regimes are similarly murderous; at present the Guatemalan army leads the reactionary offensive which has been taken up gleefully by the Mexican gangster Echevarria — all to keep the profits rolling for the American corporations and their international partners. ■

[Juan McIver is a Latin American revolutionary socialist living in England.]

NORTHERN IRELAND

Third of Three Parts

SOCIALISM AND IRISH LIBERATION

Robert St. Cyr



[In our previous issue, the second installment of Robert St. Cyr's series on the crisis in Northern Ireland discussed the Irish Republican Army and the Irish left. In this third and last article, St. Cyr discusses the splits in the IRA and the socialist alternative for Irish liberation.]

The Left Republicans of the 1930's were divided over priorities. The majority — supported by the Communist Party — rallied around the slogan, "National Liberation First, Then the Social Revolution" — the idea being not to frighten off the "progressive national bourgeoisie" (President DeValera's voters) until the first task had been accomplished.

The minority counterposed the slogan, "Up the Workers' Republic." They held that Irish capitalism was too weak to establish an independent national economy and that only in the course of a working class revolution with socialist goals could the unity and independence of Ireland be achieved.

1. Two Strategies

It is this latter perspective which, more than ever, is valid for Ireland today. It would be so even if Ireland remained no more industrialized than in the '30's, but this is not the case. The traditionally industrial North has suffered a decline in industrial jobs, but in recent years the South has undergone significant industrialization.

Ten years ago, industrial exports were worth 40 million pounds (then worth \$112 million) — last year, over 200 million pounds, or nearly \$500 million. As a result, the number of industrial workers in the South has now exceeded those in the North.

As Britain's relative position in world capitalism has declined, her interest in the weak but expanding Irish economy has increased. The Irish Republic alone is Britain's third-ranking trade partner, up from ninth place ten years ago.

This goes a long way in explaining Britain's concern for "law and order" and reform in the North. They fear the spread of anti-British insurrection to the South. In one sense, it is precisely this fear which must become a reality if a progressive way out of Ireland's crisis is to be found. A united Irish workers' movement — Protestant and Catholic, North and South — is a prerequisite to a solution.

But this movement cannot be built

on the basis of Irish nationalism alone. To both Protestants and Catholics, nationalism is more or less equivalent to Catholic rule. Nationalism alone is incapable of uniting the Irish working class.

Any approach which accepts the existing divisions in the working class and tries to develop a strategy within that framework is doomed to defeat. The specter in Northern Ireland is that of both sides of the barricades being manned by the rival sections of the Ulster workers and their children. Tragically, both wings of the Irish Republican Army seem to share this kind of approach.

2. Provisionals

The right-wing Republicans, the "Provisionals," are convinced that terror will be more effective than any sort of political program in achieving the unification of Ireland — by driving out or subduing Protestants. The left-wing Republicans, the "Officials," who are anti-imperialist rather than anti-British, socialists as well as nationalists, and anti-clerical secularists even when believing Catholics, find themselves in an ambiguous position.

They have accepted the inevitability of armed struggle to end Ireland's partition. But when confronted with the prelude to an insurrection, in August 1969, they pursued a policy of armed defense, but much to their Right's disgust, they did not launch the promised "war of national liberation."

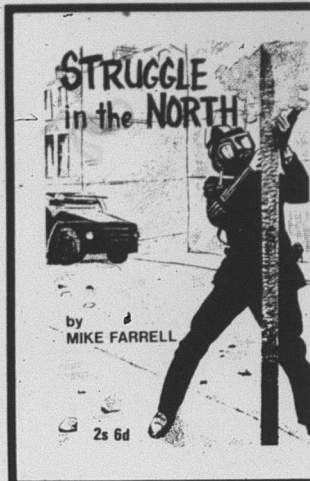
Why not? asks the Right. And its

leadership provides the answer: cowardice, ill-preparedness, and too much fooling around with "foreign" socialist ideas. Ill-preparedness, agrees the Left, or "Official," leadership — not only in the military sense, but more fundamentally, in a political sense. The "Official" leadership recognized that the August outbreaks were not backed up by a population really prepared for a sustained liberation struggle.

More importantly; perhaps the entire Republican movement saw that "revolution" and British occupation in the North did not revolutionize public opinion in the South. And surely, all factions agree that the struggle cannot be completed without the mobilization of a sizeable section of the Southern population.

The left wing has learned something from the failure of the IRA bombing campaign in the North (1956-1962). They got little support from the Northern Catholics and less in the South. The Dublin government was able to intern all identifiable IRA men without suffering at the polls. (The only thing which some of the Right leaders seem to have learned from this tragic period is that they should be on closer terms with the Dublin regime!)

But the "Official" leadership still seems to be committed to the majority Left position of the 1930's — "Liberation first, Socialism after." They have attacked the People's Democracy and the Trotskyist groups for upholding the primacy of the Workers' Republic slogan (although there is a small "left tendency" within the "Official" ranks which shares this orientation).



STRUGGLE IN THE NORTH

by Mike Farrell

This new pamphlet, published by the British International Socialists, is an analysis of the fight for freedom and socialism in Northern Ireland, by a leader of the militant People's Democracy, who has been imprisoned and tortured by the Faulkner regime.

Farrell traces the connection between religious intolerance in Northern Ireland and the interests of the landlord and capitalist classes. He outlines the growth of the civil rights movement, the Protestant

3. Politics and Terror

The formal split between these two wings of the IRA took place at the annual convention of Sinn Fein (the political wing of the IRA) in early 1970. The "last straw" (actually an excuse) was the question of attendance at parliaments. The leadership proposed that the traditional abstentionist position be altered to allow for attendance of elected candidates at the leadership's discretion.

The minority, which seceded from the convention and formed the "Provisional Army Council," called this a blatant declaration of treason. The "Officials" defended their position (although it won a majority, it failed of adoption, because the Constitution required a two-thirds majority) on the ground that it represented a rejection of the old apolitical, a-social Republicanism and an attempt to come to grips with the everyday political and economic concerns of Irish people.

This, of course, is just what the Right leadership fears — diversion from the sacred calling into "politics." The phony aspect of this issue is that abstentionists and anti-abstentionists subsequently lined up with both factions; some are abstainers for left-wing, anti-parliamentary reasons, others out of blind legitimism.

Due to the frustrating situation in the North, exacerbated by the long months of British occupation in the Catholic slums — and most recently by the Faulkner government's crackdown — the "Provos" have won far more support there than have the "Officials." Parochial loyalties

backlash, and the emergence of radical wings in the struggle.

Farrell argues that neither limited attempts to patch up the *status quo* nor pure-and-simple Irish nationalism offers any solution to the present crisis. He calls for a "socialist movement fighting the immediate battles of workers...but all the time showing that the ultimate solution is a Socialist Workers' Republic."

Available from:

I.S. Book Service, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Mi., 48203.

and suspicion of betrayal from Dublin are deeply embedded in the Ulster Catholic community.

In the South, on the other hand, the multi-issue orientation of the "Officials" seems to have paid off. They have found a gold mine in leading the struggle against entry into the Common Market.

The terms of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade agreement of 1965 have been devastating to Irish-owned small capital, and obviously to workers employed in such industries as well. Economic integration into Europe could only be worse.

In addition, the European Economic Community will harm Irish fishing and the whole rural population, except for the largest farmers. Rightist Republicans can be expected to support the anti-EEC campaign out of traditional isolationism.

Ever since the two wings of the IRA split apart, there have been violent confrontations between them, particularly in Belfast. The usual aggressors have been the "Provos," often attempting to seize arms from their former comrades. This year, such incidents have resulted in a few deaths.

The "Official" publications have bent over backwards in gestures of conciliation and attempts at compromise. Perhaps, in the desperate circumstances of the North, they can do nothing else.

4. Workers' Republic

The new Socialist Labour Alliance (see *Workers' Power* no. 36) may offer a chance for the People's Democracy and its allies to overcome the backward drift toward the ghetto mentality which has afflicted too many Ulster activists under the strain of the occupation.

The "set-back" in world capitalism, which has particularly afflicted British workers, has its direct consequences in Ireland. Northern Irish unemployment is around seven percent, and the expansion of Southern industry has been sharply reversed, with unemployment at six percent. If the Workers' Republic is ever to be more than a nice thought, socialists must now link up directly with the immediate needs of the workers, and carry them further toward a class-wide and class-conscious movement.

This development has better prospects in the South, with its new proletariat — with the highest industrial strike rate in the world — and its religious-cultural homogeneity. As a Southern workers' movement develops, however, Northern workers — including their Protestant majority — can be expected to take serious note, since they are suffering through the same economic assaults.

The Left IRA sympathizes with this approach, but for them it is only one among several strategies to build the National Liberation Movement. While their anti-Common Market strategy is important and seems likely of success in the short run, it must ultimately water down the workers' demands in order to satisfy the Irish small capital "ally." This sort of "socialism" hidden behind the demands of traditional nationalism can win Protestant workers neither on class, nor, obviously, on communal grounds.

There are but two roads to Irish reunification. One is favored by international capital, the various "federal plans" for the integration of all Ireland back into the United Kingdom. This, Republican and non-Republican socialists reject. The other way is via the struggle for the Workers' Republic. ■

Multi-National Companies And the Unions

Michael Stewart

For many years now the tendency toward greater monopolization in capitalism has been spreading beyond national boundaries, giving rise to the "multinational" corporation. If one were to buy an American car, the Pinto, for example, you would have a car that was partly built in Britain and Germany.

It is not only parts that are involved; sometimes entire products have been transferred to branches of companies in other countries. The Dodge Colt is made in Japan, for example.

Given this situation, where a corporation can transfer production to plants throughout the world, greater international cooperation among unions is necessary if an effective struggle is to be waged. It is encouraging to see that the official labor movement is beginning to take some first, hesitant steps in that direction.

During the recent Ford strike in Great Britain, Henry Ford II was not the only American to pay a call. Leonard Woodcock, President of the United Auto Workers, was also there, to offer at least the verbal support of his union.

Last month, Michelin Rubber workers formed a Permanent World Michelin Council in Geneva to coordinate their struggle against the Michelin tire and rubber company. This council represents 80 percent of all Michelin workers, from the US, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Canada, Britain, France, and many others.

One of the major activities of this new Council will be to unionize the two new million-dollar plants Michelin has just opened in Nova Scotia. Immediate plans don't call for an international strike against the company, but do call for the barring of overtime work in all countries until Michelin grants unionization.

Other proposals also called for a boycott of Michelin products by friendly (especially Social-Democratic) governments in Western Europe.

No Protectionism

However, if such initial steps are to be successful in leading to greater international cooperation, they must be based on a truly internationalist perspective, fighting for programs which are in the interest of all workers everywhere, not just the narrow interests of workers in a particular country. It is unfortunate that the AFL-CIO has an extremely contradictory position on this question.

While attempting to move toward greater international cooperation, the AFL-CIO is also pushing for legislation to protect American industries,

by such means as protective tariffs, import quotas, etc. Such programs are based on a narrow, short-range view of the needs of American workers.

These are essentially defensive measures to try to save jobs for American workers. They cannot provide any basis for cooperation with workers in other countries; indeed, they can only destroy such attempts. For those workers, too, have jobs to worry about.

If the flight of American capital abroad and the resultant loss in jobs are to be fought, this must be done by attacking the cause — the lower wages most workers receive in other countries. One of the reasons believed to be behind Michelin's opening of plants in Nova Scotia is an effort to transfer work from Italy in hopes of finding a more docile work force. Thus, the Michelin Council's approach of fighting to unionize workers at the Nova Scotia plants is the correct way to begin a fight against such maneuvers.

Similarly, the AFL-CIO should throw its support to workers' struggles for higher wages in other countries, and to organizing drives in other countries. If this is done, and the standard of living of the working class in other countries rises, then one of the main reasons for the multinational corporations' moving production from one country to another — the prospect of lower wage scales or working class docility — is removed. Similarly, the current policy of the AFL-CIO, to subordinate its activities

to the foreign policy requirements of the US government, is not only detrimental to the immediate interests of American workers, but also destructive of international cooperation. Such subordination is in fact support for the aims of American capitalism and the very multinational corporations they wish to struggle against.

The acceptance of the cold-war ideology of American foreign policy, and the resulting refusal to work with Communist-dominated unions in Western Europe, can only sabotage any cooperation. While we oppose the Communist leadership of those unions, no real international cooperation can be built which excludes the significant sections of the working class which they lead. Bolder, more militant programs, rather than exclusionism based on the discredited politics of the cold war, will show the rank and file that these leaders — like their pro-American opposite numbers — do not have solutions to the workers' problems.

Common Enemy

The growth of the multinational corporation has led to an awareness that workers throughout the world are fighting a common enemy. The programs and organizational forms necessary to fight this enemy must still be developed. It is to be hoped that the recent steps in this direction will continue and lead to a truly internationalist perspective and international cooperation. ■



Ford factory in England



Dodge Colts arriving from Japan

Repression Roundup



Gay Crackdown

In several cities across the country, this summer has brought a crackdown on local gay communities. The most dramatic incidents have taken place in Bridgeport, Connecticut.

On July 4, nine gay men and women having a picnic in a Bridgeport park were attacked by over 50 toughs. When one woman ran for help to a nearby traffic policeman, with blood streaming down her face, she was told to keep moving or be arrested.

Plans were announced for a protest demonstration on July 30. In the next several weeks, there were several incidents of harassment near the offices of Kalos, the local gay organization. Nevertheless the demonstration took place as scheduled, with over 300 people attending.

The demonstrators demanded removal of the Bridgeport police chief and of the police officers who had failed to help the victims of the attack.

In Detroit, six separate incidents of police harassment were reported to the local "Gay Switchboard" during the second week of September. It is prob-

able that many more incidents occurred without being reported, since most gay people, fearful of losing their jobs by being exposed as homosexual, handle such matters as quietly as possible.

The incidents in Detroit included police entrapment and arrests on charges punishable by sentences of up to five years.

Two victims were entrapped by police — one, a steel worker, outside a popular gay bar, and the other, a graduate student, in a downtown department store, Hudson's. In both cases, the plain-



clothes Vice Squad policeman made sexual advances. One of the victims refused the advances and tried to leave, but was arrested anyway. In both cases, the police charges the victims with "accosting and soliciting for an immoral act."

When one victim protested abuse by the police, the police stopped their car and beat him. He was then kept handcuffed to a hospital bed until morning without medical treatment.

Another Detroit victim, who does a female impersonation floor show in a popular gay bar, was arrested after finishing his act, as a "male in female attire." Two more were arrested in a parked car and charged with "gross indecency," a felony punishable by 5 years in prison.

At least three of the victims announced plans to fight through jury trials. On September 21, the Detroit Gay Activists, a local gay organization, held a small but spirited picket line outside the Hall of Justice. Equally spirited were seven members of the Vice Squad, who watched in parked cars, calling out jeering remarks, and finally drove off calling, "See you in Hudson's."

The gay response to these incidents — anger and defiance — is typical of the new spirit of gay militancy. The protests came at a time when many of the Gay Liberation organizations established during the last two years have dissolved or become

inactive — in some cases because of a failure to agree on programs of action, in other cases because they never really were action organizations, but rather social organizations.

The slack has been taken up by groups like New York City's Gay Activist Alliance. The GAA and other groups like it are more conservative in philosophy than the Gay Liberation groups: in place of a revolutionary philosophy, they reject ties with non-gay movements. On the other hand, they have been far more active than many of the former Gay Liberation groups.

It was New York GAA, earlier this summer, which mobilized over 1,000 people on 24-hour notice to protest police harassment of a gay bar, as well as the Mafia ownership of the bar.

Some "Gay Activist" groups avoid ties with other movements simply for tactical reasons — in order to put their energies into building the struggle for gay rights. In other cases, such ties are avoided on principle — a principle which denies any connection between the struggle for homosexual rights and other causes.

To deny this is false. This has already been shown by a police crackdown in New York against prostitutes, based on the same City Ordinance used against homosexuals. Several women's liberation organizations and other left groups demonstrated against this police harassment, but GAA was not among them.

The gay movement must, at this point, place its emphasis on the struggle for gay rights, and on building a mass movement to carry out this struggle. But the refusal to join with other movements as a matter of principle must be abandoned — first, because it is a denial of common interests which are real, and second, because a strong movement for gay rights will require alliances, on the basis of mutual respect, with other movements. ■

Attica

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

system of peonage incredible to behold in this century.

Like the miners before them, the Attica prisoners were united objectively in their common oppression, and united subjectively in their determination to end it. Differences in race, language, and culture were subordinated in revolt. What to outsiders was conveniently perceived as race war, became to insiders, class war.

Prisoners lack the one right available to even the most oppressed workers: the right to withhold labor. Prison labor is useless labor, and prison industry is generally restricted to a small proportion of the inmates. Thus there is no bargaining power inherent in a prisoners' strike.

Usually, prisoners are simply kept locked up in their cells for two or three weeks following a work stoppage. Prison riots end the same way. This leaves prisoners with only one bargaining tool — lives.

Their own lives are as useless as their labor to the ruling class. Every Attica rebel knew this, and so they took hos-

tages whose lives, they hoped, would prove more valuable than their own.

By the accounts of survivors, the hostages were treated well. This is surprising since historically, oppressors rarely fare well in the hands of their captors. Eugene V. Debs, America's greatest and most humanistic socialist, said to the miners fighting John D. Rockefeller's army, "You should have no more compunction in killing them than if they were so many mad dogs or rattlesnakes...."

An Attica prisoner said of their hostages, "They're sleeping on mattresses, but I ain't sleeping on no mattress. They treat us like animals, [but] we take care of them." The Attica prisoners' treatment of their hostages is a testimony to their solidarity and discipline.

But when the prisoners calculated that the lives of the hostages would prove more valuable than their own, they calculated wrong. The hostages, who themselves repeated the prisoners' demands for negotiations, weighed too little in the final fixing of the scales between rebellion and repression. In fatal irony, nine of them died at the hands of Nelson Rockefeller's army, because they wore prisoners' clothes.

The Attica rebellion and massacre took place in the most isolated outpost imaginable. But its importance is enormous, not only for prisons but for the entire society. American capitalism is in its worst shape in decades. Not only

is unemployment high and pay low, but for two years now we have lived under the threat of a depression worse than that of the Thirties.

The first victims of capitalism's impending crises are always prisoners: their numbers grow as the economic system begins to fail. At the same time, prison conditions grow worse; antagonisms in the outside world are exaggerated and magnified behind prison walls.

Prisons are America's Northern Ireland. They are also a signal to what the nation's future may hold. The specter of civil war is raised, with the first sides

already chosen: on the one hand, representatives of the most oppressed people in the American working class; on the other, representatives of the most splendid sections of the American ruling class.

Who will win in the long run depends on how the war spreads. The ruling class, today as always, has its Rockefeller armies. It needs little else, but its position is made even more secure so long as the struggle between it and its challengers can be characterized as race war. The working class, now most of all its prisoner elements, needs its allies, solid, undivided legions of them. ■



Cellblock D after the assault

FUND DRIVE BEGINS; DETROIT HITS 100%

The International Socialists Fund Drive has raised \$1,999, or 20 percent of its goal, at the end of its first week. The drive began September 15, with the goal of raising \$10,000 by November 20.

The Detroit Branch is far in the lead, with over 100 percent of its quota in, and more pledged. New York follows with 31 percent. Two small branches, Lansing (Michigan) and Portland, have already fulfilled their quotas.

To be on schedule, a branch should have 10 percent of its quota in by the end of the first week. Other branches running ahead of schedule are San Francisco and the National Office, with 22 and 18 percent respectively.

Although the excellent efforts of these branches have put us 10 percent ahead of schedule, other branches are far behind. Berkeley and New Jersey have reached 5 percent each. From some others, we have so far had no response. If the drive is to remain on schedule next week, these branches, as well as the Members-at-Large, will have to move quickly.

Most of the branches that have been the most successful so far have something in common: their plans for the drive rely heavily on membership pledges, which they have secured promptly. In both Detroit and New York, the pledges exceed the quotas, although both branches plan supplementary fund raising projects.

On the other hand, San Francisco and Berkeley plan to raise their quotas mainly through projects, and this approach has so far put San Francisco ahead



of schedule. They did it by participation in a neighborhood fair, at which they sold wine, apple juice, baked goods, barbecued chicken, melon, and revolutionary buttons. Films, concerts, and poetry readings are planned for the future.

Berkeley has started a program of selling the services of its members, in areas such as gardening, music lessons, TV repair and furniture refinishing. They also plan several sales: plants, holiday gifts and cards, and participation in a flea market. Finally, they are holding two series of classes, in baking and modern dance.

Several branches plan to show films

or to hold rummage sales.

Whatever method your branch decides on, plan it so that the drive runs steadily: don't lag behind for several weeks planning to make it up at the end.

We've started well, but we hope to see a more even return from the branches in the future. This week's success has been the work of fewer than half the branches.

Finally, we again appeal to the readers of *Workers' Power* to help the fund drive succeed. If you've liked our paper, and the work we do, now is the time to help us by donating to the fund drive.

The money we raise will go toward expansion, in the form of badly needed equipment for *Workers' Power*, increased regional travelling and speaking tours, publication of a theoretical journal and production of pamphlets.

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

\$\$\$

BRANCH	Quota	Amount Raised	% of Quota
Berkeley	\$2,400	\$125	5
Champaign	75	0	0
Chapel Hill	60	0	0
Chicago	600	0	0
Cincinnati	30	0	0
Cleveland	30	0	0
Davis	60	0	0
Detroit	1,000	1,035	104
Eureka	75	0	0
Lansing	30	30	100
Los Angeles	1,000	0	0
Madison	100	0	0
New Jersey	400	20	5
New York	1,500	472	31
Pittsburgh	45	0	0
Riverside	30	0	0
Portland	30	30	100
Rochester	30	0	0
San Diego	200	0	0
San Francisco	400	87	22
Nat'l Office	1,120	200	18
M.A.L.'s	185	0	0
TOTAL	10,000	1,999	20

support your local



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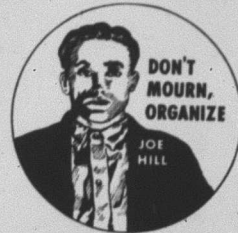
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