

Workers' Power

No. 70

Jan. 19- Feb. 1, 1973

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Terror Bombing Is U.S. "Peace" Message

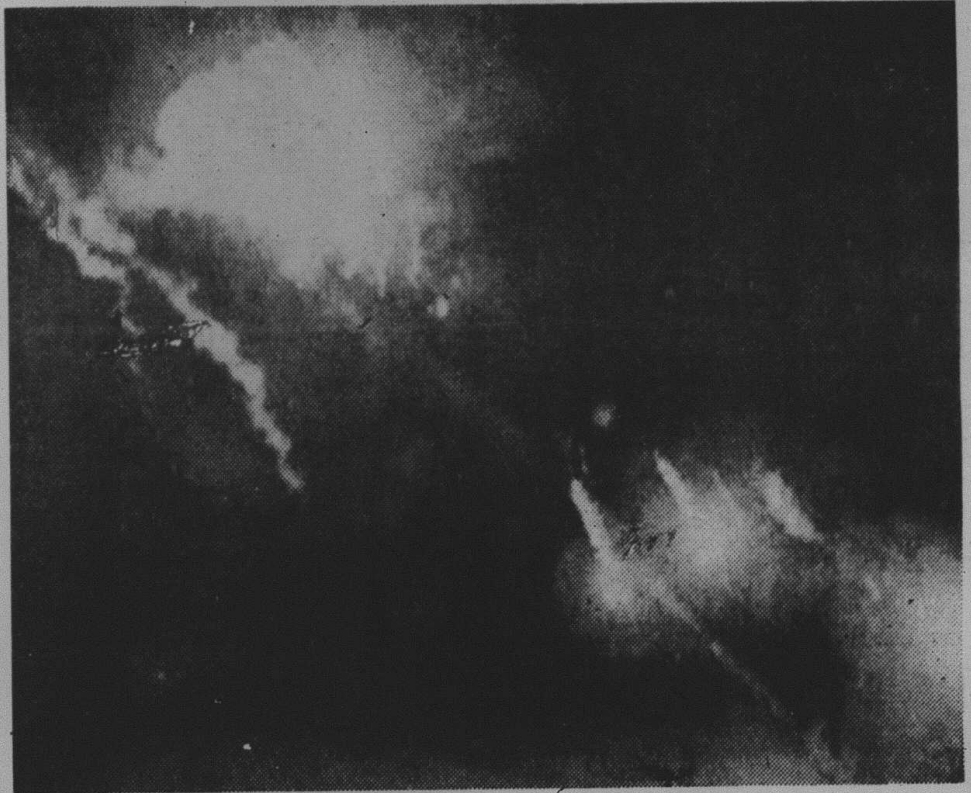
EDITORIAL

As we go to press, the shattered hopes of millions of Americans for a "rapid peace settlement" in Vietnam are being revived - again. Nixon's travelling secretary Henry Kissinger has returned to Paris "to make one more major effort" to negotiate a cease-fire.

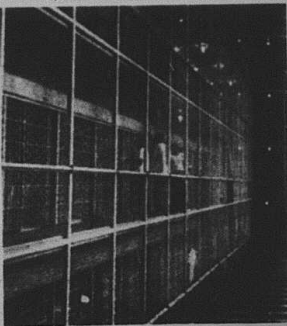
Before Christmas, after refusing to sign the agreement that the North Vietnamese announced had been reached last October, the United States launched the most savage bombing attacks of the war. Nixon's policy was a conscious and deliberate one: to "retaliate" for North Vietnam's refusal to make further concessions by completely destroying the country and its people.

Civilian centers of Hanoi and Haiphong were deliberately and repeatedly bombed. Residential areas were completely wiped out, killing hundreds of civilians and wounding or crippling thousands more with every new attack. Over a dozen gigantic B-52 planes

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ATTICA: NEW FRAMEUPS!



Indictments issued by a special grand jury on charges stemming from the Attica prison rebellion of September 1971 have now been opened in New York State Supreme Court.

Sixty present or former Attica prisoners have been indicted. The special sealed indictments are being issued following a commission report which found that the brutal slaughter of twenty-nine prisoners and the death of eleven guards was the work of the National Guard.

The Guard entered the prison on the fifth day of the seizure of Attica by the inmates and ruthlessly opened fire on unarmed prisoners in the yard.

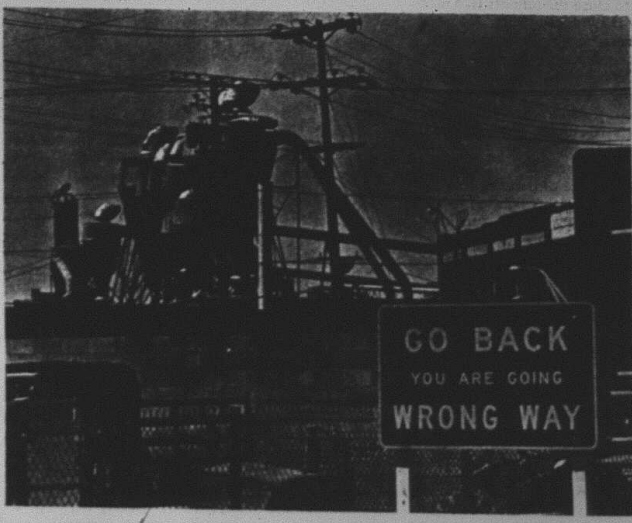
An anonymous eyewitness account (from the Black Scholar, Oct., 1972) describes the scene that occurred that day:

"I've never heard such deafening, sustained and concentrated gunfire as that which the troopers and 'correction' officers poured into the defenseless men huddled in the D-Block

yard. What a fantastic assortment of man-killing weaponry! . . . The real miracle was that so many men survived. Even now we still do not know the number of men who were seriously injured and crippled for life. How many men were driven insane by the carnage and subsequent brutality? Perhaps we will never find out!"

Charges include kidnapping, attempted arson, unlawful imprisonment and "prison contraband"

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INDUSTRIAL ECOLOGY

It was encouraging to read Comrade Walter Daum's article, "Eco-Profits" in *Workers' Power* No. 68, considering the general absence of response to the pollution crisis in the press.

However, parts of the article were inaccurate and confusing, and the pro-

gram put forward seemed very naive. First, Daum writes "some businesses are finding ways to make money out of the damage they do to the environment," as if this were entirely unexpected. However, if "by not cleaning up" is substituted for "out of" in the above sentence, one gets the standard Marxist analysis (this substitution leaves the meaning roughly the same).

The second paragraph tells what "Eco-Profits" is really about: "Three

methods are being used by business to cut the cost of pollution control." It is conceivable in some rare cases (like with recycling), that business will make more money after cleaning up (cutting the cost to a negative quantity).

I think this is the surprise Daum tried to convey, for if true in general, it would contradict socialist analysis.

Daum's description of the three methods (recycling, government subsidies, and plant shutdowns) is very informative and valuable, but I disagree with the principle, "no factory has to be closed."

Since production is for profit, not use, in this capitalist society, many factories churn out worthless and even harmful commodities.

Would Daum have the workers continue to produce bombs, tanks, dangerous toys, unhealthy food and chemicals, etc. full speed ahead?

I feel the key demands for reaching full employment should be "Convert the war economy to safe, useful production" and "30 hours work for 40 hours pay."

Daum diverts the reader's attention from the ecological damage caused by factories (hitting workers and poor who usually live nearest factories the hardest), by converting the issue to "rationalization vs. the workers."

I hope that under Daum's conception of a socialist society, the majority of workers affected by plant emissions, and not solely the workers in the emitting plant, will decide policy on emission standards.

Better for a few workers to be temporarily unemployed than to expose masses of men, women, and children to increased chances of serious respiratory diseases, cancer, etc.

David Moore

PRISON LETTER

Trusting my few words find all you comrades on the "front line" at your strongest point of the strug-

gle and in a continuously positive forward direction.

I am in receipt of your letter of December 29, 1972. I am also in receipt of the literature you have sent. All materials will be read well and digested to the fullest.

Your aid in helping the comrades of enlightenment in the concentration camps is profoundly appreciated. Definitely continue the literature coming and a subscription of your paper will be more-so appreciated.

We the comrades at Camp No. 2 of New Jersey are in a continuous struggle for freedom to the minimum prison which you are in (the streets).

I am a Black Man who is fighting for all oppressed people.

Third World Political Prisoner

HELP WANTED

I am incarcerated in the London Correctional Institution, London, Ohio and I'm writing to you in concern of an ad in your paper. My ad reads:

Have 6 months to the streets. I would like to write to people on the streets that are open minded to get my head together. Will answer all letters.

Darrell Robbins 129853
Box 69
London, Ohio 43140

[The International Socialists maintain a special fund to furnish free Workers' Power subscriptions to prisoners on request. We support the struggles of all prisoners to free themselves from the brutality and oppression of the capitalist penal system. Readers who wish to help us continue our efforts to reach prisoners can be assured that any donations they send for that purpose will be set aside and used to send literature inside the prison walls.]



"Give me some of whatever the bleeding hearts are boycotting."

Workers' Power 70

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HARLEM BOYCOTT ENDS; STRUGGLE MUST GO ON

On Friday, Dec. 8, leaders of the East Harlem Parents Council announced the end of their eleven-day boycott of District 4 schools, after winning a small partial victory in their fight for more funds to provide decent education.

The Board of Education, which has been claiming bankruptcy all year, somehow "found" an additional \$12 million for New York's 31 school districts. \$240,000 of that amount is going to District 4.

\$240,000 will barely make a dent in District 4's problems. Nevertheless, the boycott's ability to win some funds in the face of a national tide of budget cuts in education points to the strength of the parent-teacher coalition that carried out the school closings.

District 4 teachers almost unanimously honored the boycott. There were daily meetings of over 500 parents and teachers to discuss events and plan strategy.

While the parents (who initiated the boycott) were clearly in the leadership, teachers were active participants and much of the parent-teacher antagonisms and hostility that have built up in recent years began to break down.

This is significant. Pitted against each other, neither parents nor teachers could make significant headway against the steady deterioration of education in New York. Both groups have lost.

In the past sixteen months more than 8,000 teachers have been laid off, while remedial programs and other vital services have been cut back and eliminated.

The East Harlem parents understood that when teachers were fired class size increased, meaning worse education for their children. When remedial programs were cut back in ghetto schools, it again was their children who suffered most.

And so these Black and Puerto Rican parents took the first step, fighting for both their children's needs and those of the predominantly white teachers of District 4.

The parents demanded: reduced class sizes -- no more than 25 pupils per class; restoration of all teacher and supervisory positions lost because of budget cuts; remedial reading teachers and bilingual programs in every school in the district; restoration of pre-kindergarten programs, cut because of lack of funds; adequate mental health facilities and more medical services in each school; more school aides and educational assistants; employment of full-time security guards in the schools.

District 4 teachers understood that the parents were actually fighting to save their jobs, and joined in the fight. In honoring the boycott, they ignored United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker.

Shanker claimed to "sympathize" with the parents' demands, yet ordered teachers to cross the lines and report for work.

The UFT's inaction is no accident.

When the UFT negotiated our contract last summer it did not once make staff cuts an issue, despite the fact that all teachers knew they were coming.

The union leadership accepted the staff cuts. Shanker's non-support for the boycott is part and parcel of his consistent refusal to lead a struggle against the budget cuts.

East Harlem provided the UFT with a golden opportunity to rebuild city-wide parent-teacher relations that were shattered by the UFT's racist strike in 1968 against community control.

The partial victory of the District 4 boycott might have been a complete victory, had the UFT offered its unqualified support and helped spread the boycott city-wide.

After sitting out the District 4 action, Shanker recently announced that he is forming a "new coalition" to fight for funds for education.

This coalition, consisting of the UFT bureaucracy, "labor, civic, community, and parents groups," will lobby for a larger portion of New York's revenue-sharing money.

This strategy is bankrupt. Shanker has already made it plain that he will not go beyond court suits and lobbying-tactics. At best, he will form a paper coalition, with no rank and file base.

The program of demanding more from New York's fixed allotment of federal revenue-sharing funds is a losing strategy.

Welfare, medical, housing, transit -- every social service in the city will be battling each other for a share of this limited pool.

In this situation, more money for education can only be gotten at the expense of some other service vital to the lives of working people and poor people. A new strategy is needed, in New York and nationally.

Education and teacher unions are under attack in city after city, and

they are retreating. In Detroit, the teachers' union agreed to allow the city to close the schools two months early if funds ran short. No pay for teachers, no school for students.

A similar situation exists in Chicago. Attacks have been launched in Philadelphia and in Washington, D.C. The American Federation of Teachers reports 10 percent unemployment nationally among teachers, with average class size of over 40 in many areas.

An alliance of parents, teachers, and older students fighting for more funds for education can turn the tide, and East Harlem can point the way.

Faced with the united opposition of all those involved in education, boards of education must give ground as the Board of Education did in New York.

Real gains can be won, but only through struggles that refuse to accept the limitations imposed by the existing "budget."

One of the weaknesses of the East Harlem boycott was that there was no clear understanding of where such funds could be obtained.

The Board of Education was able to partially weaken the boycott by telling parents that they must settle for crumbs, since really adequate money isn't available.

In fact, the money does exist. Each year, New York (like other cities) pays hundreds of millions in interest on school bonds. This interest is paid almost entirely to large banks who own the bonds.

Education must come before the banks! Before any interest is paid on school bonds, the schools themselves must get enough money to permit decent education!

A second source of money should be the taxing of corporations. Education is mainly funded at present by property taxes, which hit hardest small home owners and apartment swellers (who get them tacked onto

their rents by landlords).

The educational system provides an educated work force free of charge to the corporations. It's time they paid.

Finally, since the fund shortage is national in scope, the federal government should provide more money. This can be done without raising taxes on working people -- by taking the billions thrown out on the war in Vietnam (and other "defense" spending) and channelling it into rebuilding our decaying cities.

There is one more lesson to be learned from East Harlem. Throughout the boycott, parents directed much of their anger at the community school board, claiming that the board didn't really represent them and that it was misusing funds. The anger of the East Harlem parents indicates that the local boards are losing their power to channel dissent, since at this point they are seen as little more than agents of the attack on education.

The boards are only intermediaries. They are given funds by the central board of education. Mostly, community board members are poverty officials and local politicians who do not represent the interest of parents or teachers.

A new method of control must be established. Both the appointed central board of education and the bureaucratic local community boards must yield to those who are directly involved in education -- parents, teachers and older students.

The movement we seek to build is a rank and file movement of parents, teachers, and older students, fighting for adequate funds and democratic control of the schools to insure decent education. East Harlem can point the way. ■

[Jim Gregory is a NYC teacher and a member of the UFT, Local 2 of the AFT, AFL-CIO.]





Editorial

Phase III

Nixon's Phase III program marks the beginning of his second-term offensive against the labor movement.

The key feature of the new program is the open collaboration of the labor bureaucracy in the government's strategy of holding down wages while boosting corporate profits.

The labor bureaucrats have already performed noble services for Nixon and big business. By taking their original seats on the Pay Board, they legitimized wage controls long enough for the controls to become firmly established. When rank and file sentiment turned against the controls, they resigned but organized absolutely no fight against the Pay Board.

In the meantime, the controls proved all too effective. Profits are up sharply, labor productivity is increasing rapidly, and wage settlements are going down. Corporate profits, for example, were officially up 10 percent (the real increase is much higher) in the third quarter of 1972 over the similar period for 1971. At the same time, worker productivity in manufacturing industries rose 5.7 percent. Wage increases during the first nine months of 1972 declined to 5.3 percent from 10.3 percent in 1971.

Since his re-election, Nixon has been diligently seeking the collaboration of labor leaders in stemming rank and file revolt against the controls. The appointment of Peter Brennan, president of the New York Construction Trades Councils, as Secretary of Labor was one step in this direction. Nixon also offered leaders of the Teamsters and AFL-CIO the opportunity to help pick some second-level appointees for various government offices.

Meany, in return, indicated his interest in returning to the Pay Board, and had his assistants cooperate with the government in revising some Pay Board regulations.

Now the capitulation is complete. Five "prominent labor leaders," including Meany, have agreed to serve with five businessmen on a new labor-management advisory committee to the Cost of Living Council.

With this kind of cooperation, Nixon doesn't need the Pay Board. The bureaucrats will act as his policemen in holding down wages. If they should fail, he has reserved the power to step in himself and roll back "excessive" wage increases won by rank and file militancy.

While streamlining his anti-labor campaign Nixon has given big business the go-ahead, allowing higher prices and profit margins.

The labor movement has the means to defend itself. In 1973, contracts of many of the country's most powerful unions expire. The UAW, Teamsters, railroad unions, rubber, construction and electrical workers are among those involved. Workers must demand substantially higher wage increases to cover the costs imposed on them thru inflation by Nixon and the business interests he represents.

Needless to say, the government is aware of this threat to its strategy. As one Senator put it, "The question of skyrocketing food prices could emerge as the key issue in the widespread union contract negotiations going forward this year and build an enormous inflationary bias into these negotiations."

Nixon needed, and has now achieved, the total cooperation of union leaders in order to prevent the threat of a labor offensive that could destroy his whole repressive program. He can now afford to grant occasional wage increases above the guidelines, since he has the bureaucrats' cooperation in turning back a large-scale battle over wages.

To defeat him, the labor movement in turn must throw out its treacherous "leaders" and build a fighting leadership against the corporations and their government agents.

U.S. Terror Bombing

(Continued from page 1)

-- according to official US government reports -- were shot out of the air by North Vietnamese defenses.

With this act of unbridled imperialist savagery, the United States has left a fitting monument for its ten years of direct military intervention in Vietnam. The attempt to "save Vietnam by destroying it," both in the North and the South, is the logical outcome of a hopeless attempt to force the Vietnamese people to accept the existence of the Saigon regime, a regime with no social base or political support.

The essential background of these events is the fact that America's entire policy has been an effort to crush a movement for Vietnamese self-determination. It is also necessary, however, to understand the immediate political context which gave rise to the new bombings.

Nixon's unrestricted bombing of North Vietnam represents a continuation of the politics of the immediately preceding period in Vietnam. It is an attempt to win more favorable terms at the bargaining table, to bludgeon North Vietnam into accepting the most advantageous possible peace terms for the US.

This policy of negotiation-by-bombs reflects the political character of the peace negotiations themselves. Deserted and sold out by their Russian and Chinese Stalinist "allies," who are looking to pursue their newly-cemented friendship with the US, the North Vietnamese were already forced last fall to accept the continued presence of US imperialism as a political force in Vietnam. (For a political assessment of the settlement projected last fall, see *Workers' Power* Nos. 67 and 68.)

North Vietnam, however, continued to resist a complete capitulation to imperialism and reinforced its forces in the South in order to gain a favorable position in a "cease-fire in place" or in a new wave of fighting.

Having won one compromise, however, with the quiet backing of both Moscow and Peking, after winning a landslide election victory with promises of "peace and honor," Nixon felt strong enough to hold out for even more.

The latest round of talks now underway will determine what gains, if any, Nixon achieved by pursuing this tactic.

The mass bombing of North Vietnamese cities and countryside gave rise to a huge international outcry. Even a staunchly pro-US Swedish government minister denounced the bombings as equal to the atrocities of Hitler.

At home, the collapse of peace hopes created a revival -- for at least the hundredth time -- of the famous Congressional anti-war opposition. These forces, however, are absolutely incapable of any struggle that can force the US out of Vietnam and end the war.

American liberalism remains totally committed to an imperialist perspective. While denouncing Nixon's new bombing as the acts of a madman, the entire liberal establishment paid tribute to the memory of Harry Truman -- the architect of the mass firebombing of Dresden and the dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan in 1945.

The liberals accept the principles of American interventionist foreign policy -- as they must, because they accept American capitalism and therefore the legitimacy of its imperialist needs.

This makes it impossible for them to organize any effective alternative to Nixon's policies, even if these should lead to the disaster of losing any chance of peace in the near future. (A development which could be catastrophic for American capitalism both economically and politically).

At the same time, however, the kinds of actions that can end this war once and for all have been launched. The Australian dock workers' boycott of American shipping in protest against the bombing (see article elsewhere in this issue), if carried out by workers in other countries, would bring US foreign trade to a grinding halt.

The existence of an international workers' movement with a leadership willing to carry out such actions in support of the Vietnamese struggle would have ended this imperialist war years ago.

The most crucial force, however, is the American working class itself. The west coast longshore union -- whose President Harry Bridges parades as an anti-war labor leader -- could cripple the war machine by refusing to handle cargo headed for Vietnam.

The leaders of the bureaucratic Labor for Peace group, who have not lifted a finger against Nixon's new atrocities, could destroy the pedestal of domestic "stability" on which Nixon's policies depend -- by organizing a one-day anti-war work stoppage by major unions.

Last fall, the remains of the anti-war movement crumbled pathetically into the false hopes of the McGovern campaign. The new bombing, especially if followed by the collapse of peace talks and another North Vietnamese ground offensive, may revive it for another brief period. It will only repeat the failures of the past, however, unless the lessons of its defeats are learned.

We demand the immediate unconditional end of all American intervention in Vietnam. The only basis for peace, as before, is the defeat of American imperialism by the military forces of the NLF/PRG and the victory of the Vietnamese struggle for national independence.

Anti-war forces in this country can succeed only by adopting this program and organizing working class action -- including the demand that anti-war union leaders organize a one-day work shoppage.

The International Socialists support the following program for the Vietnamese struggle:

1. Self-Determination for Vietnam! End the Bombing! Complete, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of US troops! No imperialist peace! No imperialist "peace" commissions!
2. For the military victory of the PRG/NLF against imperialist forces!
3. Full Democratic Rights for the Vietnamese People! No political support to the Stalinist PRG! For a workers' and peasants' government in Vietnam!

St. Louis GMAD Uses Racism for Speedup

One of the most significant aspects of the current struggle of workers at the St. Louis GMAD (General Motors Assembly Division) assembly plant has been the effort that the company has made to keep the ranks divided by racism. The UAW's four-day strike strategy here was a dismal failure (see Workers' Power No. 64).

One of the primary reasons for the ranks' inability to fight back so far has been the inability of the black and white -- both young and old -- workers to perceive their common needs in fighting the GMAD management.

The racism and favored treatment of white workers has prevented them from unifying with black workers in the plant in a rank and file movement that could force both the UAW leadership and GMAD to respond to their needs.

The composition of the workforce at the St. Louis plant in no way reflects the racial composition of the St. Louis metropolitan area. This is not accidental.

Although the city of St. Louis is 49 percent black, only 24 percent of the workers at General Motors are black. Of the white workers at the plant, many have been hired in the Deep South and then transplanted here.

A significant number still live in outstate Missouri and neighboring states. Many of the workers drive as much as 200 miles a day to work.

This has been a conscious hiring practice on the part of GM, an attempt to keep the workforce divided. Central to this whole strategy has been the mix of city blacks and rural whites.

This is not a recent development but in fact has been going on since GM built their plant here.

Black Shift, White Shift

Within the plant itself the vast majority of the blacks and younger white workers are on the night shift. Few of them are employed as maintenance workers. Only two blacks in the entire plant are committeemen.

This division is deepened by the fact that there is little if any communication between either the day and night shifts or among the three assembly plants (Corvette, truck and passenger).

The results of such a divided workforce are not hard to see. Very often the reasons for older white workers not engaging in struggle is the fact that they live so far from the plant and simply don't have the time to be come involved.

Even more importantly, however, they perceive their needs as being different from the black and younger workers. They feel protected by their seniority and generally don't face the immediate threat of layoff.

They also have a much better relationship -- consciously cultivated by the company -- with the foremen, as well as with the committeemen who

are also most likely to be their age and white.

The militant leadership and the revolt from the ranks during the recent months has come for the most part from black workers. Their close contact, however, with all of the night shift workers has in fact made the entire shift, black and white, a source of rebellion and discomfort for both GMAD and the leadership of UAW Local 25.

[Editor's Note: For an exclusive interview with the leader of the Local 25 Rank and File Committee, see Workers' Power No. 69.]

The GMAD management, recognizing the division between the day and night shifts has done everything it can to maintain and even widen it.

Back in August after the model changeover there were many problems with faulty machinery and impossible production standards. This is not unusual. GMAD used this time of model changeover to show favoritism to the day shift workers.

Recognizing the difficulties encountered with the new models, the GMAD management allowed the day shift workforce time to make the adjustment.

Management didn't pressure them to continue to perform at 100 percent of efficiency. On occasion it even stopped the line so that the workers could catch up and repairs could be made.

On the night shift the story was different. Even with all of the production difficulties involved with the changeover, the men were still expected to perform at 100 percent of their capacity.

The line was not stopped so that they could catch up or to make re-

pairs. Harassment of the workers in fact increased during this period and men were disciplined for failure to perform their assigned tasks.

It is significant to note that the reason for the difficulties lay not in the men but rather in the production process itself.

Faulty machinery, a line speed that was too fast; and poor planning were the real reasons for the problems. Management however tried to place the blame on the inability of the night shift to "perform."

GMAD first insulted night shift workers by telling them that the day shift wasn't having any difficulties, then disciplined them for its own mistakes.

This policy of GMAD had a reinforcing effect on the attitude of the day shift workers, making them feel privileged and complacent.

A second attempt made by the company to keep the ranks divided was its use of the "sabotage" issue. For a period of almost a month the night shift workers were sent home early every night because of supposed sabotage.

Many workers felt that the company was trumping up the sabotage issue, even going so far as to slash its own seats and then blame it on the workers sending them all home early.

During this month the night shift men were receiving only 12 to 14 paid hours per week while the day shift continued to operate at a full 40 hours. This not only had the effect of keeping the workforce divided, but could also serve as the future pretext for getting rid of some militant workers.

In neither of these cases was race the explicit issue. It is clear, though,

that without the racial division in the first place GMAD could not have even attempted the maneuvering that it did.

When the union's settlement with GMAD over working conditions was announced, it was generally accepted by the day shift. The response, however, by the night shift was in the words of one rank and file leader "massive rebellion." Night shift workers are at the point of talking "wildcat."

The divisions within the workforce of the plant have now become the specific issue for night shift workers. They feel that they are being made to abide by an agreement that was not made by them.

Black and young workers are beginning to reject the notion that agreements are made on the basis of what the most conservative section of the plant workforce is willing to accept.

For the workers at the St. Louis GMAD plant to wage a successful struggle against GMAD all shifts will have to be unified. At this point, unity is being held back by the conservatism of the day shift.

But, while acting as an immediate brake on the movement against GMAD, this conservatism is also a crystallization of the fundamental division within the workforce. Having been brought into the open, this problem must now be confronted directly.

Rank and File Committee

The Local 25 Rank and File Committee, led by militant black workers, has already made significant gains in attacking this problem of division. While not ignoring the fact and the effects of white racism, the Caucus has adopted a strategy of raising class demands and demonstrating to white workers that their real interests lie in unity with their black brothers.

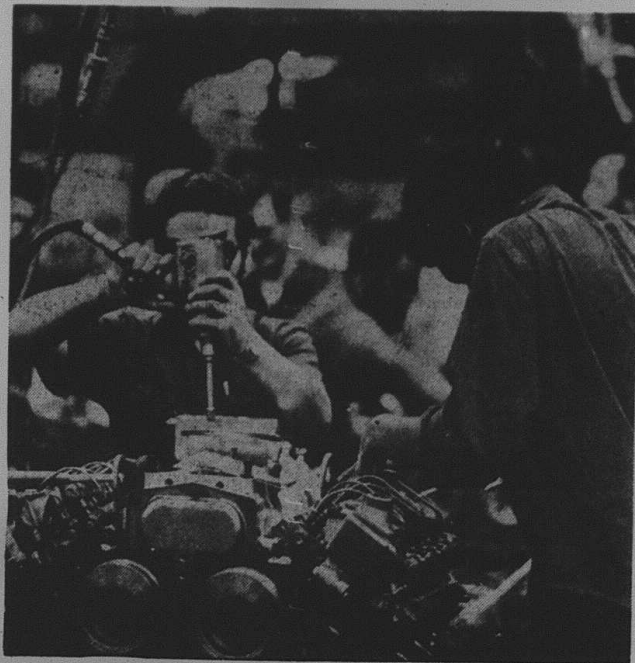
The Committee leadership has been quick to point out that when GMAD is concerned with profits it doesn't see color. "Although it may be a brother who is laid off first, it is the whites who have to pick up his load when he is gone."

The struggle for unity of all workers will be no easy one. There is, however, a strategy for a successful struggle.

The material basis for a unified struggle is being laid. Increasingly in the period ahead, all workers will feel the pressures of speed-up, unemployment, and the wage-price squeeze. Against these forces workers can begin to see the need to fight a unified struggle.

Blacks have already begun to take the lead, both to fight the special oppression they feel as blacks and to lead the struggle in the workplace for decent working conditions.

As the conditions of work at St. Louis become more oppressive, the "gray" enjoyed by the day shift will dry up. As this happens, white workers will have to realize the necessity for common cause. Neither the existence of GMAD nor the divisive nature of racism can be ignored if this struggle is to succeed.



Victory for Miners!

Lynn Jones



Arnold Miller (right) talking to West Virginia miners during the campaign

*It's dark as a dungeon,
Damp as the dew.
The dangers are many,
The pleasures but few.
Where the rain never falls,
And the sun never shines,
It's dark as a dungeon
Way down in the mines.*
— Unknown

On December 12, 1972, Arnold Miller was elected President of the United Mine Workers of America. That event will undoubtedly go down in history as a turning point in the life of the UMW, and quite possibly as a turning point in the life of the entire American working class.

Predictions were that the election would be close. Miller supporters, despite their predictions of certain victory, hardly believed themselves that they could actually beat W.A. (Tony) Boyle and the machine he had built up around himself in his 10 years as UMW President.

Miller took a narrow lead from the first. When early results showed him carrying 45 percent of the vote in hard, pro-Boyle District 12, Boyle's bureaucracy at UMW Headquarters in Washington, D.C. began to look grim. The final vote count showed a clear victory for Miller.

The vision of grim, determined miners tramping into polling booths in hundreds of small mining towns seems remote from the lives of most American workers. But it's not.

The history of the United Mine Workers is, in many ways, a history of the entire American working class. Past struggles and aspirations of miners have changed the lives of millions of American workers who never have and never will set foot in a mine.

Now miners are struggling to reclaim their union as a fighting tool for the ranks, to free their union from the stranglehold of a corrupt bureaucracy.

This struggle, like others before it, has the potential of having a profound

effect on the history of the American workers' movement.

The United Mine Workers was a union with a social vision in the 1930's and 1940's. Miners saw themselves as the leading force in a massive struggle to better the lives of workers everywhere.

They were proud of their union and the power that it held, and were unafraid to pit that power against anyone — giant corporations or even the government of the United States.

It was the UMW that took the lead when the American Federation of Labor, then the representative of all organized labor in the United States, proved incapable of organizing the millions of new workers in auto, steel and rubber in the 1930's.

Under the leadership of their legendary President, John L. Lewis, the Mine Workers and several other unions left the AFL and formed the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The UMW poured millions of dollars and hundreds of organizers into the CIO to win contracts in the new industries.

In 1943 the UMW struck for higher wages and a better medical and pension plan. They were striking against the "no-strike pledge" — a pledge that all American unions had signed saying that they would not strike during World War II.

The UMW strike posed a crisis so severe for the "war effort" that the US government was forced to take over control of the mines. But the miners won that strike and came out of it with the best contract any American union had ever seen.

Decay in the 50's

The story of the UMW in the 1950's is a story of decay, the story of a union cowed into subservience to the mine companies. It could be the story of almost any American union in that period, different only in details.

The 50's saw the rise of "McCarthyism" — the red scare. Every union militant was labelled a "red."

Those years saw, too, the end of King Coal. Other kinds of fuel, oil,

natural gas, atomic power, were found. Miners believed their's was a dying industry. Most of all, John L. Lewis believed King Coal was dead.

So Lewis decided to take drastic measures to "save the industry." He took those measures without informing the membership of the UMW and in doing so betrayed the trust that miners had placed in him in years of struggle.

He loaned money to the giant coal corporations for them to use to modernize the mines. In other words; *the UMW itself put forward the money used to automate miners out of work.*

In 1962 Tony Boyle was elected President of the UMW. By that time the union was forgotten by most workers except miners themselves. It was as if miners had retired into the hills, never to be heard from again.

By 1969 the country had changed. The days of McCarthyism were gone and in their place were student unrest, anti-war marches, and Black Power. King Coal, far from dead, was alive and kicking and 1975 was projected as the biggest coal-producing year ever.

The official structure of the Mine Workers, under the iron-clad grip of Tony Boyle, reflected none of these changes.

Black Lung Association

So, miners took matters into their own hands. The Black Lung Association, headed by Arnold Miller and centered mostly in West Virginia, struck that state for payments to miners disabled by black lung disease, the known killer of over 700,000 miners. Retired and employed miners shut down every mine in the state.

And they won. West Virginian miners were the first to receive payments for the disease, but other states hurried to enact similar legislation to ward off trouble with their "own" miners.

In 1970 miners struck for large wage increases — up to \$50 per day for skilled workers. The mine companies eventually gave in to their demands, figuring that they were safe anyway since the Pay Board would

never let such large pay increases go into effect.

The companies underestimated one thing. Miners had never forgotten the lesson they learned about government interference in their union in the 1943 strike.

They decided to stay out, despite Boyle's pleadings to return to work, until the Pay Board okayed their new contract — which it hastened to do.

Joseph (Jock) Yablonski, himself a minor Boyle bureaucrat, understood that a "movement" was developing among miners and attempted to place himself at its head. In 1969 he ran against Boyle for the UMW Presidency on a mild reform platform, and lost.

Yablonski supporters claimed he would have won in a fair election, which it certainly wasn't. The US Department of Labor threw out the results of the 1969 election because of gross irregularities in the way the Boyle bureaucracy conducted it.

Yablonski was physically attacked at least twice during the campaign. He and his wife and daughter were found murdered in their home a few days following the election.

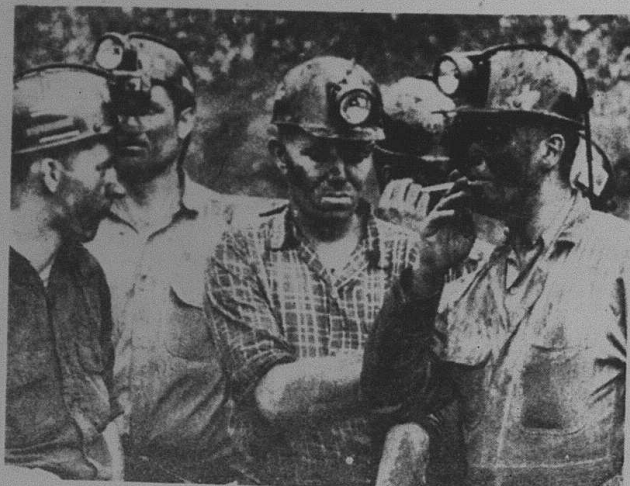
That he feared for his life is no doubt; the Yablonski home was a small arsenal even though Yablonski personally feared and hated guns and had never allowed them to be kept in the house.

Yablonski forces immediately accused Boyle of involvement in the slayings and demanded a thorough government investigation. Their demands were ignored for nearly two years, and were acted upon only after the birth of Miners for Democracy.

Miners for Democracy

Miners for Democracy is the organized leadership of the mass miners' movement in the coal fields. It consists of Yablonski's forces, the Black Lung Association, and other militant sections of the UMW, including many of the young Vietnam Vets who have gone into the pits in recent years.

In May, 1972, MFD met in Wheeling, West Virginia. There hundreds of delegates, mostly local union officials, chose Arnold Miller, Mike Turbovich,



Harsh Landscape, Bitter Land

Photographs by Lynn Jones

and Harry Patrick as their candidates for President, Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer of the UMW. The delegates also chose the platform on which their candidates would run.

Health and Safety. For every working day that Tony Boyle was in office, two miners died in the coal pits. A mining disaster in Farmington, West Virginia, finally provoked the government to consider passage of a stronger Mine Safety Bill in 1970.

Tony Boyle opposed that legislation. Boyle's philosophy: "As long as there are mines and miners there will always be these unfortunate accidents."

Miller, as his leadership of the Black Lung Association shows, has long been a militant on health and safety. Even in the most conservative period of the union in the 1950's, miners struck locally over health and safety issues.

The attitude of the UMW bureaucracy, especially in recent years, has been to ignore these strikes, neither supporting them nor condemning them.

Miller promises to give official UMW sanction to any health and safety strike, including those called during the life of a contract. If Miller lives up to this promise, the ranks of the UMW could, for the first time in history, force the mine companies to live up to the letter of the law.

Pensions. The UMW Pension Fund, and especially the anthracite miners' fund, has been on a bad footing for years. Boyle did nothing to put that fund in good order.

On the contrary, he reduced pension payments to \$30 a month for anthracite miners, with \$1.25 held out for union dues. These miners receive no medical coverage, and the UMW long ago removed its miners' hospitals from the region.

At the same time, Boyle tried to buy the vote of retired bituminous miners. Just a few days prior to the recent election he raised their pension, without finding any way to increase payments into the fund.

At the current rate, unless some way is found to bring more money into the fund, pension payments will end once and for all in 1975.

Miller promises to put the fund on a sound footing and to equalize pension payments to all miners.

To begin with, Miller can invest the hundreds of thousands of dollars that Boyle kept sitting around in a non-interest-drawing bank account in Washington, D.C.

Miller also promises to increase coal company payments and organize the many small, unorganized pits that abound in the Appalachian coal field. Still, all these measures put together won't solve the problem and he has come up with nothing else so far.

Union Democracy

Union Democracy. All union officials were appointed under Boyle, including the International Executive Board and all District officers.

Shortly after taking office, Miller fired the Executive Board and appointed several new members. He promises that the majority of the Board, which he has not yet appointed, will be elected.

He also promises that District officers will be elected and MFD had already, prior to the election, filed suit against the Boyle bureaucracy for refusing such elections.

These were among the major issues that Miller raised in his campaign.

Boyle's counter-campaign consisted largely of name-calling. He rebaited Miners for Democracy and referred often to their "hotline to Moscow" and "outside support." He warned that Miller's proposals, if put

into action, would destroy the UMW.

Surprising to some, Boyle's charges could hardly fall on deaf ears. The results of the election were far from a foregone conclusion.

MFD did initiate massive government intervention in the union. Miners fear and distrust all government intervention in union affairs, and they resent MFD for opening the UMW to government scrutiny.

While most miners were likely to laugh off Boyle's "hotline to Moscow" routine, they knew that MFD did have outside support. Again, miners have traditionally kept their union out of the folds of either the Democratic or Republican Party.

MFD continually drew on supporters from the Democratic Party. Miners fear that, once elected, Miller will bring the union into the workings of the Democratic Party machine.

Finally, miners fear that Boyle's predictions of disaster for the union may prove real. It has been a long,

long time since the UMW has been a real fighting union.

Miners are not sure the union is ready to take on the coal companies in a serious way over health and safety or any other issue. They fear that to try to do so will spell final defeat for their union.

What is significant is that miners, realizing all the dangers involved in electing Miller, still chose to do so. Thousands of rank and file miners across the country, after listening to Miller and MFD, chose to try to rebuild their union into the fighting force that it once was.

They did not vote for Miller because they believed all the campaign promises he made. As a matter of fact, many miners who voted for Miller do not believe that he will keep his promises. As one miner said, "He just made too many."

But Miller supporters equally reject the statement of one Boyle sup-

porter, "Better a little union than no union at all."

Miller's election was greeted with a wave of walkouts throughout the coal fields -- over health and safety.

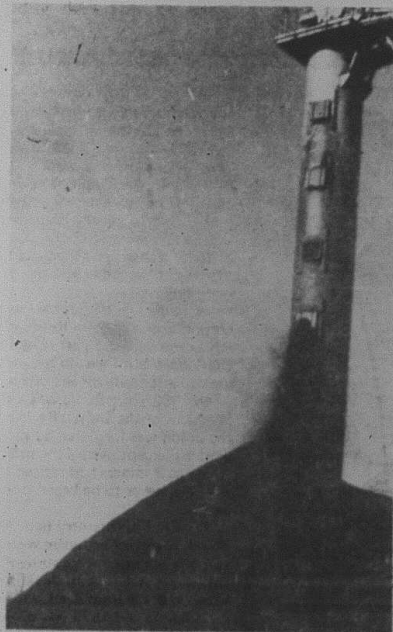
The ranks did not elect Miller for what Miller will do.

They elected Miller because they see in him a chance for the rank and file of the UMW to have its own way with the union.

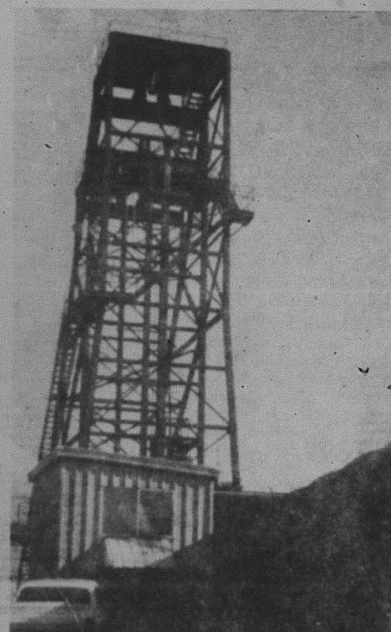
The Miners for Democracy victory has opened the door for democracy in the UMW, but not necessarily the kind of democracy that its leaders and their Labor Department allies envisioned.

Instead it will be, if the ranks have their way, the democracy of an active rank and file, continually pushing their leadership to greater militancy.

The last time the UMW moved with a far-sighted leadership at its head, the CIO was born. The rest of the American working class will have to decide what will be born this time.



Mountains of coal, ground out of the earth by "continuous miners" and transported via conveyor belt await shipment outside automated mine



This superstructure houses the "cage," the elevator that lowers men and materials into deep pit mines



Huge crane leaves ruined landscape and fouled waterways in its wake in this strip mining operation

Teamsters Lead New Attack On UFW

Kevin Bradley
Lee Ramie

Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons proposed an "alliance" with the conservative American Farm Bureau Federation December 13. The Teamsters have decided to re-extend their sweetheart contract with California lettuce growers, and to launch a major organizing drive against the United Farm Workers union, headed by Cesar Chavez.

A year ago the Teamsters told George Meany and the Farm Workers that they were willing to get out of their lettuce contracts and turn them over to the United Farm Workers, if only the growers would release them.

This position is now shown for the lie it always was. The Teamsters are approaching the growers to extend the contracts for one year before they expire.

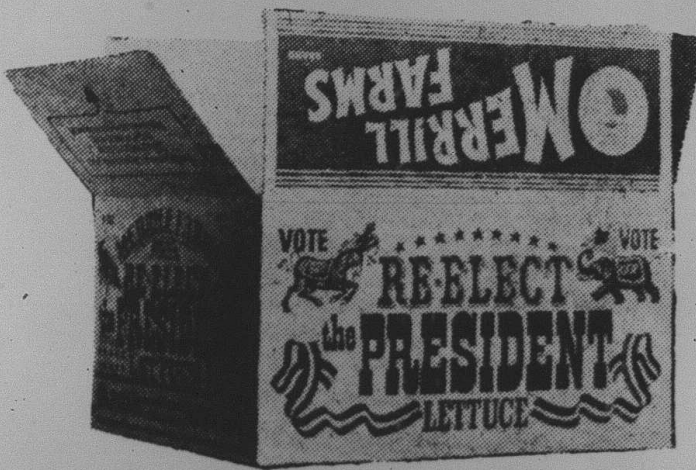
The attempts of the Teamsters to undercut the United Farm Workers is not a new practice. Back in 1960-61, after the AFL-CIO was defeated in a bitter lettuce strike in the Imperial Valley of California (due to President Kennedy's refusing to remove Mexican *braceros*, or contract foreign laborers), the Teamsters moved in and signed two big sweetheart contracts.

These contracts guaranteed the growers the use of *braceros*, the major factor preventing domestic farm workers from organizing.

A few months after signing the contract with Bud Antle, the Teamsters loaned him \$1 million, mortgaging the land and coolers to guarantee the loan.

Now Dow Chemical owns a share of Antle, the Teamster contract is still in effect -- and if Antle defaults on the loan the Teamsters become the owner of the fields!

When the Farm Workers organized under Cesar Chavez in the great Delano Grape Strike, the Teamsters again interfered. This time DiGiorgio Corporation, one of the largest agribusiness



Comprehensive sell-out package: Scab lettuce picked under a sweetheart contract

corporations in the country, invited the Teamsters organizers into the fields from which Farm Worker organizers were prohibited.

Through mobilizing a massive public outcry, the United Farm Workers were able to defeat the Teamsters in an election.

But the Teamsters went ahead and signed a contract with wine grower and bottler Pirelli-Minetti, although all the field workers had gone out on strike with Chavez's union.

Only by a massive wine boycott, and by stirring up dissension in Teamsters locals, were the Farm Workers able to get the Teamsters to withdraw from the fields and sign a truce.

The agreement provided that field workers belonged to the United Farm Workers, and food processing workers to the Teamsters. It was this truce that the Teamsters violated when they entered lettuce two years ago.

The Teamsters approached the growers and asked them if they want-

ed to sign a contract for their field workers, essentially as insurance against Chavez.

The growers agreed and did the organizing for the Teamsters. Any worker not agreeing to sign a Teamster authorization card was fired.

The Teamsters held no meetings, no rallies, had the support of practically no farm workers.

The United Farm Workers entered the fields in defense of their members, and organized a massive strike throughout the Salinas Valley which stopped all lettuce production.

The Teamsters could only respond with attacks with lead pipes, chains and drawn guns on Farm Worker organizers.

The tactic of trying to undercut militant union organizing is not unique to the Teamsters, but was a characteristic practice of the old American Federation of Labor (AFL) in response to the CIO upheaval.

This is part of the reason why the AFL grew even more in that tumultuous decade than the CIO. The bosses were ready to sign with the AFL as a lesser evil to the CIO.

The Teamsters, then a major section of the AFL, have carried on that practice to this day. In this way the Teamsters picked up major sections of the food processing industry by parasitic actions on other unions.

The CIO made major attempts to organize the canneries of California, but the Teamsters defeated them in an NLRB election where their major charge was that the CIO was Communist.

The Teamsters defeated the United Brewery Workers union, one of the oldest industrial unions in America (whose remnant has just now crawled into the Teamsters through a merger).

The Teamsters have picked up many thousands of food processing workers in this bureaucratic way. 55,000 workers alone bargain with the California Processors Inc., an employer bargaining association for California canneries and frozen food plants.

Food processing workers are overwhelmingly Chicano or Black, and

many are women. They receive low pay and face rotten working conditions.

The workers are definitely third class citizens in the Teamsters union. In the last two years they have organized Cannery Workers Committees in California, one of which just took over a 10,000 member cannery Teamster local in San Jose, California.

Unfortunately the rank and file cannery committees have not yet linked up with the major opposition among Teamsters in freight, the Teamsters United Rank and File (TURF).

There is something else behind Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons' new move against the Farm Workers: that is, his new found friendship with the White House.

As the price of a Presidential Endorsement, Nixon agreed to shelve (temporarily) anti-strike legislation aimed against the Teamsters and other transportation unions.

Meanwhile Fitzsimmons and his wife have been wined and dined at the White House and both been appointed to a number of commissions.

During the election campaign, the White House took to writing Fitzsimmons' speeches. White House speech-writers went so far in attacking welfare in one speech that even Fitz had to put his foot down, because it would be too embarrassing before labor audiences.

After his re-election Nixon offered Fitzsimmons the position of Secretary of Labor, but Fitz decided to stick with the Teamsters.

There is no question that the Nixon Administration is quite close to the powerful agribusiness interests in the Southwest, who are a potent political force there. How much the White House encouraged Fitz to attack the Farm Workers is not clear.

Still another cause of the Teamsters actions is that William Grami, chief organizer for the Western Conference, and a devoted Reagan supporter, wants the job of Einar Mohn, liberal head of the Western Conference.

Grami accuses Mohn of selling out Teamster contracts if he doesn't enthusiastically support the sweetheart lettuce contracts with the growers.

One of the greatest aids the Farm Workers could receive at this time would be dissension within the Teamster ranks. Already Local 208 in Los Angeles has passed a motion condemning Fitzsimmons' actions.

The Fifth Wheel, a San Francisco Bay Area rank and file paper with a large Teamster readership, called Fitzsimmons actions "A Disgrace to Our Union."

Meanwhile, however, a local Teamster President in New York is carrying out a boycott of all United Farm Worker lettuce, effectively keeping it out of the city.

The United Farm Workers are aiming their boycott actions at Safeway, A & P, and Krogers', and everyone should enthusiastically support the boycott.

The Teamster rank and file has a particular contribution to make to the Farm Workers struggle, while at the same time taking care of their own business. ■

Court Hits I.B.T. Rank and File

The US Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia has overturned a 1970 decision by a lower court which ordered the Teamsters Union to put an article in its Constitution guaranteeing the right of the rank and file to initiate amendments to the union constitution.

The lower court decision was based on a suit by Don Vestal, a founder of Teamsters United Rank and File, who sued in court for a number of changes in the union constitution to make the structure of the Teamsters Union more democratic.

Among the other changes Vestal sued for were the election of all International officers by the rank and file, a referendum vote on all changes in the union constitution, and the right of all union members to run for national offices.

All sections of the original suit were turned down by the Court of Appeals.

Labor In Brief

Jim Woodward

Detroit: Killer Chrysler strikes again

A general foreman at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant in Detroit was shot to death by a disgruntled worker last month. The foreman was the second to die at Jefferson in recent months.

According to some accounts, the worker had been in line for a promotion, but was told just before Christmas that he was to be laid off instead. Another death on Chrysler's bloody hands.



Dayton: Rank and file begins resistance against Frigidaire

One of the places where the employing class's current economic offensive has hit hardest is General Motors' Frigidaire plant in Dayton, Ohio. The union leadership there has followed a policy of appeasement. That strategy has now been shown to be thoroughly bankrupt, and the workers have begun to take the initiative.

It was in November 1971 that Frigidaire presented an ultimatum: give up all pay raises, including cost-of-living, for the next two years or we'll close the plant.

The leadership of IUE Local 801 gave in, pushing through an agreement that also lowered wages for new hires \$.25/hour. A week later, the membership rejected the minutes of the ratification meeting, but the leadership had already signed the contract.

It was not long before Frigidaire was back on the offensive. During 1972, the refrigerator line was speeded up from 800 per 8-hour shift to 1300. A similar speed-up was instituted in other parts of the plant.

In late October, workers in one department walked out in a short protest strike. But when Frigidaire fired a committeeman for leading the wildcat, picket lines were set up which effectively closed the plant.

An injunction and pressure from

the union ended the walkout several days later. The company proceeded to fire thirty workers, but had to take back all but seven of them.

Through it all several lessons stand out: the futility of trying to appease the employers; the importance of replacing the bankrupt union leadership; and the necessity to take on the courts with their injunctions.

Against the employers' strategy of maximizing profits through speed-up and wage cuts, the workers will have to raise their own program of action to defend themselves against further attack.

In order to have a decent, secure job with a living wage, workers will have to fight for control of production—a prerogative which management will not give up lightly. But without this kind of struggle, workers' past gains will continue to be eroded.

Employers use scab threat in attack on working conditions

Several St. Louis construction unions have agreed, at the urging of their leaderships, to loosen what the employers and the press refer to as "arbitrary work restrictions" and "featherbedding rules."

In fact, the work rules just lost were important and quite reasonable. They required extra pay for "makeup" work done on Saturdays, established the starting time for a day's work (now it's up to the boss), and set the number of hours workers had to be paid in the event bad weather cancelled the day's work.

Employers and union leaders campaigned for the changes on the grounds that "work restrictions destroy jobs instead of creating them." The grain of truth in this is that some contracts have gone to nonunion employers who don't have the extra expense of "restrictive work rules."

The only problem is that the same logic which required giving up one work rule will dictate giving up more and more—a safety regulation here, a pay raise there, and so on.

In this situation, the only defense against nonunion contractors is the classic union offense: organize the unorganized—a safe, well paying job for everyone!

Surprise, surprise: HEW discovers working class unrest

A study group of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has issued a report which says—surprise—that American workers are becoming more bored with their "dull, unchallenging and repetitive jobs."

The study, entitled "Work in

America," indicates that "what the workers want most... is to become masters of their immediate environments and to feel that their work and themselves are important."

Worker discontent, it said, is leading to low productivity, increasing absenteeism, high worker turnover rates, wildcat strikes, industrial sabotage, poor quality products, and other headaches for the employers.

HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson, apparently embarrassed by the report's conclusions, indicated he thought the study might be "controversial."

Among the report's conclusions were:

*Many of the jobs women have to do are damaging to their self-image.

*The most dissatisfied section of the work force is young, black workers in white collar jobs.

*There are links between work quality and health. Job dissatisfaction was found to be correlated to heart disease, ulcers, rheumatism, mental illness, and death.

*Finally, the report laments, "some blue collar workers are carrying their frustrations home and displacing them in extremist social and political movements or in hostility to the Government."

Supreme Court "liberals" endorse scabs and strikebreaking

In a move which may weaken unions and encourage strikebreaking, the Supreme Court has decided that a union can't normally impose fines on a member who quits the union during a strike and goes back to work.

The case arose when a Textile Workers Union local in New Hampshire tried to fine 31 of its members who scabbed during a 1968-69 strike.

The decision did not cover cases where the member quit the union after returning to work or where the local's by-laws prohibit quitting during a strike.

Justice William O. Douglas, a Supreme Court liberal, wrote the majority decision.



Vancouver study explodes myth of "counterproductive" strikes

One of the hoary myths pushed by the capitalist press is that workers lose more money in lost wages by striking than they can gain in wage boosts. But Curtis Eaton of the University of British Columbia did a study of strikes over a three-year period in the Vancouver area which proves it isn't true.

85 percent of strikers, Eaton found, were at least \$175 further ahead at the end of the first year of new contracts than they would have been if they had accepted management's final offer. Lost wages from striking were more than made up by gains in wages.

Penn Central wants railroad workers to subsidize its profits

The bankrupt Penn Central Railroad wants its employees to contribute towards putting the line back into financial health. The contributions, however, aren't voluntary.

The Railroad plans to reduce the size of train crews from three to two on January 12. The United Transportation Union says it will strike on that date if the crews are reduced.

So the issue is simple: must the workers pay the railroad's deficits in order to sustain this vital public service? No. Any railroad that cannot provide decent service and pay its employees well should be nationalized, and its stockholders put to work like any other honest citizens.

Municipal and federal employees hit by new productivity drive

The City of New York has fired 229 employees in its Department of Social Services and disciplined 400 more in the first seven months of a productivity drive. More than 700 additional cases are pending. The city claims "excessive lateness, absenteeism, insubordination and failure to perform assigned tasks."

One official of the Social Service Employees Union replied that even now many workers are overworked to the extent that they have to take tranquilizers—particularly on welfare-check days.

The federal government will shortly try to teach its own employees a lesson in productivity. The Civil Service Commission is developing a new system to evaluate the "productivity and effectiveness" of every federal employee. Those who do not meet the new standards will be fired.

At the same time, the Nixon administration will try to decrease the total number of federal employees.

'CONDITIONS ARE WORSE THAN BEFORE RIOTS'

Part One Of An Interview With Herbert X. Blyden, A Leader Of The Attica Liberation Faction

Workers' Power is pleased to present in two parts the following exclusive interview conducted in the Bronx House of Correction, where Herbert X Blyden is awaiting trial on charges stemming from the Toms Prison Revolt of fall, 1970.

Blyden was one of the eleven prisoners chosen by the inmates to lead the negotiations with Lindsay over the deplorable conditions there.

From the Toms Blyden was sent again to Attica, where in September of 1971 prisoners seized the prison demanding decent food, an end to censorship, amnesty, adequate medical care.

Blyden as a negotiator of the Attica Liberation Faction was a leading spokesman for the inmates. As Blyden states in an earlier interview "I came out of Attica with two things; my manhood and my life. I don't even belong in prison and they ask me why I riot."

Herbert Blyden was originally convicted in 1965 for a robbery it is clear he did not commit. Evidence linking Blyden to the alleged robbery is outrageously circumstantial.

Unable to get a reasonable bail, or any bail for that matter, Blyden remains in the Bronx.

Shortly after the interview in October, he was placed in keep lock by the prison authorities with little or no reason given. He is permitted to receive neither mail nor visitors.

We wish to express our thanks to Herbert X Blyden and the Attica Vanguard for helping us to arrange for the interview.

In this interview, Blyden discusses capitalist exploitation of workers and prisoners. Since the revolts, he tells us, prisoners have become increasingly aware of the need for a socialist alternative to the brutality of life under capitalism in the plants, the ghettos, and prisons.]

Workers' Power: How would you describe the living and working conditions here at the Bronx?

Herbert X Blyden: First of all we have to look at what one considers living and who indeed are working. The inmates and the detainees here are not working here and are most certainly not living here.

They are existing under archaic

conditions which none of themselves create.

The guards here are not made aware of the fact that they are members of the working class, and that they are tools of the oppressor. You see them keeping us in these inhumane conditions.

I might add that the conditions are so deplorable now that the commissioner himself says that two years since the riots the overcrowding is almost as bad as before.

We just had a glimpse of the escape in Toms and it showed the back section was still barred closed. It was shut -- and had been that way for two years -- and so I think the conditions are worse than they were two years ago.

WP: How do most prisoners feel since the revolts about the lack of improvements?

HB: I can't speak for most of the prisoners because they've got me now in an administrative segregation. I am in effect away from the prisoners for one reason or another.

It's an "administrative" reason. They wouldn't want me to convey the message to the people that the conditions are worse actually than they were since the riots.

I might add that it cost 43 lives up there in Attica and hundreds of injured before they would move the screens in the visiting room.

Here in the city prisons they have yet to even remove the bullet-proof glass. So you know you still visit with your parents and family under the most sterile conditions.

But on the whole I would say that the inmates are much more conscious of their surroundings because of the type of literature that we read and some of the people we come in contact with.

Only yesterday, I might add again, Malcolm Enzefeder, who's the head of the correction officers' association, tried to blame the people coming into the institutions, and in some cases Third World people, for bringing in "contraband" and creating the atmosphere whereby you would have more liberal-type attitudes in the institutions.

WP: Is it difficult for prisoners to carry on political discussion given that political leaders are, for example, segregated from the rest of the prisoners? Is there a possibility of forming discussion groups?

HB: I'm glad you asked that question. We've had, in recent months in the city prisons, the Isabelle Arbach collective. I don't think you're familiar with that.

They set them up and get literature from the International Socialists and other organizations. The men have been receiving socialist and workers' periodicals and publications.

They would sit down and discuss Marx and Lenin, Engels and try to show the relationship of a Marxist ideology to the present day struggle of Third World people.

But as soon as they (the guards) find a gathering they would in effect break it up or confiscate the books as contraband. Now word of mouth carries the message.

I think it's in the interest, in ef-

fect, of the inmates! As a result of this, now more clearly conscious brothers can see where they are ripped-off and they try to find out why.

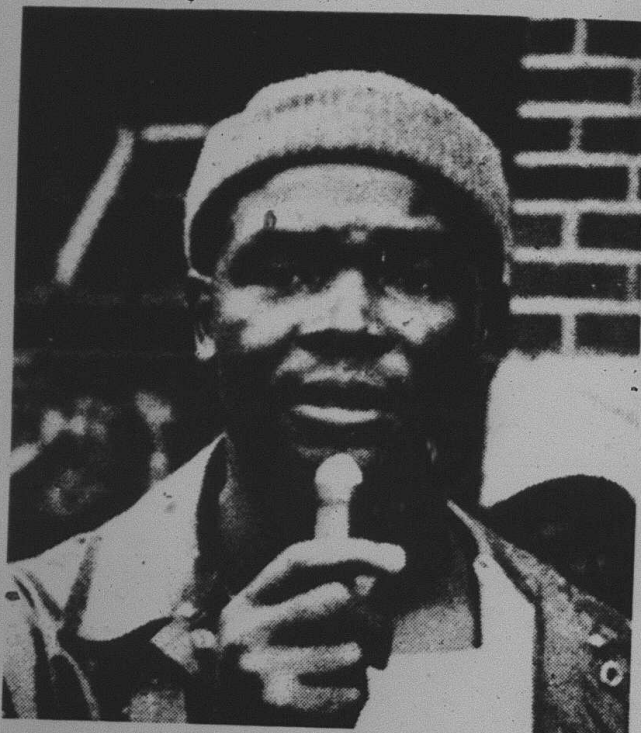
And if there is one who wasn't ripped-off he would say: *remember last week when we were trying to explain this part, this facet of capitalism or socialism to you? This is why the administration ripped them off.*

And this makes them much more aware of their need to know. So they would seek knowledge not necessarily through Marxist study, but from

the whole capitalist structure is such that, economically speaking, everything entwines; they're interrelated. It affects the working class, much more so than if you had a social order of things.

So I wouldn't specifically select any (particular books), not even the selected writings of Marx. I wouldn't suggest that any single work is what probably makes the prisoners aware of any specific thing or their conditions, more than any other work.

They read Lenin, they read Mao, they read Che Guevara. Most of us



Herbert X. Blyden, speaking during the Attica revolt.

someone who has some idea of the oppressive nature of capitalism vis-a-vis the betterment of human lives under a socialist order of things.

WP: How would you account for the amount of interest in the philosophic, economic, and political writings of both Marx and Lenin. What works would you say do the men like to read or discuss the most?

HB: Well they do go through some of the most cumbersome works like *Capital* for example. I think that's four volumes or 2,200 pages. But then they also look at, I think there is one work in particular on the economic changes. They are looking at the overall structural make-up of capitalism.

They see how everything is entwined in a way that whatever happens in this prison, for example, affects the economics of the guards.

They may have to go out and get on the welfare lines. In other words

read Fanon. As you notice we're getting into Frederick Douglas.

Because it's the whole social awareness. It's a re-awakening and we're becoming much more culturally oriented. You have the Puerto Ricans, for example, who today are going now into the whole history of "la historia Puertorriqueno."

They're trying to find out the whys and wherefores of the Indians, the subculture of the island. They're going back to 1898 and before the Spanish Inquisition even, and how Spain eventually took Puerto Rico and how the United States became the colonial master of Puerto Rico.

They're talking about Independence today. So too the Blacks and Third World people are not only, as I say, reading Marx and relating to Marx, but they're reading Engels. A lot are reading Hegel -- they're going further back.

Again I might add some people

are reading Trotsky, a great many people are; because whatever his differences were with Lenin, we find that you're going to have to have a dialectic.

You're going to have to approach any given subject and you're going to have a pro and con, and you cannot have anything unless you have a discussion of the issues. You're going to have friction. You have this in any camp.

If that wasn't the case you wouldn't have the Communist Party on one side; you wouldn't have the people from *Workers' Power* and *Workers' World*; you wouldn't have, what's the other groups?

You have got about 20 hundred different socialist organizations! You know you wouldn't have all these papers if the socialist camp was in order, so to speak.

You wouldn't have, what do you call it, peaceful co-existence for example with China and the United States on one hand, China and Russia on the other hand, the United States and Russia on the next. You wouldn't have all this trouble.

You've got, as I said, these inconsistencies. You've got to discuss them before you can even try to work out what has to be done in the socialist camp.

But you've got to sift through the sayings of a Gus Hall -- let's say, what he just said on the West Coast. Because what he says in effect supports McGovern's position, you see.

And then he further complicates the issue by saying that the workers shouldn't worry about what Russia is going to do, and then we see Russia even buys seven hundred and fifty million dollars worth of American wheat and all that.

And then you look at the Chinese \$150 million deal for the Boeing planes. We have to question exactly who, first of all, is leading the Third World people, whether or not indeed they are in our camp.

WP: Has there been interest or discussion for example of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution?

HB: Yes. You see, that's one of the most interesting parts. This is why I mentioned Trotsky before.

Especially today, we are specifically trying to work out a formula whereby we can wage the struggle on whatever level it has to be waged.

WP: What strategy then for liberation do you see for the Black Movement?

HB: Well, I'm not a spokesman for the Black Movement. I'm speaking as a Black and a member of the Third World community. That particular question I think I'll leave to some of the spokesmen for the Blacks themselves, for there are a great many of them out there.

I have some ideas, however, as to what I feel should happen. For example, in the Black camp in this country we've got the people talking about forming a third party. Now this is not new talk. A lot of us have been calling for a Workers' Party for sometime.

So people are talking now of a Third World party, that's going to bring in a lot of workers. Some type of a third party, a workers' party, would have to be formed.

You know you're going to have to make the working class aware of the inconsistencies in the capitalistic order of things. You're going to have to show them their relationship to the industrialist. You have to follow the transformation of the various systems up to the industrial age and what we have today.

If we actually look at what's happened, with half a dozen countries

around the world controlling all the wealth, you would readily see that the underprivileged classes are going to have to wage some type of struggle.

I am for armed struggle myself. And we have to question what type of a political apparatus we have to set up, as distinct from the military apparatus. There's no question that we're going to arm ourselves and wage a struggle. I think we see that this has got to happen if we are going to ever regain control of industries -- of our destiny I dare say -- in this country.

But I'm not a spokesman for the guerrilla movement by any means. I am a spokesman, in effect, for a political faction: a political arm of the Afro-American liberation army -- which is the Attica Liberation faction.

And as such I cannot speak on anything other than what we see from maximum security which is where I am, as it relates to our comrades in "minimum security."

You see, when the two start functioning as a group, you know it's the old adage -- about the fingers that can individually be chopped off, but when you close them and you make a fist you can strike a deadly blow.

So what we've got to do is bring the maximum and minimum security together. I'd like to think that Attica is going to do it.

I think that the repercussions we're going to have if we are indicted should unite the people. If it doesn't we're going to be in for one hell of a time.

WP: What type of support movement outside of the prisons would you like to see created?

HB: What do you mean?

WP: In support of the Attica prisoners and other prisoners, what type of support movement do you think would be the most effective? For example, the International Socialists at this point have been corresponding and distributing literature which prisoners have requested. Broad united front defense committees are another example of the type of support which we have seen growing up around revolts and around the prisons. What would you like to see in the future in the way of support?

HB: The socialist community, for example, are not actually getting themselves behind the cases other than Feliciano, Juan Farinas, Angela Davis. We've got to get ourselves involved in grass roots cases.

This is what these weekly bulletins are going to have to put out. They are going to have to do some community work around the everyday Joe Blow

in the factories, you see, because he is forced to take a plea for something that he didn't do!

A poor man that is making \$150 a week and has six kids to support gets arrested and held hostage in here for some infraction. Maybe he was out on the town drinking one night and he commits a "crime against humanity."

He's housed here for five or ten thousand dollars bail. He cannot make that bail. Some of them are housed on higher bail, right? So he lays up in these prisons here.

I've been waiting now almost two years for a trial, mind you, that stemmed from the fact that we were focusing attention on these deplorable conditions in here.

For almost two years I still have yet to be brought to trial on this condition. Now when this Joe Blow that we've been talking about comes in here, he's never been in prison.

He cannot cope with these situations in here. He cannot cope with some of these sadistic guards. He cannot cope with the overall administration because of the bureaucracy, the way it's set up, and all this red tape about getting an aspirin if he has a headache.

So he would just as soon take a plea of "guilty" to get out to his family and the community.

Then he goes out and as a result of that infraction he probably cannot get his job back because now he's an ex-convict. So what they're going to have to do, I think, is deal with the little cases of the average citizen, the average worker, and then put the Felicianos and Juan Farinas in the position of acting in effect as spokesmen for those workers.

Instead of the media acting as a spokesman for the Juan Farinas, you see? That's one of the first things that has to be done.

Secondly we're going to have to look at some of these other organizations, like the women's movement.

I happen to have spoken to a woman's liberationist recently and I asked her about the role which the women's liberation movement will play, the role that a Black woman could play in the women's liberation movement.

She couldn't tell me. Because, you see, she hadn't actually thought that a Black woman was supposed to have been involved in the first place in that type of liberation that she was talking about!

I told her that I personally could not see the position she was taking because it would be in effect throwing off one shackle for another. It would

be throwing off one oppressor, one slave master, for another.

So, you see, what the women's liberation movement is going to have to do as far as their involvement in the struggle.

I don't mean just in the struggles in these prisons. America is one whole concentration camp in and of itself.

The men out there, and the women out there, on welfare rolls, working for those petty wages -- they are in prison. They are imprisoned by the whole capitalistic structure.

That's two of several other things that I could mention. But I think those two for a start should be something that could be done.

I hope it answered your question. It's not as thorough as I could make it.

WP: Do you think prisoners should form unions?

HB: Do I think they should form unions? I happen to know they have already formed unions.

I'm not for prison unions myself. But the Attica Liberation Faction's position is that they will support any prisoners' union that is formed.

They don't again receive the support from workers' periodicals that they should.

Now Mr. Oswald (the New York State Correction Commissioner) in his book *Attica Story* made an interesting point about the \$1.85 minimum wage. [Note: Blyden is referring to the fact that prison unions are raising the demand for minimum wage payments for prison labor.] He questioned whether or not the inmates should pay their own way -- taxes and so forth!

So this is going to be a tricky thing. This is why I'm not for it until such time as we can determine what happens to our tax dollars.

I'm not for paying taxes to drop bombs on North Vietnam. I'll pay the taxes gladly if it's going to go toward better homes, schools, something that is going to be beneficial for our community and our people in general.

Other than that I don't think we should pay any taxes. I therefore, in effect, don't think we should form a prison union unless we are going to be benefitting from the taxes. ■

[In the second half of this interview, Blyden discusses the relationship between capitalism and prisons, the development of Black Liberation consciousness inside the prisons, and the changing relationships among Black and white prisoners.]

Attica

[Continued from page 1]

(a charge whose meaning the grand jury has yet to explain!). Those charged are herded in shackles to Auburn, a prison in upstate New York, to await hearings.

They are kept waiting for hours before they are finally arraigned. Vernon Lafrangue, a defendant given no reason for his transfer to Auburn, refused to move and was carried by guards into the prison. Several inmates complained of being put in double jeopardy. They had been placed in solitary confinement without a hearing before their indictment.

While most of those indicted were

in prison during the time at which they were charged, those who had been released since the rebellion are being rounded up and sent to Erie County Jail.

Legal counsel for the inmates also states that prisoners are being coerced, threatened, or "bought-off" with promises of immunity into testifying against other prisoners.

Because the indictments are sealed, prisoners and their families have been put through needless agony as they wait while the defendants were slowly being named. It is uncertain whether there will be any more indictments after the thirty-seven indictments are completely opened.

The hellish wait and brutality to which the Attica defendants have been subjected was brought home when Ernest Bixby, an inmate charged with unlawful imprisonment of a hostage, coercion, and assault, tried to commit suicide in his Auburn cell.

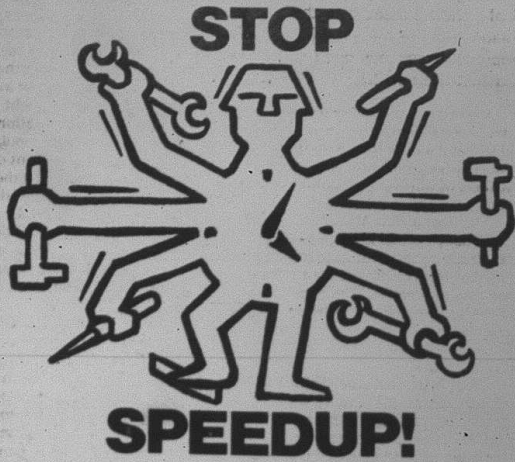
It is clear, as defense lawyers claim,

that the indictments are being opened now to direct attention away from a hearing in Buffalo in which charges of brutality have been made against Attica guards.

Immediately after the rebellion was quelled by the troopers, prisoners were tortured and beaten by guards. Their lives were threatened.

Harassment of leaders of the Attica rebellion who have not yet been indicted continues. Herbert X Blyden, Minister of the Attica Liberation Faction, remains in segregation in the Bronx House of Detention unable to receive either visitors or guests.

In spite of the harassment and the outrageous lies of the grand jury, morale among the inmates is high and their will to resist unshakable. Defendants have entered the hearings with clenched fists. When asked if he would plead not guilty to the charge of murder of a guard, defendant Charles Parnaslice solidly replied "damn right!" ■



Productivity: The Employers' Attack And How To Fight It

Lori Larkin

Part One: The Truth About Productivity

"American businessmen must learn once again to compete in the world and the only way we can compete is on the basis of our own productivity!"
President Nixon

"There are only two ways to increase productivity, get more work out of the same people or the same work out of less people."

- Mo Brummitt, President of the militant Steel Workers local in Aliquippa, Pennsylvania

[Statements like this from leading government officials have filled the newspapers in recent months. Unless productivity is raised, they cry, the United States will lose her economic supremacy in the world.

[In April of last year the White House announced plans for a massive "productivity campaign" by "all Americans" to prevent this impending calamity.

[The Government claims that the campaign to increase productivity will benefit bosses and workers alike, even though everyone will have to "sacrifice" at first.

[But the truth is that the "productivity campaign" is really a plan to improve the profits of US businessmen by making workers work harder under

even worse conditions than we have today.

[This sums up Nixon's "Productivity Campaign" in a nutshell. (If workers controlled this society, rather than the capitalists, productivity would mean something very different than it does today. The productivity of industry would be increased to benefit people, not destroy them in the interest of profits.

[Speedup and unemployment would not exist. Technological advances and labor-saving machines could be used to provide a higher standard of living and easier life for everyone, instead of increasing corporate profits by throwing thousands or millions of people out of work.

[The working class and the capitalists thus have very different interests in increasing productivity, and this conflict will go on for as long as the capitalists maintain their control over society.

[Today, the Nixon administration's "productivity campaign" represents a major attack on the living standards and working conditions of the American working class.

[The "productivity campaign" must be fought by trade union militants. In order to develop strategies to fight the "productivity campaign," it is important to understand it fully.

[This is the first in a series of arti-

cles which will examine the background of the "productivity campaign" and the response -- or lack of it -- by the official trade union bureaucrats.

[Most important, we will try to suggest a program of action by which union militants can begin fighting back.

What Does "Productivity" Mean?

"Productivity" can be defined as output per man-hour -- the amount of goods or services the average worker creates in an hour on the job. In other words, it is the relationship between labor and output. Productivity can rise or fall, depending on a number of factors. If machinery is introduced that gets the work done more quickly, productivity rises. In the past two hundred years, the productivity of workers under capitalism has risen tremendously because of the invention of labor-saving machinery, everything from electrical sewing machines to computers.

Productivity can also rise, as GM workers are finding out right now, by speeding up an assembly line or by cutting down on the size of the work-force.

If the line is speeded up, the same number of workers will produce more cars in the same amount of time, so productivity will rise.

Or, if fewer workers produce the same number of cars in an hour, productivity also rises even though the actual number of cars remains the same.

"Productivity", therefore, does not refer simply to the amount of goods being produced. It is a measure of how "efficient" the capitalists are in getting production from the workers they employ.

From the point of view of the capitalists, productivity means profits. The more production they can squeeze out of each worker, the higher their profits will be.

The Inefficiency of US Industry

As explained above, the most important way that capitalism increased production efficiency historically (in the US, especially in the period following the Civil War) was to improve the type of machine used. How has American capitalism fared in this re-

spect in recent year?

According to President Nixon: "While other nations have been modernizing, while others have been spurring ahead in productivity, in America we have let productivity slip; we have neglected capital investment; we have fallen behind other nations in the attention and support we give."

Graph 1 tells the story. In the last decade the percentage of profits reinvested in new machinery by US businessmen was only half that of Japan and two-thirds of West German capital investment.

In earlier decades the US had been the world's leader in capital investment. US business is losing its dominant position internationally.

During most of the much-advertized 1972 business recovery, US industry still operated at only 75 percent of its machine capacity, an unusually low figure for a period of business expansion.

Economists and government officials speculate that the low level was because much of the unused machinery is so inefficient or obsolete that it just isn't worth using!

Closely related to business spending for new machinery is spending for research. In this area too the United States is falling behind, partly because of the effects on our economy of the war in Vietnam.

Much of the technological improvement since World War II has come from adapting military and defense research findings to industrial use.

However the fruits of this "spin-off" to industry are drying up as military research is cut back, or transferred into the creation of massive destructive weaponry to be used against the Vietnamese people.

Private industry in this country has never allocated very much of its profits to research, preferring instead to let the government foot most of the bill.

In a recent speech, Secretary of Commerce Petersen summed up the problem. Petersen blamed poor productivity performance on corporate management's emphasis on short-term profits rather than with long-term performance.

This looks on the surface like simple corporate greed. In fact, however, it is the desperate need of business for immediate profits that is scuttling America's industrial wealth.

In unguarded moments both business and government officials concede that it is this failure to invest in both new and more efficient machinery that has pushed down the productivity rate.

Every time the bosses speed up the line or whittle away at wages they are trying to compensate for their own

Capital Spending as % of Gross National Product

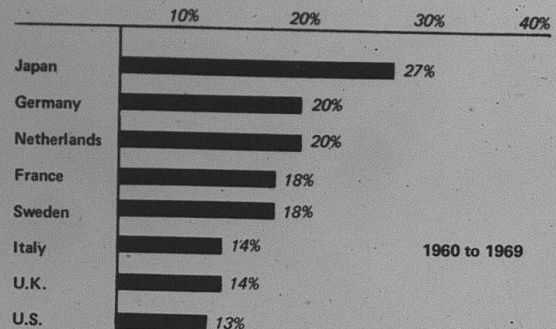


Table 2: "Worker Efficiency" Climbs When Business Picks Up

		Increase in output per man-hour
1949	Recession	3.1%
1950	Recovery	8.2%
1954	Recession	2.4%
1955	Recovery	4.4%
1957, 1958	Recession	3.0%
1959	Recovery	3.6%
1960	Recession	1.5%
1961	Recovery	3.4%
1967	"Mini-recession"	2.1%
1968	Recover	2.9%

"As business improves, employers boost output with speedup and overtime before they hire new workers. Consequently, production rises faster than employment, raising the productivity figure. This is what is happening today."

failure. They are the ones who are running this country and its abundant wealth into the ground!

Productivity and Business Cycle

One of the permanent features of capitalism is the business cycle -- periods of recession with low output and employment, alternating with boom periods in which business expands. Productivity is affected by the alternating "boom and bust" cycle of capitalism.

When there is a recession machinery stands idle and workers are laid off because the company cannot sell what it produces. In early (pre-recession) stages of the business downswing a company will first cut back on output.

This is usually done by operating at a less "efficient" level than plant capacity allows before reducing employment. Therefore "efficiency" in production heads downwards and so does the productivity figure.

As business again turns up employers will initially boost output with speedup and overtime before they hire new workers. Consequently production rises faster than employment and this raises the productivity figure.

This is what is happening today, in only more intensively than usual. In the auto industry, masses of workers remain laid off even though production of cars is over 100 percent of "official" capacity!

As the business upswing continues, new employees are hired and older, less efficient machinery is brought in to use so that productivity tapers off as the boom continues.

Table II illustrates the relationship between the business cycle and productivity in the post-war period. An obvious conclusion is that so-called "worker efficiency" climbs when business picks up.

How Do You Measure Productivity

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to compare productivity in different parts of the economy. You can easily count the number of televisions assembled in one day, but how do you measure productivity of services such as teaching or nursing?

New York's Mayor Lindsay is trying to do this for New York City Agencies. Police productivity will now be measured against the volume of arrests and tickets; social workers the number of cases visited. The at-

tempt to quantify services quickly approaches the ridiculous.

Productivity in services and farming is always lower than it is in industry. For decades productivity rose in the United States as the labor force moved from farms into industry.

Government estimates add about 0.5 percent to the productivity rate during the early 1950's as a result of rural to urban migration. But this historic trend is quickly coming to an end since today only 5 percent of the labor force remains on the farms.

The most important change now in the movement of the work force is from industry into services. The service sector does not lend itself readily to large-scale, efficient, heavy machinery. It is thus a "low-productivity" sector, according to the statistics.

Today 50 percent of the labor force works in the service sector and the number is still growing strong. The US Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that 0.2 percent each year during the 1970's could be lost from the productivity measure because of the shift of labor from the goods producing sector into services.

Another downward pull on the productivity figure is the large number of women and teen-agers who are entering the job market. Their labor tends to be unskilled and concentrated in the service sector. Unskilled labor tends to be less productive in "productivity" terms.

Thus the productivity statistic, which does not distinguish between types of job and levels of skill -- is being pulled downwards by certain historic trends in the labor market.

"Productivity" Doesn't Say Much

Capital investment, research, boom or bust, farm or factory; all enter into the measure of productivity. They must all be considered when we try to understand why the productivity of US labor is not rising as rapidly as in earlier periods.

But the current debate on productivity is centering around something very different, namely the "work attitudes" of the labor force.

In fact, business is trying to use the productivity figures as the basis for their contention that workers must work more and harder, give up wage increases and fringe benefits and cooperate with the profit drive.

Future articles will examine the "Productivity Campaign" in greater detail and discuss how it can be fought. ■

Long Island Railroad workers, on strike for six weeks now, are finding that they must fight not only their bosses but the politicians and the mass media too. A vicious attack has been launched against their strike.

Governor Rockefeller has called the strikers' demands "unconscionable," and all the New York daily papers have frequently accused the strikers of hurting the "public interest."

The liberal *New York Post* even has a daily special front-page editorial attacking the strike and demanding that Rockefeller invoke the Taylor Law to break it. The paper have universally demanded either binding arbitration or intervention by the State Legislature to force the strikers back to work.

What is the real story behind the slander campaign? Twelve unions representing non-operating employees (5,000 carmen, teamsters, clerks, electrical workers, sheet-metal workers and other craftsmen) are striking for a wage increase and an improved pension plan.

A special Presidential Emergency Board was appointed by the federal government earlier this year to come up with a settlement, but recommended the outrageously low increase of 6 percent a year in a two year contract -- much less than the operating employees or transit workers get.

All twelve unions voted to reject this. The strikers are speaking parity with the LIRR operating employees, who got a 36 percent increase (but at the sacrifice of vital work rules, thus squeezing working conditions and sacrificing jobs in return for pay increases.)

The twelve striking unions have so far categorically refused to accept binding arbitration. Operating employees have respected the picket lines, completely shutting down the railroad.

The most widespread lie against the strikers has been that they are hurting the "public interest." Just who is this "public"?

The vast majority of this "public" is made up of working people, who

have also been accused of hurting this "public interest" whenever they have fought their bosses. When the capitalist media uses the term "public interest" what they really mean is the "capitalists' interest."

In the LIRR strike the newspapers' tactics are part of a farther-reaching strategy. It is a further attempt instigated by the government to justify imposing binding arbitration.

Not only does compulsory arbitration take away the right of strikers to vote on contracts, but the so-called "neutral" third party -- the government -- is never neutral.

Newspapers and politicians are calling for the introduction of a bill in the New York State Legislature to impose binding arbitration on all transportation strikes.

Although Anthony D'Avanzo, leader of the coalition of striking unions, has rejected binding arbitration, he is willing to accept the authority of the federal Pay Board.

D'Avanzo uses this to defend himself against the charge that the unions are "defying legal authority." After all, he maintains, the Pay Board "is really the same thing" as the government imposing binding arbitration.

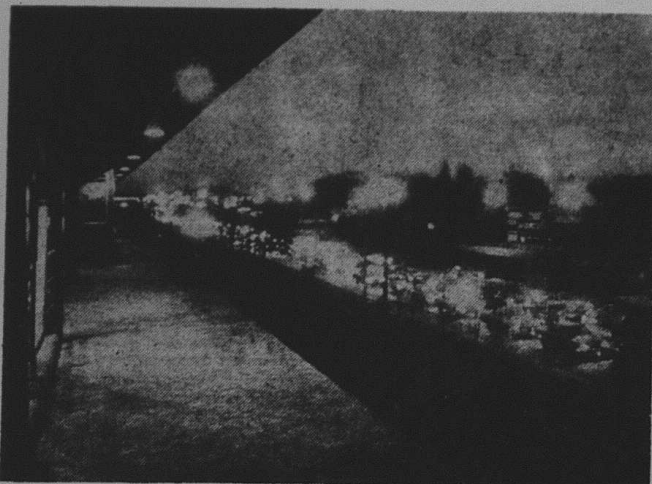
He's right: it really is "the same thing"! The LIRR situation shows, however, that to reject repressive measures such as binding arbitration the unions will have to take on the state as well. The "choice" between binding arbitration and wage controls is no choice at all.

All the resources of the capitalist class are being increasingly used against each workers' struggle -- the press, the courts, the Phase II controls, the police and the massive economic power of the corporations.

The LIRR strikers must be defended. The New York Central Labor Council must make it clear that an attempt to force the strikers back by legislation or court orders will be met with united strike action.

Workers are paying for the currently sky-rocketing corporate profits. So long as the health of the system depends upon the health of profits rather than the needs of the people, so long will workers be forced to strike, and so long will the employing class cry about the "public interest." ■

LIRR Strikers Under Attack



Commuter traffic jam inching past empty LIRR station



Minneapolis police battle strikers, May 21, 1934

TEAMSTER REBELLION

Jon Christopher

[Teamster Rebellion, by Farrell Dobbs, Monad Press, 1972. \$2.25 Paperback.]

It is not an accident that in the Minneapolis Public Library no reference can be found to the labor struggles that shook the city in the spring and summer of 1934. The Minneapolis Teamster strike was one of the dramatic labor battles of the early 30's that won for the working class the right to organize and paved the way for the struggles that built the CIO in the late 1930's.

It was also a key event in the history of the Teamsters union. The Minneapolis Teamster strike began the organization of the Teamsters on an industrial basis and represented the first time that over-the-road drivers were recognized as the key to the union's tremendous potential power.

The "city fathers" of Minneapolis would also like to deny the people of that city the knowledge of how the strike of 1934 was fought and won for that contains the most powerful lesson for today.

Teamster Rebellion outlines how this fight was waged -- through the reliance on the independent power and organization of the working class, employed and unemployed.

They won the right to organize in a city in the middle of a depression,

with 30,000 jobless and where no Teamsters strike had been won for over 20 years.

As *Teamster Rebellion* points out, the strike was led and organized by revolutionary socialists. They were members of the Communist League of America, Trotskyists, who won the respect and following of the entire working class in Minneapolis.

Revolutionary Leadership

Revolutionary socialists like Farrell Dobbs, the Dunne brothers and Carl Skoglund built Teamsters Local 574 in Minneapolis from less than 75 members in the fall of 1933 to a union of over 7,100 members by the summer of 1934.

The Minneapolis strikes of 1934 marked the greatest success ever achieved by the revolutionary movement in this country. Dobbs' book, which recounts the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary leadership of this struggle, is crucially important reading for every revolutionary socialist and trade union militant.

The organizers of the strike remained in the leadership of that local until 1941 and were key in the organization of Teamsters throughout the Midwest during the 30's.

Their strategy did not rely on the passage of laws or the courts. Section 7A of the National Recovery Act "guaranteed" labor the right to organize but did not stop the Citizen's Alliance (the wealthiest and most powerful local businessmen) from organizing to smash the union.

The teamsters did not rely on the police for "protection" -- police who shot down 67 strikers in the middle

of a public street in broad daylight.

Nor was the strike won through reliance on "liberal" politicians. A very liberal governor, Floyd Olson, a member of the Minnesota Farmer Labor Party called in the National Guard and arrested the strike leaders in order to preserve "law and order". (The right of the businessmen to break the strike).

Finally, the strike was not won through the leadership of the trade union bureaucrats. Daniel J. Tobin, the President of the Teamsters (the spiritual father of Frank Fitzsimmons who today sits with the bosses on the Pay Board), called over the road drivers "riffraff".

Tobin, as afraid of strikes then as Fitzsimmons is today, denied strike support to Local 574 and attempted to place it under trusteeship.

The strike committee of Local 574 was elected by the membership and all decisions of major importance had to meet the approval of the entire local. No "secret deals" were able to occur behind the backs of the membership.

Local 574, with the aid of the Communist League, also helped to organize the unemployed and aided their struggles as well as gaining sympathy for their strike.

Class Warfare

The leadership of Local 574 also prepared its membership for class warfare long before the police, courts and even hospitals clearly showed which side they were on.

The union had an operational headquarters with a commissary and hospital and radio-dispatched pickets. They

had a short wave radio to monitor police calls, enlisted teenagers with motorcycles to act as messenger service and armed their pickets with clubs.

The leadership of the Communist League -- James Cannon, Max Shachtman, Herbert Solow, Albert Goldman, and Hugo Oehler -- came to Minneapolis to help with the strike and to attempt to provide some national focus to the events in Minneapolis.

They helped to put out a daily newspaper, *The Organizer*, which was the first of its kind in the country. This was crucial in keeping the labor movement informed of events in the face of the lies and rumors which were printed in the capitalist press.

Local 574 was able to mobilize the entire labor movement in Minneapolis in support of their strike.

When Governor Olson called out the National Guard and arrested the strike leaders, a rally of 50,000 people demanded and won their release.

Local 574 won the right to organize, the unconditional right to strike, a 40-45 hour week and substantial wage increases.

The Minneapolis Teamsters and their leadership remained a major power in the growth of the Teamsters union in the Midwest in the late 30's.

Farrell Dobbs organized the Central States Drivers' Council and introduced area-wide bargaining into the Teamsters, the predecessor of today's Master Freight Agreement. Jimmy Hoffa called Farrell Dobbs, "the master architect of the organization of over-the-road drivers."

Unlearned Lessons

One of the failings of the book, despite its gripping account of the brilliant organization of the 1934 strike, is that Dobbs is unable to draw any lessons for today's struggles. The book reads as if the events of 1934 were "just history" and have nothing to do with living movements today.

When Dobbs came to Minneapolis this summer to publicize his book at a Militant Labor Forum, he noted that the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance (SWP-YSA) have more members today in Minneapolis than the Communist League did in 1934.

Yet, the only strategy or advice he could offer his membership was "to go out and sell the book" in the hope that people in Minneapolis will learn about their history.

This, unfortunately, is not surprising. The degeneration of the SWP, away from the revolutionary working class perspective it once held, means that today it sees the great struggles of the industrial working class only as memories of the past -- not guides to the work of revolutionary socialists in the working class today.

There are militants in the Teamsters and other unions who have renewed the fight for a revolutionary workers' movement in the US, a fight which Dobbs helped to lead in 1934.

Today's fight will be more difficult in some respects than in the past. Those of us in the Teamsters know that any struggle cannot be confined to one city.

A national movement in the Teamsters must be built, and the fight that will be waged will be over far more than the right to organize. It will have to be a fight to solve the problems of a decaying society that faces workers today.

It is time now for working class leaders, standing on the shoulders of revolutionary pioneers of earlier generations, to begin to combine the lessons of the past with a strategy for the future -- to begin to build today for the next Teamster and working class rebellion. ■

Civil War In Ireland

Last month the government of the Republic of Ireland passed its "new IRA bill" - an amendment to the Offenses Against the State Act. Under the new law, the government can easily convict not only IRA members and supporters, but any groups which come into conflict with the government.

Among its other provisions the new law states that, if a high-ranking police officer states that he believes the accused was a member of an illegal organization, that statement shall be evidence that he was a member. Published reports that a person was a member of an illegal organization can be used as evidence of membership.

There was a nationwide opposition to the new law. Construction workers, electricians and transport workers

staged short protest walkouts. The Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union stated that the Bill would be a threat to all trade unions, tenants' associations and minority political groupings. They demanded that the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and the Labor Party resist the legislation by calling a general strike.

The Irish Federation of Trade Unions said, "Workers must resist the bill in all its facets, since any government capable of enacting such panic legislation would have no hesitation in introducing measures to shackle worker's in times of industrial unrest."

However, there was little attempt to build coordinated work stoppages and other forms of resistance to the passage of the law.

The Socialist Workers Movement

proposed a united front of working class and anti-imperialist movements to defend their rights. Their demands include: release of Sean MacStiofain (chief of Staff of the Provisional IRA), release of Kevin O'Kelly (a reporter who interviewed MacStiofain and was imprisoned for it), repeal of the Offenses Against the State Act and other repressive laws, an end to political censorship, and workers' action against repression.

In this country, Irish Republican Clubs are organizing protests against the sentencing of MacStiofain and press censorship in Ireland. They are joining with other groups in protesting the visit to this country of Irish Premier Jack Lynch, who was met with a spirited demonstration as he appeared at ABC studios for a nationwide TV broadcast. ■

On July 26, 1970, three explosions rocked Camp McCoy, an Army base near Sparta, Wisconsin. Supposedly destroyed were the electric substation, the telephone exchange, and the water reservoir.

Seven months later, three organizers for the American Servicemen's Union - Tom Chase, Dannie Kreps, and Steve Geden - were indicted by a federal grand jury.

The indictment was announced by John Mitchell, then Nixon's Attorney General. It is part of the Nixon Administration's campaign of frame-ups against those organizing oppressed people.

The government attacked Angela Davis and the Black Panthers for organizing blacks, Louis Smith for organizing black workers, Carlos Feliciano for organizing for Puerto Rican independence - and many more.

Now, after two years of stalling, the government is finally bringing the

case of the Camp McCoy 3 up for trial on January 8.

The indictment against one of the three, Dannie Kreps, was dismissed by US Federal District Court Judge Doyle, since Kreps had not been advised of his Constitutional rights when brought before the Grand Jury.

The government, however, is appealing this decision. If they lose the appeal, they will go to a new Grand Jury for a re-indictment.

Obviously, the government has no intention of dropping its campaign to prosecute and harass organizers of rank and file GI's. So much for the New Army!

The ASU organizers are charged with four counts: conspiracy to destroy government property, destruction of government property, use of a "destructive device" to commit a felony, and possession of a destructive device.

Each faces 35 years in prison and

a \$35,000 fine. In contrast, General Lavelle, held responsible for unauthorized bombings in Vietnam which resulted in untold death and suffering, is merely reduced in rank and retired at a full pension of \$18,000 a year - a reward for serving his country well.

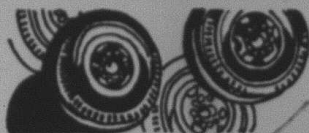
Whether or not the Camp McCoy 3 are finally found guilty, their attempts to organize around these demands have been hampered for several years.

Time, effort, and money that might have been used to organize opposition to the oppressive, racist, and imperialist war machine have had to be channeled into a legal battle for survival. As Angela Davis has said, "The only fair trial would have been no trial at all." ■

(If you can help support the Camp McCoy 3, send your donation to: Camp McCoy 3 Defense Comm., 306 No. Brooks St., Madison, WI 53703.)

Camp McCoy 3 Trial Begins

Judy Barton



The multi-national tire company Dunlop-Pirelli is facing a multi-national challenge from the workers in its plants in West Germany, England, Belgium, Holland, Spain, France, Ireland, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, and Rumania and Yugoslavia as well.

Representatives from these plants, responding to a call from the Interna-

tional Federation of Chemical Workers, met recently in London and set up a permanent World Council. The Council may soon be joined by Japanese worker representatives, as Dunlop-Pirelli and the Japanese company Sanytom are in the process of merger discussions.

Alarmed by the prospect of Dunlop-Pirelli's closing "less efficient" plants in one or more countries, and the transfer of production from those plants to others - meaning unemployment for some and speed-up for others - the trade union representatives from the 12 countries are demanding that management immediately meet with

all of them.

"If we don't receive a response immediately after the holidays," said their spokesman, "we envisage a 3 phase actions: a work to rule, a refusal of overtime, and, if necessary, a 24 hour general strike."

At a time when workers in one country are increasingly walking out to show their solidarity with workers in the same firm in another country, a general strike - even of only 24 hours - by workers in 12 countries would be a world's first.

It's high time that American unions began to show some of the same international solidarity! ■

Internat'l Strike Brews

This December, the US Department of Labor (DoL) updated its previous reports on federal job safety inspections to cover the entire period from July 1971 through October 1972.

Compliance officers from the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) conducted 44,009 inspections resulting in 29,098 citations to employers for 142,132 violations of federal job safety and health standards.

As usual, OSHA statistics do not indicate the size of the companies cited or fined (for example, by the number of workers employed in the affected plants).

Proposed penalties totaled \$3,264,773 during the same period, according to Chain Robbins, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor and Administrator for Occupational Safety and Health.

Robbins did not say so, but the average proposed fine-per-citation during OSHA's first 16 months of inspection activities was \$22.97

Despite this pathetic figure, the DoL and the National Association of Manufacturers have encouraged employers to contest citations and penalties up to and beyond the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission.

As a result, the ridiculously low average penalty may be lower yet.

Worker complaints to OSHA during the 16-month period totaled 6,989. This low number is an accurate index of how poorly the unions have made use of the Williams-Steiger Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970.

M&M Protection Consultants, a Chicago-based subsidiary of Marsh & McLennan Incorporated, commented

in April, 1972, "In relation to the number of businesses affected by the Act, the number of complaints of violations by employees is exceptionally low. Receipt of complaints on a much larger scale was expected by the Department of Labor."

During the latter half of 1972, this situation has improved only slightly.

The statute is, indeed, severely riddled with loopholes and potholes. (See Alice Watts, "Life and Limb," Workers' Power No. 53.)

The Act remains a tool and a tactic which should be considered in the fight for decent working conditions. Nonetheless, independent action by the unions will be needed during the upcoming round of contract negotiations to win real gains, in the form of tough health and safety clauses in the new collective bargaining agreements. ■

Workers Exposed to Danger and Disease

Andy Bonifacio

CHILE'S POPULAR FRONT EXPOSED

Paul Benjamin

The recent defeats of the workers' movement in Chile are events of international importance. The Chilean workers' movement is at present one of the most advanced in the world. Since the electoral victory of the Popular Unity coalition in 1970, Chile has been transformed into a great political laboratory in which the working class and its opponents are developing means of struggle which will be examined and adopted by their counterparts around the globe.

Does Salvador Allende's Popular Unity Government represent a Marxist government? This is the myth which both Allende and the bourgeoisie are trying to maintain.

Allende clings to his "Marxist" credentials as his tool for dragging the working class into support of his government.

The ruling class want to pin "Marxism" on Allende's program as they work to defeat it, hoping to defeat and demoralize the working class in its search for a revolutionary strategy.

In truth, the Popular Unity coalition is made up of three major forces, none of which represent the real interests of the working class. First, there is the Socialist Party, based in the working class, but which acts as an apologist for the propertied interests in Chile.

Secondly, there is the Radical Party, representing Chile's liberal bourgeoisie. The left wing of the Radicals now claim to be a "socialist" party; nevertheless, they have neither a base nor historic connections with the working class movement.

The Communist Party, the third major party and the lynchpin of the coalition, has consistently argued within the coalition for the containment of the workers' and peasants' movement in the interests of attracting bourgeois support.

Coalition of Obstruction

The nature of the Popular Unity coalition must be seen within the context of traditional political forces within Chile. The old ruling class parties have merged into the right-wing National Party, which can no longer hope for legitimately coming to power in its own name.

In its place as the leading ruling class party stands the Christian Democrats, with a vague rhetoric of social reform and collective economy. Backed by the US, the party won the 1964 election.

Instead of pacifying the workers' and peasants' movement, however, the Christian Democratic reform program simply raised their hopes without satisfying their needs.

The Popular Unity simply continues to bank on the illusions raised by the Christian Democratic "opening to the left". It is a coalition of leftish and bourgeois parties whose role is to obstruct the workers' movement, not to lead it.

In this sense, it resembles the Pop-



WORKERS AT CHILE'S EL TENIENTE COPPER MINE

ular Front governments of the 1930's in France and Spain, regimes which created a myth of "people's governments" to mask the reality of continuing capitalist rule. In both countries the Popular Front led the workers' movement to defeat -- in Spain to destruction.

The critical importance of the Popular Unity is precisely that it is the last illusion. The workers' movement will either see through the Popular Unity and create its own party and institutions, or its demoralization will become complete, opening the way for an open restoration of the right wing to power.

Popular Unity has created its own myths about Chilean society in order to conceal the reformist character of its programs. According to Allende and his Communist Party supporters, there is not one but two ruling classes in Chile: the feudal landlords and imperialists on the one hand, the "progressive national bourgeoisie" on the other.

The government insists on the ne-

cessity of workers allying with the "good" capitalists against the reactionaries, even if this entails giving up its own aspirations. Thus the government looks for its allies in the ranks of the Christian Democrats rather than in the working class.

In fact, the propertied class in Chile is united in opposition to the workers' movement. Allende is trying to pull off the old magician's trick of pretending to saw the lady in half, when actually she is safely behind the stage without a scratch.

Consider the question of nationalization. Nationalizing property is not in itself a particularly Marxist act. Capitalist democracies, military dictatorships, and Stalinist bureaucracies have taken over private property at need.

The real question is who benefits from expropriation -- who controls the property, and who pays for it.

The workers greeted Allende's electoral victory with a rush of plant occupations. Allende informed them that expropriation was a "technical ques-

tion", a matter for "specialists", rather than for the working class to handle.

The government, rather than relying on the revolutionary militancy of the class, resorted to twisting bourgeois law to take over a small number of firms, placing them in the hands of its own technocrats.

Workers' "participation" in decision-making came down at best to sitting at the same table with government administrators who had a built-in majority in decision-making.

During the last crisis, the "bosses' strike" of November 1972, workers seized industrial and commercial enterprises to keep production going. A leftist newspaper in Chile reports what resulted:

"They (the cabinet) are going to return the construction enterprises. They are going to return the stores. They are going to return some industries. Plants that were closed and locked, plants paralyzed by their owners, are going to be returned."

"We opened them, we made them produce, we organized their production, we alone, without the bosses and in spite of them."

"Today they are going to return them. For twenty-seven days we proved that we didn't need bosses to make these plants function. And today they are going to return them."

The government at first promised to take over some 250 key enterprises. By last spring they were talking about taking over 91. The latter proposal was abandoned and the minister who introduced it was forced out of the cabinet. This is "nationalization" in Allende's Chile.

Moreover, the limited nationalization which has been carried out has been accomplished at the workers' expense. Thus when Allende took over the copper mines in Chile (a process which had been inaugurated by the preceding capitalist and pro-Western government) he agreed to take over the firms' debt obligations to the tune of 700 million dollars.

Copper miners are being told to work harder so that the government can pay off this debt. The workers feel no responsibility toward their exploiters. The Allende government, which presumes to speak for the working class, demands that they do!

Chile's peasants also responded strongly to Allende's electoral victory. The number of land seizures tripled in the first year of the Allende government. Landowners responded by organizing private armies to drive them out.

When peasants sought to acquire arms to protect themselves, the government cracked down. Since October, 1971, the government has collaborated with landholders in the protection of their property.

Chile's workers and peasants face the opposition of both the bourgeoisie and "their own government" in their attempts to seize the means of production -- the factories and the land -- for themselves. If they are to succeed, they must arm themselves against both their open enemies and their false friends.

Allende, the CP, and the bourgeoisie are united in their efforts to prevent



Peasants defending land seizure

the workers and peasants of Chile from developing means of self-protection. The Chilean legislature is preparing laws forbidding the possession of arms by the people.

Meanwhile nothing is done about the armed gangs organized by the right wing which attack the revolutionary movement in the cities and in the countryside.

Allende's magic wand has become a policeman's club. Even before taking office he abandoned his program for dismantling the repressive apparatus of the state. The riot police, whom he promised to dissolve, have been used to crush workers' demonstrations.

The army, which was to have been replaced by a popular militia, now is entrenched in the Cabinet as a "guarantee" to the bourgeoisie of Allende's commitment to maintaining property rights against the revolutionary movement.

Economic reforms have come to an end while the bourgeoisie is granted price increases. The government's energies are now devoted to reaching some sort of compromise with the Christian Democrats, while workers are told to work harder and obey the law.

Clearly the Popular Unity itself poses no threat to the safety of the ruling class in Chile. The more sophisticated sections of the bourgeoisie realize this; their strategy, at present, is not to overthrow Allende, but to keep him in line.

If Allende is forced to break their rules by the independent workers' movement, they will junk him. This is the source of the constant tension in Chile, as the government seeks to maintain its control of the workers' movement while justifying itself to the bourgeoisie.

Dispel the Myth!

The workers' movement first task is to dispel the myths surrounding the Popular Unity by calling for it to break decisively with the bourgeoisie.

They must call for a break with the Radicals, for no negotiations with the Christian Democrats, for kicking the Army out of the Cabinet.

They must demand arms for the workers and peasants against the bourgeoisie's gangsters. Beyond simply exposing the Allende regime, the movement must begin creating its own institutions of struggle, must create its own revolutionary party.

There are encouraging signs that an organized opposition is developing. The factory co-ordinating committees which were formed during the bosses' strike continue to exist, strongly criticizing the government for its capitulation in that crisis.

The Army's entry into the Cabinet has opened workers' eyes to the real loyalties of the regime. But the revolutionary organizations in Chile are still confused by the "socialist" character of the coalition. They have failed to recognize that the social and economic relations remain capitalist, that the capitalist state and the rule of the bourgeoisie remain intact under Allende's government.

While criticizing its "mistakes," while playing an important role in leading the continuing struggle in the cities and the countryside, the revolutionary groups have not as yet broken with the regime and begun the formation of an organized political alternative to the Popular Unity.

This alternative, a revolutionary working-class party with a program speaking directly to the needs of workers and peasants, is essential in preventing the movement from sinking into the cynicism and apathy which is all that the Popular Unity has come to represent. ■

Labor Party Wins in Australia

Ron Flaherty

The Australian Labor Party was swept to power on December 2 with a likely majority of about 10 seats in a parliament of 125. Labor defeated a Liberal-Country Party coalition government, split by leadership squabbles, which had lost the confidence even of many businessmen by its failure to solve the country's economic troubles.

It has been a long time since there was a Labor government in Australia, 23 years to be exact. For this reason many Australians are euphoric about the change, and many have illusions about what the ALP will do. Indeed, Labor in office will look very good at first.

Cough Whitlam and Lance Barnard (the new Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister) have formed a two-man interim cabinet, and begun a whirlwind of activity. The draft has been abolished, and all imprisoned draft resisters released. Australia's participation in the Vietnam war has been abruptly terminated.

Mainland China will be recognized, and Whitlam is already planning a trip to Peking. The tax on contraceptives has been removed. Perhaps Labor will liberalize the censorship laws that have kept such "pornography" as the works of Jean Genet from the Australian public.

Even the sheer breezy style of the ALP will excite many after the stodginess of the Liberals.

But the honeymoon will eventually end when Labor is forced to face more substantial social problems. Abolishing the draft is popular, but it doesn't cost much. Going to Peking is a political change, but it doesn't cost much. And radical rhetoric is cheapest of all.

But there are some more basic issues that raise the question of the distribution of income and resources in society, and it is these that will put Labor to the test.

Unemployment. Unemployment is only 1.8 percent here, but that is

enough to get Australians pretty upset - the rate used to be more like .25 percent (one-quarter of one percent!). With the appearance of inflation in the late 60's, the Liberals tried to cut demand by creating unemployment.

The only result was to create "stagflation": unemployment plus inflation, and a general economic slump.

Labor is pledged to "do something about unemployment." Because they will be hesitant to even touch profits, however, it is hard to see how they can end unemployment without revving up inflation.

Equal Pay. The question of equal pay for women workers has attracted a lot of attention here in recent months. There have been strikes over this in some areas.

Labor says it will intervene in the equal pay case now before the arbitration commission, but its commitment to a real program and struggle over the question is dubious. Will Labor call for an equal minimum wage for women? Without it, wages would probably not go up at all in all-female industries!

Will equal pay for women be achieved (as the Liberals suggested) only by lowering wages of men? Will equal pay be stalled by a long "phasing-in period"? The ALP has not answered any of these questions.

Black Land Rights. This is now such a popular issue that the government will probably take some sort of action to give some land to Aborigines, and perhaps to give them a larger share in the profits from mining on Aboriginal land.

But the mining interests are powerful and hard-nosed, so don't hold your breath.

Undoubtedly the toughest question will be the attitude of the government to strikes. The State Labor government in South Australia has already jailed two building union leaders, and passed restrictive laws against "illegal strikes."

What is more, the incoming Federal Minister for Industrial Relations is a strong proponent of such laws. The ALP's talk about "replacing industrial conflict with conciliation" has a very fishy smell.

The first taste of Labor's industrial relations policies came when Whitlam ordered the government airline not to give in to striking pilots who were "trying to embarrass" the Labor government.

The papers were delighted: "Whitlam gets tough on air strike" crowed the Sydney Telegraph, whose financial writers reassured bankers and businessmen that Labor was "no boggy to the world of finance." The Whitlam government could be a boggy to the Australian working class, however.

The group in the best position to play a key role in exposing the sell-outs of the ALP leadership is the Socialist Left faction which is strongest within the Victorian branch of the party.

The SL is a mixture of "left bureaucrats," revolutionaries, and some rank and file blue-collar workers.

If this faction is to be effective in fighting Whitlam it will have to draw large numbers of workers to its meetings and wage a dogged fight in the Party branches. So far, however, its leaders have proved sluggish, and the group has been shrinking.

Predictions are dangerous, especially since Australia is still in pretty good shape economically and the government therefore has a lot of room to maneuver. But the next few years of Labor's government have grave disappointments in store for Australian workers. If revolutionaries are active and articulate in the workers' movement, perhaps these disappointments will have at least educational value. ■

[Ron Flaherty is a member of the Australian revolutionary group Socialist Workers Action. For further information on the SWA see the International Report in Workers' Power 69.]

Dockers' Boycott Leads Australian War Protest

Australian maritime unions have begun a boycott of American ships in Australian ports in protest of American bombing in North Vietnam. Other Australian unions may join the protest.

The Sydney Construction Workers Union has voted to recommend a general union boycott of American goods and services unless the US signs a truce agreement with North Vietnam by the end of January.

Thirty unions have joined in a statement to the American consul in Sydney warning that further actions against American interests in Australia would follow unless the US came to an agreement with North Vietnam ending the war soon.

Australia's top labor bureaucrats have not endorsed these actions. The Australian Council of Trade Unions, the central body of the labor move-

ment, has officially ignored the boycott.

Unofficially, they are "negotiating" with maritime union leaders to end the protests.

The US at first tried to laugh off the boycott, limiting itself to a routine expression of regret to the Australian Foreign Office. But the wide publicity given the union protests, combined with the general worldwide condemnation of US bombing in North Vietnam, forced the government to take stronger steps.

On January 4, Secretary of State Rogers expressed "official concern" to the Australian government over the protests.

To this point, the only reaction from the US labor bureaucracy has come from Ralph Gleason, boss of the International Longshoremen's Association. Gleason, already famous

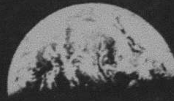
for his militancy against Polish ham, has announced a counter-boycott of Australian shipping on East and Gulf Coast docks. Gleason never defends his own workers with the zeal he shows for the interests of the State Department.

Gleason's disgusting act of strike-breaking must be repudiated and countered by other labor leaders who claim to oppose the war. Harry Bridges, leader of the West Coast longshore union (ILWU), is a leading figure in the Labor for Peace group. What will Bridges do to support the Australian dockers' actions?

Anti-war forces in the American labor movement can learn some lessons from their Australian counterparts. American workers can end the war if they protest where it counts - on the job, through an anti-war work stoppage. ■

international report

Paul Benjamin



[This issue's International Report is devoted entirely to recent events in the Stalinist countries, the so-called "socialist camp." It is clear that the Eastern European governments are facing, to one degree or another, the consequences of their own economic misdeeds.

The regimes have responded by declaring austerity measures while calling for increased production from their workers. Moreover, remembering the Czech upheaval and the Polish workers' upsurge of 1970, they are tightening up their political control.

This international crisis of Stalinism helps to explain the recent easing of tensions with the West. The Stalinists have too many troubles at home to risk an increase in international tensions.]

Russia: Secret police intensify campaign against dissidents

As Russia has moved toward improved relations with the West, its secret police have mounted a determined campaign of repression against the domestic dissident movement.

Last year secret police carried on a determined campaign against the most important dissident publication, the *Chronicle of Current Events*. The Communist Party's Central Committee had ordered its suppression in late 1971. Nevertheless, four issues appeared last year.

A similar campaign has been conducted against the Ukrainian national movement. In the past year more than 100 people have been arrested in the Ukrainian Republic for alleged "anti-Soviet" activities.

Andrei D. Sakharov, a leader in the civil rights movement in Russia, has noted that the situation has become worse for dissenters as Russian relations have improved with Western nations, especially since the visit to Moscow last May of President Nixon.

Sakharov contends that Russian authorities now believe (correctly) that Western "public opinion" is more concerned with improving relations and trade, and will thus ignore political actions against Russian civil rights activists.

The Russian crackdown coincides with a critical downswing in the Russian economy. The leadership points to serious crop failures as the cause of the crisis. But Nikolai K. Baibakov, Chairman of the State Planning Committee, has admitted failures in the industrial sphere as well.

As the new year began, a Russian economist announced a project for *arbitrarily revising the boundaries of the country's ethnic republics* in the interests of more efficient economic planning. In other words, the government is planning to limit and centralize the economy to overcome its own planning failures.

The general direction will be toward lowering projected economic goals, mostly by cutting output of consumer goods. The current Five Year Plan, running from 1971 to

1975, was the first to set up higher growth rates for consumer goods industries than for basic heavy industry.

This plan has been thrown out. The revised plan includes an increase in consumer goods output of 4.5 percent, while the original plan called for an 8.1 percent increase. Output of heavy industry has been cut from 7.8 percent to 6.3 percent.

This tightening of the strings may

stated that opponents of the new economic measures will be treated as "subversives."

The truth is that the country's economy is falling apart. Many factories have been unable to pay either their suppliers or their workers, leading to shortages of materials, strikes and protest demonstrations.

The government officially lists 300,000 unemployed; this does not include an additional 700,000 odd

taking no chances. There are some reports that local army reservists have been issued police uniforms, in case the demonstrations should flare up again.

The workers are protesting about plans to tie their wages to profits. They are suspicious of any incentive system, especially one that ties wage gains to the efficient functioning of the Polish economic bureaucracy.

If supplies fail to arrive, or if the cost of materials goes up, the workers will have to pay for it.

Workers also question the government's recent productivity drive. Gierek has been making speeches about the need for increased efficiency in production.

His plans for increasing efficiency include "labor-saving machinery" (layoffs) and rewriting the national labor laws. Officials have claimed that the resistance to these maneuvers is based on "poor formulations" in the documents and "unfamiliarity with the terms" on the part of the workers.

Chances are that the workers understand all too well what is going on. The new law failed to win approval at last December's Trade Union Congress



Continuing unrest among Polish workers worries Gierek regime

explain the crackdown on internal dissent. A similar cut in consumer goods production in Poland, in 1970, provoked a mass workers' protest movement.

It's unlikely that a similar upsurge will take place immediately in Russia. But the ruling bureaucracy is taking no chances that the tiny opposition movement now in existence might be able to appeal to dissatisfaction with its austerity program.

Russian economic problems also explain the rulers' anxiety to attract investment from the capitalist states -- mainly the US and Japan -- to develop their own industry.

Yugoslavia: Workers told to underwrite regime's disasters

Yugoslav workers are being forced to pay the price for a series of economic disasters on the part of President Tito and his advisors. A million workers are being told they must take pay cuts of between 10 and 15 percent to "save socialism" in Yugoslavia.

In addition, hundreds of thousands of government workers face wage freezes, although the cost of living is rising rapidly. The government has

workers forced to go abroad to find jobs.

This economic crackdown culminates a series of political crises in Yugoslavia. A crackdown on dissident intellectuals, both students and teachers, has been going on for months.

Moreover, the bureaucracy is rent by questions of nationalist ambition and regional privilege.

[In the near future Workers' Power will carry a full discussion of the Yugoslav crisis.]

Poland: Shipyard workers stage new strike against speedup, cuts

Two years ago militant shipyard workers in Poland forced changes in the highest levels of leadership in the Polish CP. In doing so they also won substantial economic gains for themselves.

These same workers have been conducting a new series of strikes in recent months over issues of salaries and working conditions.

They have not conducted the mass demonstrations which made headlines in 1970. Instead, their protests have been confined to the workplace.

Nevertheless, the government is

Czechoslovakia: Political prisoner specially oppressed

The Bulletin of the Committee to Defend Czechoslovak Socialists, published in Great Britain, contains the following report on the conditions of political prisoners in Czechoslovakia:

"Political prisoners receive worse treatment than those convicted on criminal charges. They are usually allotted the hardest jobs -- laboring on railway construction, sewing sacks -- and labor squads are usually headed by non-political prisoners who are generally unqualified and often bear a grudge against intellectuals.

"This work receives the lowest pay, and since prisoners serving sentences are not allowed to receive money from their families, this amounts to a serious deprivation, especially as deductions have to be made for legal costs and for board and lodging in the prisons.

"Another serious complaint is that work norms are set so high as to be almost impossible to fulfill. In any case, the work done is often assessed by group leaders, so that any prisoner can be turned into a 'non-fulfiller' at will.

"Non-fulfillment of norms makes the prisoner liable to a scale of punishments which range from a ban on TV viewing through Saturday of Sunday shifts, special fatigues, reduced rations and withholding of parcels, to isolation in punishment cells.

"Political prisoners are also excluded from prison 'self-management committees, whose members receive certain privileges, and they are not eligible to lead hobby groups and so on. Discriminated against in these ways, they are targets for the sadists among the warders, who can make life a misery."

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Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

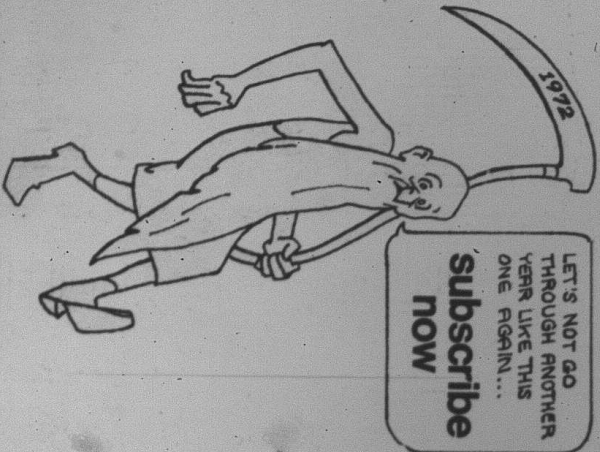
those who dare to rebel. The "Communist" revolutions in China, Cuba and North Vietnam, while driving out US imperialism, have not brought workers' power, but a new form of class society, ruled by a bureaucratic elite.

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

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

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