

Workers' Power

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TRUCKERS FIGHT OUR FIGHT!



ANGRY SPEAKERS AT MEETING OF INDEPENDENT TRUCK DRIVERS IN OHIO

"You can't fight City Hall — but goddamit, they're taking on the whole government." Working people across the country watched expectantly as the independent truckers struck, taking on the government, the oil companies and the Teamster leadership.

Independent truckers have been the hardest hit by the oil hoax. Rapidly rising fuel prices plus lowered speed limits have threatened their very ability to survive.

Their backs against the wall, the truckers became the first

group of workers to stand up to the government and the oil companies.

At first the strike call was confused, with different groups calling different strike dates. As the movement grew and the strike began, the tremendous power of the truckers, even against fantastic odds, became apparent to all.

Truckers were harassed by the state police. In Youngstown, deputy sheriffs burned their headquarters. Across the country, hundreds of truckers have been arrested.

Attorney General William Saxbe bellowed that the FBI would investigate the strike

leaders. Nixon announced that he would not tolerate law-breakers, but was apparently limiting his remarks to truck drivers.

State strikebreakers

The National Guard was called out in half a dozen states to co-ordinate and defend strike breaking activity. Interstate 80 almost looked like an armed camp with state troopers tucked into any available hiding place. Truckers have been vilified in the press, even though nearly everyone concedes their demands are reasonable.

Against all this the truckers showed tremendous solidarity,

demanding a roll back to May 1973 prices.

The government's original response was to tell them "be good boys — go back to work" and the government would consider their demands. The truckers' answer: "No way!"

Three times the truckers forced the government to back down and come up with a better offer.

"Who wants a freeze when diesel is 50 cents a gallon?" asked one.

Fitz Superscab

The independent truckers also have had to deal with the biggest scab of all, Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Despite the fact that many independent truckers are dues paying members of his union, and the fact that the majority of other Teamsters sympathized with the independents, Fitzsimmons condemned the strikers.

"The economy of this nation," he said, "must not be brought to a standstill by a very small percentage of independent truckers who are perpetrating acts of murder, violence and intimidation."

The leadership of the Teamsters Union knows a great deal about "violence and intimidation." The day following Fitzsimmons' pronouncement, Tom Fagan, president of Joint Council 40 in Pittsburgh, personally led 300 armed goons in an attack on pickets in Neville Island. That same night, they attacked and ransacked the Pittsburgh headquarters of FASH (Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers.)

As *Workers' Power* goes to press, William Simon, Nixon's

Federal Energy Office administrator, has offered the owner drivers 100% of their fuel needs, plus the right to pass some of the increased costs on to their customers.

Most of the leaders who have been negotiating with Simon are recommending acceptance. Most of the drivers, including the influential Mike Parkhurst of *Overdrive* magazine, are calling it a sell-out.

Richard Butler, speaking for 250 drivers in the Boston area said, "We are not loading the trucks. . . the administration's plan is a complete whitewash." The surcharge "will eventually come back to us as consumers."

Organize to win

The independent truckers have the strength to force the oil companies to roll back their inflated prices. Their strike has proven it.

The problem is organization. Without a national organization, controlled by the ranks, the government has been able to crack the solidarity of the drivers. Most are still out, but some have gone back.

Their magnificent struggle could end in confusion similar to its beginning, with different groups going back at different times.

Or the truckers may yet pull together again and win a complete victory.

One way or the other, there are important lessons to be learned: working people can fight City Hall, the oil companies and the federal government — and win!

We have the strength to do it. What we need now is the organization. ■

Beer Workers Sit In

Brewery workers discuss their sit-in at the Rheingold plant in Brooklyn. They occupied the factory to prevent its owners, Pepsico Corp., from closing it down. Their alternative was to be left without jobs, without pensions, and without a future.

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A TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X p.8



Editorial

Nixon's New Budget: Billions For Bombs

1974 is the first year of world peace. This, at least, is what Richard Nixon proclaimed to his cheering supporters in Congress in his State of the Union message. For the first time in over ten years, Nixon intoned, the United States is at peace with everyone.

To celebrate the occasion, Nixon unveiled his new military budget of \$86 billion. This will represent the highest war spending in history, breaking the previous U.S. record set in 1945. It exceeds even the spending on troops, napalm, B-52's, and all other military appropriations during the years of the Vietnam war.

The figure of \$86 billion represents only the amount openly and directly allotted to the military. Tens of billions of dollars in every budget, especially in the areas of foreign aid and scientific research and development, are also spent for military purposes. Meanwhile, the State Department is passing off this bloated sum as extremely moderate because it represents, after all, only 27% of total government spending.

That is the meaning of Nixon's budget — that billions of tax dollars go for bombs, while millions of people go hungry in this country, while funds for miserably inadequate social programs remain impounded for "economy," and while millions of laid-off workers join the rolls of the unemployed in the recession that Nixon promises will not happen.

What is the connection between Nixon's declaration of peace and the ever-expanding monster of the U.S. arms economy? In reality, the fine-sounding detente between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the two giant super-powers, is a cover for renewing and expanding the arms race. Whatever degree of cooperation these imperialist powers may achieve in dividing the world between them, they will not and cannot halt their preparations for new and even more destructive wars.

On the economic front, jacking up the military budget is Nixon's only substitute for wage-price controls which have failed to stop rampant inflation or the coming recession. Nixon plans to protect the vast profits of the big corporations, by guaranteeing ever larger military contracts. Stimulating the economy through weapons spending is a bi-partisan policy, supported by Democratic Senators from Jackson to Kennedy to Mondale. The Democratic Party — the party of wage controls — is also the party of U.S. imperialism and military pump-priming. This solution means only more uncontrolled inflation, higher taxes and appalling waste.

The entire military establishment could be completely dismantled and replaced by production for human needs, including a massive public works program to abolish unemployment. The fight for such a program is long overdue. If the corporations insist that their system can survive only by producing destructive waste instead of meeting our basic needs, then that system should be swept into the garbage heap where it belongs.

Miller Caves In On Miners

Arnold Miller, the reform president of the United Mine Workers, is attempting to crack down on wildcat strikes in the coal fields.

At the December convention of the UMW, Miller told the delegates that wildcats are "irresponsible," and must end. Why Miller wants to end wildcats and

how he intends to do it are becoming clear.

Under the previous leadership of the reactionary and corrupt Tony Boyle, wildcats in the mines were often tolerated. While locals that wildcatted were often told by the International that their action was illegal under the terms of the contract, the locals were generally not disciplined.

This tradition of rank and file initiative was a major factor in the growth of the Miners for Democracy and other dissident groups, and the consequent election of Miller as UMW president.

Now, in addition to speaking out against wildcats, the Miller leadership is investigating them and making efforts to stop them.

Miller is caught between pressure from the ranks for a decent contract and what the owners say they need to run the mines profitably.

The one exception to the crack-down on wildcats is on the question of Health and Safety. Miller became UMW president because he led the fight against black lung. Thus far, on this question, he has refused to compromise with the bosses.

When the Supreme Court ruled that the contractual right to refuse to work in an unsafe mine only meant the right to grieve the unsafe condition, Miller defended the right to strike stating that no man would

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Woodcock Dances To Big 3 Tune

As though he has not yet done enough for the Big Three auto giants, UAW President Leonard Woodcock has now called for quotas on automobile imports. This would result, according to Woodcock, in temporary aid to U.S. workers suffering from heavy lay-offs.

It was only a few short months ago that this same Woodcock pledged to Japanese unions that the UAW would never allow protectionist ideas to break the solidarity between U.S. and Japanese workers. But as soon as the corporations snapped their fingers to demand protectionism, this true labor lieutenant of the capital hopped on the bandwagon.

One of the ways that major corporations have always tried to hold down wages and keep up profits is to pit the workers in one country against those in another. When quotas and tariffs are put on imported goods it temporarily gives U.S. corporations an edge, so domestic companies profit while foreign corporations suffer.

This may mean temporary gains for U.S. workers — at least in one industry — at the expense of those in other countries doing exactly the same work. The

increased profits from such actions, however, line the pockets of multi-millionaires, while in the end it is the workers who have to pay.

Layoffs may be delayed for awhile here while they take place in other countries. But those other countries soon retaliate with their own quotas in other industries, and workers in both places suffer unemployment and higher prices.

The workers of the world owe no allegiance to the corporations that control those countries.

Instead the workers in every country must unite in order to get rid of this stinking, decaying system that produces unemployment and tariff wars.

But it should be clear enough even to a Woodcock that, so long as a multinational giant like Chrysler can play off its workers making Darts and Valiants (U.S. and Canada) against those who make Colts (Japan) and Crickets (England), it is the workers who stand to lose.

Bill Hastings

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The Truckers' Strike An Inside View

CLEVELAND, Feb. 6 — There are still trucks rolling in Ohio, but only under the watch of armed guards. For more than two weeks now, the highway patrol has led long convoys out of the huge C.F. (Consolidated Freightways) and P.I.E. (Pacific Intermountain Express) terminals in West Richfield, a town just south of the Ohio Turnpike between Akron and Cleveland.

Cars full of "security guards" follow trucks through the steel centers of Northeastern Ohio and into the hills of western Pennsylvania.

In the "hole" in Cleveland, a trucking district sandwiched in the Cuyahoga flats between the steel mills and the heights of the south suburbs, police cruisers sit in the yards of freight companies, while unmarked cars search the streets for pickets and strikers.

The companies themselves, to ensure that their trucks continue to move, have augmented their security forces with hundreds of off-duty policemen.

One company, Refiners Transport of Cleveland, even hired Hell's Angels to ride shot-gun on its tankers.

All this, of course, is in addition to the more than 1,000 Ohio National Guardsmen, armed with shot-guns, called out to patrol the highways by Governor John Gilligan.

Fantastic Solidarity

In spite of these odds, the independent truckers strike, in a fantastic show of solidarity, is steadily grinding Ohio industry to a halt. And, at the same time, the strike here is adding to the strength of the national stoppage.

Ohio is not only one of the nation's most industrialized states. It also is key to the trucking industry. Interstate highways 70, 80, and 90 all pass through Ohio, connecting the West and Midwest with the East.

At this point, there are few places where the strike is stronger. Already thousands of workers have been idled as the state's factories and mills continue to close.

American Motors has stopped production at its Toledo Jeep plant. Youngstown Sheet and Tube has been down for more than a week.

In Defiance, GM sent home 3,200 foundry workers, while Republic Steel has closed its rolling mill and electroplate operation in Cleveland.

In the words of Roger Dreyer, a spokesman for the Ohio Petroleum Marketers, "The protest has been disastrous."

While the truckers' leaders, representing dozens of organizations across the country, have gathered in Washington for direct negotiations with the government, the enforcement of the strike has been left largely to the initiative of small groups of local drivers.

At Streetsboro, on the Ohio Turnpike, for example, owner operators have used Slim's Truck Stop as their headquarters. Relying mainly on their citizen's band radios, they patrol the highways, harassing, cajoling, and sometimes forcing others into parking their rigs.

In Cincinnati, more than 100 strikers confronted at least fifty armed police in an attempt to close the Roadway Express terminal there. In Lorain, steel haulers have blocked highways, while in Cleveland roving bands of drivers, also mainly steel haulers, daily picket freight terminals and refineries.

Steel haulers stopped work in East Liverpool on January 20th.

And despite police harassment, there are few places where the strike is stronger.

According to Charlie Bowles, a leader of the East Liverpool strikers, the police "search everyone."

Men are thrown in jail on trumped up charges. One driver, found with a pocket knife in his jacket, was arrested and held on \$10,000 bond.

When strikers' wives picketed the city hall, the Mayor, Norman Buher, responded by saying, "we don't need the truck drivers or their wives in this town."

It may prove otherwise, however, for steel is piling up in the local mill, Crucible Steel. And in the meantime, the strikers are keeping all trucks off the roads, except for food, fuel, and emergency vehicles which travel only with escorts. . . . provided by the strikers.

Press Hysteria

The press and the politicians have responded to all this with hysteria, threatening the public with everything from anarchy to toilet paper shortages.

Attorney General Saxbe told



George Rynn in headquarters of the Council of Independent Truckers

a hometown audience in Mechanicsburg that he had instructed local officials "to use every resource that they have to see that we do not descend into anarchy."

But, by all accounts, the public, in particular the working people of Ohio, overwhelmingly support the truckers.

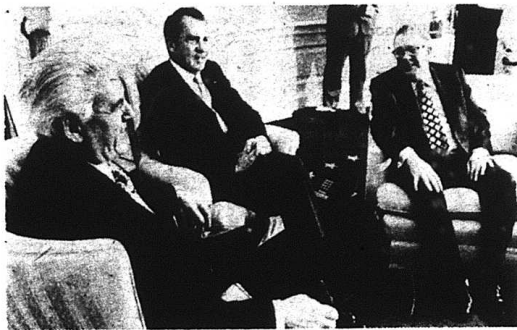
In Sharon, Pa., on the Ohio border, and in Akron, wives and children of both company and

independent drivers have demonstrated in favor of the strikers.

At a demonstration in Cleveland's public square, George Rynn, the president of the Council of Independent Truckers demanded that "all fuel prices be rolled back," and said that the "truckers fight is the American people's fight."

Cal Williams

Fitz Knives Strike



Fitzsimmons (right) meets with Nixon and labor leader Brennan

While independent truckers are on the front line in the battle against the government's energy policies, Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons is quietly, but desperately, trying to keep the confrontation from spreading.

Fitz isn't in much of a position to influence the independents—they don't respect him and won't listen to him.

But he is doing all he can to avoid a similar showdown in the ranks of Teamster over-the-road drivers who work for wages.

That showdown, were it to occur, could have widespread effects throughout the entire labor movement, in addition to busting up the Nixon-Fitzsimmons alliance.

Fitzsimmons has pressure on him from two directions. Over-the-road drivers are being squeez-

ed badly, their wages cut by up to one-third as a result of lowered speed limits. Their situation is not quite as disastrous as that of the independents, but they are demanding action.

Thousands of these drivers stayed off the road in active or quiet support of the independents.

Hoffa Specter

In addition, the specter of Jimmy Hoffa is haunting Fitzsimmons. While Fitzsimmons denounced the highway blockades and truckers' strikes, ordering IBT members to keep on working, Hoffa endorsed both protests. Hoffa is anxious to displace Fitzsimmons at the top of the Teamsters' hierarchy, and is more than willing to use the ranks' discontent to get there.

Under this pressure, Fitzsimmons announced the reopening of the nationwide Master Freight Agreement in December. That contract specifies a 60-day waiting period before negotiations for an amended contract begin, and another 60 days before a strike can be called.

The Teamster leadership, the trucking industry, and the Nixon administration are urgently trying to work out an agreement before the first 60-day period expires later this month. They all fear that once formal negotiations begin, pressure from the rank and file will snowball, perhaps creating a situation where contract improvements would have to be granted to warehousemen as well as drivers. If that occurs, it would be an incentive for workers in other industries, setting off a chain reaction that would be hard to control.

The independent truckers are one key to the situation. If they win their demands, it will be very difficult for Fitzsimmons, Nixon, and the trucking industry to make a quiet settlement of the reopened Master Freight Agreement. That is why thousands of Teamsters across the country support the independents and why they deserve the support of workers in all other industries as well.

David Katz

international report



British Miners Vote Strike

British miners and the conservative Tory government of Edward Heath are lined up in open conflict. All of Britain is taking sides.

The general election set for February 28 will be a political test of strength between capital and labor in Britain. Its outcome, however, will be decided not by ballots but by the struggle in the coal fields.

Miners are among Britain's lowest paid industrial workers. They average between \$50-80 per week, at grueling jobs that maim and eventually kill.

For months they have refused all overtime work, demanding a wage increase well beyond the guidelines set by British wage controls. The corporations and the Tories are afraid that a victory by the powerful miners' union would set the stage for all British workers to demand a decent wage.

Their answer has been an unconditional *no*, and they are waging an all-out fight to break the miners' resistance.

Finally, the government's intransigence and pressure from the rank and file forced the conservative NUM leaders (National Union of Mineworkers) to call a strike vote.

The response was an overwhelming 81 percent for an all-out strike. As *Workers' Power* went to press the strike was slated to begin Sunday, February 10.

Tory red scare

As he dissolved Parliament and called the election, Heath played his strongest remaining card. He requested the NUM leaders to delay their strike for three weeks, till after the election. The miners' President Joe Gormley immediately indicated that he was personally favorable to the proposal.

This delay would have granted the Tories a breathing space, demoralized the workers and enormously enhanced Heath's prestige, giving him a tremendous advantage in the feverish atmosphere of the coming weeks. But the union's executive board, knowing only too well the mood of the men in the pits, killed the postponement out of hand.

The Tories and the opposition Labor Party have outdone each other in attempting to isolate the miners. Each side accuses the other of "dividing the nation" and bringing on the strike.

Heath and his officials are trying to make the election into a giant Red Scare. They identify capitalist rule with civilization itself.

"The issue at stake," states Tory official Anthony Barber, "is whether, our affairs are to be governed by the rule of reason, the rule of parliament and the rule of democracy... [or] the alternative, which ultimately can be only chaos and a totalitarian or Communist regime."

The Communist Party has been accused by both Labor and the Tories of organizing violence because Mick McGahey, a leading C.P. member on the miners' executive board, stated that miners would urge troops not to move coal during the strike. The real role of the C.P., however, has been quite different.

McGahey immediately retracted his militant statement. Meanwhile, the president of the teachers' union, also a C.P. member, negotiated a settle-

ment for his union that fell within Heath's guidelines. The Communist Party has given no lead to the workers' militancy, but in fact trailed behind it. Heath's rhetoric is an attempt to frighten British workers and turn them against the miners.

His strategy from the beginning has been to divide and conquer. When the miners banned overtime, Heath claimed that the cut in available coal necessitated locking British workers out two days a week.

The story of severe shortages was a hoax. The Tories were attempting to break support for the miners by creating tremendous hardship for British workers.

After Heath rejected a sell-out proposal by the leaders of the Trade Union Council (TUC), Britain's AFL-CIO, that the miners considered an "exception," it looked like both Heath and the TUC leadership would rally around a more soph-



istic way of dividing the British working class.

British workers would be divided up into hierarchies according to their "value" to the British economy. Those of higher value, like the miners, would be allowed to demand substantial wage gains.

Workers of lesser value, meaning almost everyone else, would have their wage increases held down even further than now, so that the average would fall within the repressive guidelines.

This reactionary scheme came too late to win much support. When Heath called the election, it was a recognition of the complete failure of his strategy of the past months.

Keys to success

There are two keys to success: the unity of British workers behind the miners, and action by the miners themselves to ensure a 100% strike with effective picketing to block the moving of existing coal stocks.

The stakes are high. Heath has gambled his entire political career on defeating the miners. On February 28th he may be swept aside.

Revolutionary socialists in Britain will be campaigning hard for a massive vote for all Labor Party candidates, in order to throw the Tories out. There can be no victory, however, through reliance on electoral activity or the Labor Party.

The Labor Party is committed as thoroughly as the Tories to restraining workers' income to protect the health of British capitalism.

In this election campaign, the revolutionaries will speak out as the most uncompromising champions of the miners' strike and the defense of all other workers under attack. ■



Bolivia strikes hit price hikes

Bolivian workers and peasants are leading massive strikes and demonstrations against President Hugo Banzer's regime. These actions are in direct response to Banzer's decree doubling the price of food in order to prevent it from being smuggled out of the country, where food prices are higher.

Banzer came to power in the 1971 coup that overthrew the previous government of General Miguel Torre, at the time of an increasingly revolutionary situation expressed by a Popular Assembly of workers and peasants.

The current protests mark the beginning of a new period of confrontations. They are part of a series of explosions around

the world, caused by skyrocketing prices resulting from the world inflation.

In the capital city of La Paz, workers from more than 100 factories walked out when the announcement was made. The next day, led by Bolivia's militant tin miners, 50,000 workers went out on a two-day general strike protesting the food prices.

Peasants and workers blockaded roads in Cochabamba, and raised the demand that Banzer be ousted and replaced by a workers and peasants government.

Police wounded four demonstrators in attempts to halt the activities of the masses in Cochabamba.

Banzer also announced a wage increase of 400 pesos (\$5/month) to offset some of the price increases. This raise, not nearly enough to make up for the rising price of food and other consumer goods, affects only a small portion of Bolivia's workers. The rest, including the unemployed and peasants, got nothing.

These strikes and demonstrations come at a time when Banzer's government already faces trouble from within. The capitalist ruling coalition, made up of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR) and the right wing Bolivian Socialist Falange (BSF) has split.

This split, and growing opposition from right elements in the military have forced Banzer

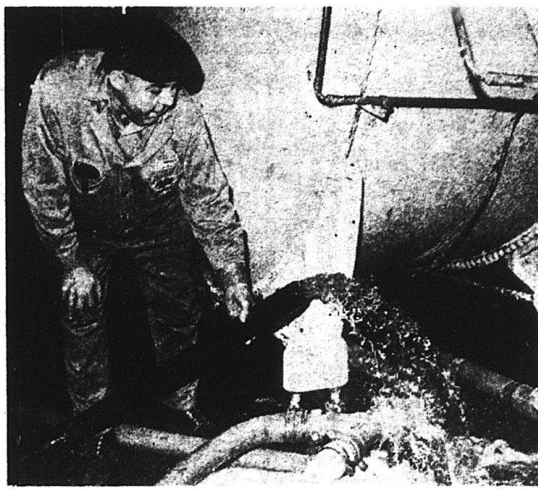
to call off the announced elections for next June.

Over the past year Banzer has been forced to make concessions by the rebirth of the workers and peasants' movement since October 1972.

The military right wing wants a return to outright military rule, and closer cooperation with the most reactionary governments in South America: Chile and Brazil.

The military today is looking toward a Chilean solution to defeat the Bolivian workers and peasants. Banzer continues to walk a tightrope, as all his support slips away in the growing class struggle and the polarization between left and right. ■

"It's Our Blood In That Beer!"



Rheingold beer pouring into New York sewers

BROOKLYN — Workers took over the Rheingold brewery on February 1st.

Over 500 brewers and drivers, members of the Teamsters union, occupied the giant plant to keep it from closing down. "That's our blood in that beer," Samuel Lander said. Lander has worked for Rheingold for 25 years.

Pepsico bought Rheingold last year, as a tax loss and to get Rheingold's soft-drink franchises. By threatening to close down they got the union's agreement to raise the work week from 35 to 40 hours, at the same weekly pay. But the union's policy of appeasement didn't work. After only seven months of a three-year contract,

Pepsico is trying to close the brewery forever.

Most of the 1,500 Rheingold workers have been there many years; many are in their late forties or fifties. Suddenly, they face disaster. "We're too young to retire, and too old for other jobs," said Neil Borra, president of Local 46.

They sat-in. Over and over, they agreed, "They'll have to carry us out." Mike Cullinane, a brewer for 23 years said, "We're not a bunch of kids demonstrating. We are men who have spent our lives doing this job, and we aren't going to leave." They were angry — talking about how few breweries were left, how a giant company like Pepsico could ignore a contract wherever it wanted.

"I used to think of myself as

a conservative person, and my politics too," said one striker. "Now I'm sitting in. It's different when it hits you personally. They always said — its all for big business. You know, I'm beginning to believe that now."

Teamster betrayal

The sit-in made Rheingold front-page news in New York. But the national leadership of the Teamsters still did nothing — leaving the Rheingold workers to fight Pepsico alone. All over the country, Teamster drivers continued to deliver Pepsi-Cola.

And the local leadership soon tried to move the battle out of the brewery and into the courtroom. Three and a half days after it had begun, the union ordered an end to the sit-in.

The fate of 1,500 workers and

their families was entrusted to the government and its "impartial" judges.

Meanwhile the union tried desperately to find a buyer for the brewery, promising even more concessions in wages and working conditions.

The workers left because they thought they had no choice, because they had no idea of how to make the Teamsters union fight. They did not leave because they trust the government.

"The laws are written by big business, to keep them going," a driver told *Workers' Power*. "The only way we'll get anything is by staying in there." But by noon on Monday, the police had already set up a command post nearby, with riot police ready to stop the men if they attempted to return.

And Fred Widekin, a shop steward for the Machinists Union at Rheingold, told a *Workers' Power* reporter, "Last night we lost the arbitration case for the crafts. I haven't slept since. I've been here ten years, how am I supposed to feel? The contract didn't mean a thing to the arbitrator. I've always wanted

three-man arbitration boards, but I guess they would have just bought all three."

At the U.S. Court of Appeals, the lawyers agreed to keep the brewery open until midnight Friday, February 8th. But only skeleton crews will be working in the meantime. The union is doing everything to remove all control of the situation from the workers themselves.

"Which one is my lawyer?" a steward asked only half-kiddingly. "I can't tell which one is which." Someone remarked that at least the judges seemed interested in the case. "Yeah," the steward replied, "but it seemed more like curiosity than anything else."

Lives vs. profits

To the workers it is not just curiosity. To the lawyers and judges, to Pepsico, and even to high Teamster bureaucrats, everything will be the same as before. But to the men at Rheingold, their work and their dignity are threatened.

Many repeat the same words: "I have no plans. I don't know what I'll do. Unemployment, and then welfare, maybe. I don't know how I'll get work." William Vanyo put it this way: "I wound up the same way my father did. He was a brewer in Philadelphia, and when he was just about the age I am now, 48, his brewery closed down."

The Rheingold workers took an important step forward for all of us when they took over the plant. They understood that they have a right to their jobs, and that no piece of paper, no court, and no desire for profits is as important as that right.

Before the sit-in, Pepsico emptied 62,000 gallons of beer into the sewers of Brooklyn. Alois Schactner shook his head. "They dumped 32 years of my life down that sewer." And no system which allows that has any right to exist. ■

Ken Morgan

AFL-CIO Latino Council Just Another Cover Up

The Labor Council for Latin American Advancement was recently established in Washington, D. C. by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy headed by George Meany.

The call sent out by four Latin labor officials emphasized AFL-CIO endorsement of the group and asked for those who planned to attend to write to Don Slaiman, director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. Slaiman is neither Latin or Black, but an Anglo.

International presidents were to select delegates: one for under 100,000 members, two for 100,000 to a quarter of a million, with up to five for 700,000 and over. Not surprisingly the delegates were made up of Business Agents, International Representatives, Staff Reps, Local Presidents and many AFL-CIO staffers, with only one delegate as low down as Chief Steward.

The bylaws of the new organization include the following point under "Aims and Objectives": "The Labor Council for Latin American Advancement

will not endorse candidates for political offices in conflict with those endorsed by national and local COPE AFL-CIO bodies nor will it endorse, promote or encourage candidates for positions or offices within the labor movement."

COPE is the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO, which has endorsed successful candidates that make up about half of the Congress — which has less than one percent Latinos.

COPE is committed to the Democratic Party, which is the party of the Border Patrol, the Chicano-hating Texas Rangers, of U.S. imperialism in Puerto Rico and Mexico. Many Latinos have organized independently in the La Raza Unida (United Peoples Party), against the Democratic Party.

The Action Plan of the Founding Conference notes that 84% of the 9.2 million Latin people in the U.S. live in the cities. It sees their oppression simply as "urban problems."

"Thus, Latin problems are those related to unemployment

and underemployment, education, social advancement, medical services, acculturation and adoption to the dominant Anglo culture in terms of English in many cases."

There is not one mention of the racism Latinos experience because of their color, nor any mention of their unique national oppression because they speak Spanish. It is simply a failure of "acculturation and adoption."

Naturally there is no mention of the deportation of Mexican workers without immigration papers and harassment of all Latinos by the Border Patrol, since the AFL-CIO is for this racist exclusionist policy.

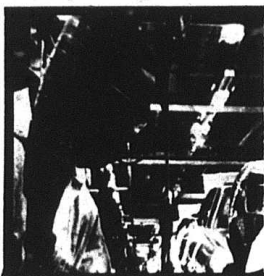
The Conference also noted that there are less than one percent Latino Senators or Congressmen, but neglected to supply similar figures for union officials. In every respect, the so-called "Labor Council for Latin American Advancement" simply covers up the second-class citizenship suffered by Latinos in the labor movement. ■

Kevin Bradley

don't buy scab lettuce!



Workers' Power photo by Kit Lyons



labor briefs

Two days after President Nixon assured a nationwide TV audience that "There will be no recession," the Department of Labor reported that unemployment in January increased more rapidly than it has in four years. It's now at 5.2 percent and climbing.

Eighteen **United Farm Workers' pickets** have won acquittal on criminal trespass charges in Brooklyn, New York. The eighteen had been arrested at a mass picket line in December. Following the verdict, UFW organizers announced plans to step-up its boycott of Shoprite supermarkets.

Black and white longshoremen in Baltimore have voted to merge into one local, ending the former system of segregated locals. The merger was voted at a joint meeting of Local 333 and Local 829.

Arnold Miller, president of the **United Mine Workers of America**, has announced that his union is sending \$5,000 to the **British National Union of Mine Workers** to aid in their struggle against the conservative Tory government. Fine. If he's serious about helping the British miners, his next step should be to halt the mining of any coal destined for export to Britain.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock testified for the defense as a character witness in the trial of a local union official who was found guilty of attempted murder. Woodcock testified that he had "the greatest respect for [the] integrity and responsibility" of **David Mundy**. Mundy is the UAW Local 600 official who shot a rank and file auto worker in front of television cameras last November. The incident occurred when the rank and filer protested the UAW's attempt to over-ride skilled tradesmen's rejection of the Ford contract.

Too bad Woodcock has no great respect for the integrity and responsibility of UAW members who are trying to reform their union without attempting to murder their opponents.

Women who teach in the public schools won a victory recently when the Supreme Court ruled that school boards must allow pregnant teachers to continue working during most of their pregnancy. Many teachers have routinely been forced to take leaves of absence as early as their fourth month of pregnancy.

The **Association of Builders and Contractors**, that scab construction outfit which has been provoking violent confrontations with construction workers all over the country, recently threw a lavish dinner party for its members in Detroit. Construction workers planned their own party on the sidewalk in front of the A.B.C.'s party. Half of the 150 workers attending the sidewalk party were arrested, but it's reported that the A.B.C. took a huge financial loss when the turn-out at their dinner was quite small.

For the second year in a row, anti-union forces are attempting to get a so-called "Right to Work" law passed in Missouri. Nineteen states have such laws, which in fact don't guarantee anyone the right to work at all, but simply attack the trade unions by outlawing the closed shop. Workers in states that have right-to-work laws earn on the average \$25.17 less per week than workers in states without these laws.

Employers are increasingly concerned about worker absenteeism, which has increased an average of 2.8 percent each year since 1967. But workers have good reason to stay away. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration recently disclosed that *one out of every eight workers in the private, non-farm sector is injured, suffers an occupational disease, or is killed every year.*

Six thousand steel workers at Crucible Steel Corporation in Midland, Pa. have voted *no* on I. W. Abel's attempt to extend his no-strike deal to smaller steel companies like Crucible.

An Ohio state patrolman recently complained about the growing number of truck drivers who have citizen's band radios: "With these radios they can run with complete immunity when you're on patrol. It's like taking a shower in public — they have us spotted wherever we are."

What's going on where you work? Send items for this column to: Labor Editor, Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

Women Unionists Push Fight For Equal Rights

NEW YORK—Over 600 women union members gathered at the First New York Women Trade Union Conference on January 19.

This conference and the many others like it that are being held across the country could be extremely important for women workers. They come at a time when the gains won under the impact of the women's liberation movement are under severe attack.

The facts are clear to all. Although 40% of the workers in New York City are women, 45% of the unemployed are women. As elsewhere in the country, when women get jobs, they are in low paying areas. At the same time, only 10% of all women workers are organized in unions, as compared to 28% of all men.

Now even the foothold women have gained in basic industry over the last few years—in higher paying, unionized jobs—is being lost as the recession sets in.

Leadership?

The planners of the New York conference brought women together to discuss concerns we share as women workers and union members, in order to build and strengthen the union movement. They pointed out that "women are no longer willing to live with inequities at the work place," and that organized labor can provide leadership in the struggle for women's equality.

The conference was endorsed by the Central Labor Council

and supported by most unions in the city. It could have provided that very necessary leadership in the struggle for women's equality, had the women union leaders who organized it intended to do that.

Careers or Mobilization

But after their speeches were over, it was clear that what they wanted instead was to integrate more women—themselves included—into the top ranks of existing union bureaucracies; that if this were done, problems such as day-care, unemployment, and inequality should be solved.

Margie Albert, District 65, Distributive Workers of America, said that we must press our unions for jobs as organizers. Robbie Cagnina, IUE, told us we can achieve our goals through contract negotiations and collective bargaining.

The conference literature packet encouraged us to learn to speak at meetings, volunteer for committees, and use the union structure.

While important, these suggestions miss the most important point—how to mobilize working women to fight their own battles.

Speakers from the floor had some more concrete proposals to begin achieving our goals. A Teamster member spoke of the need for an ongoing, fighting organization and the need to build women's caucuses in unions. A UFT speaker called on the conference to organize a citywide demonstration for high-

quality, 24-hour day care facilities.

The afternoon workshops again generated many good proposals, but they were all lost on the conference organizers. While many workshops had agreed that getting women into union leadership was not enough for us to do, Lil Roberts, AFSCME, who summarized the workshop results, still had "more women in union leadership" on the top of her list. The problem of unemployment was on the bottom.

Growing Trend

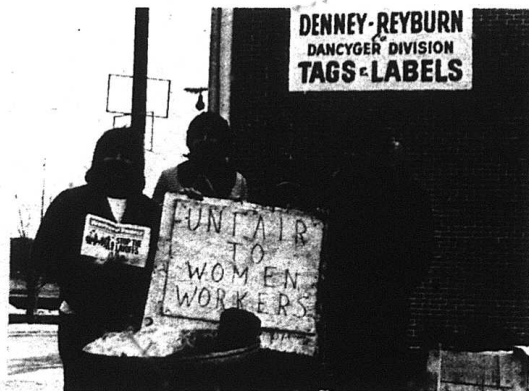
This conference was part of a growing trend among women union leaders. A number of similar conferences have been held across the country as part of their attempt to form an organization of working women. The next step will be a nationwide conference in Chicago on March 25. Women trade unionists from all over the country will be attending.

The purpose of these conferences is primarily to advance the careers of their organizers. Nevertheless, they are quite significant for all working women, as they open a way for us to fight for equality and for our special needs, both in the unions and at work.

A beginning can be made in Chicago on March 25th by fighting for that conference to adopt the perspective of organizing the unorganized, fighting unemployment, and forming women's caucuses in the unions. ■

Joan McKiernan

Paper Workers For Equal Rights



Workers' Power photo

Ruth Scott, the recording secretary for the United Pulp and Paper Workers Local 1010, has worked for the Denny Reyburn Company for eight years. She earns \$2.39 an hour. She along with the other local members have been out on strike for the past month. They are demanding an end to the company's policy of discrimination against women workers.

The women who work for Denny Reyburn all start out at \$2.21 an hour. Men, who work on the presses, begin at \$4.40. According to Mike Strahar, the secretary treasurer, the company won't let the women work the presses, because they are not "qualified" to do so. The women and men are demanding that women be allowed to work the presses.

When asked about what she thought of the women's liberation movement, Scott replied, "I like it. After all, if a woman is qualified for a job, why shouldn't she get it?"

ST. LOUIS WORKERS STRIKE

ST. LOUIS— Since last September over 200 workers have been striking at three private hospitals in St. Louis.

They had been organizing for the right to join a union, but were forced to strike when the hospitals and the Hospital Association refused to listen to their demands. The majority of those workers striking are black women.

Workers in "private non-profit" hospitals can be fired for union activity with no recourse and there is no force of law compelling the hospitals to allow for the right to choose a union.

While there are two bills in Congress now which would bring these workers under the NLRA, it would be of no immediate help in their present situation.

Support from the community, and from rank and file workers, has been building. A Hospital Workers Support Group has been formed to aid the fight of hospital workers in the city.

Composed of community, individuals, rank and file workers, socialists, and representatives from various groups, this group to date has helped to build support of the picket lines, organized demonstrations against the Hospital Association.

Supporters have also done background research for the workers, and circulated pledges of support for the hospital workers.

The campaign for unionization must be carried into plants and the community. Decent health care, and the rights of health care workers, is an issue that affects all individuals.

The potential of movements like this all across the country is great. Although only 7.7 percent of all hospital workers are organized they represent one of the fastest growing segments of the unionized labor force. ■

ST. LOUIS—Street department and sanitation workers in St. Louis have been threatened

with disciplinary action and possible "elimination" unless they return to work. The wildcat by street department workers is in its second week.

Only two of 161 workers at a Teamster Local 610 meeting approved a new proposal by city officials. Angry workers at the meeting demanded the business agent's removal as union representative.

The walkout began as a protest against the suspension of four street department employees. But other complaints emerged — unsafe working conditions, no overtime pay, and the lack of guidelines covering supervisor/worker relations. As William Dodson, shop steward, said, "Whatever the supervisor tells the superintendent, it's his word against the laborers. We don't have a voice."

Nine days after the walkout began, street department workers were joined by refuse collectors, also members of Local 610, in a solidarity action. Once on the picket line the sanitation workers expressed many of the same grievances. In the words of Richard Brown, "We've had the same old rules and working conditions for the last 25 years. If its necessary we'll stay out here nights. We're going to get what we want."

Underlying both the walkout and the sympathy strike is the new city wage proposal. A four percent increase for the workers won't begin to keep up with inflation. Supervisory personnel make three to four times the workers' salaries.

With city services in an increasing crisis, the city threatened to turn the work over to private contractors, putting the strikers out of jobs. At first the Street Director denied any such plans. However, two days later, Mayor John Poelker indicated they would be calling private contractors to determine whether they have capability to collect St. Louis trash. ■

D. Crees



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1973 was a bad year for American workers. As we showed in the last issue of *Workers' Power*, wage and benefit increases for 1973 were the lowest in decades.

Before the end of the year, tiny gains made by Teamsters, electrical, rubber, and auto workers were wiped out by inflation.

Working conditions worsened, and then came the "oil crisis." In the face of all this the top leaders of some of the strongest unions in the world just laid down and played dead.

1974 is another big year for bargaining. 123 major contracts covering 1.8 million workers expire this year. These contracts cover aerospace, aluminum, steel, longshore, telephone, and coal mining.

Some of the unions involved are big, like the steelworkers and communication workers; others affect vital sectors of the economy, like the longshoremen and coal miners.

Although the U.S. is entering a recession, the bargaining conditions in many of these industries remain good. Steel sales are up and coal sales are certain to continue rising as the price of oil goes up.

The Bell telephone system hasn't got anything to worry about, and aerospace is getting more government money this year.

The unions could win some real gains. But the leaders of the unions have something else in mind.

Pattern of sellout

In the past some union leaders understood that when the unions stick together and the strongest take the lead in a fight, you can force bigger gains from the employers.

Even the pro-capitalist and relatively conservative leaders of the CIO and AFL realized that the strongest unions were able to win more and could set the "pattern" for all settlements following.

Although the CIO leaders understood this, they never really put it into practice. In 1946, for example, the other CIO unions left the auto workers out in the cold for months. Though virtually all industrial unions in the country joined the 1946 strike wave, there was still no coordination.

In fact the steelworkers set the pattern for that year. The steelworkers settled before the embattled auto workers and forced them to settle for what the steelworkers got.

This was also the first year

Which Side Are You On?

Kim Moody

that many of the big unions accepted a "management's rights" clause in their contract.

After this, "pattern" bargaining changed from a militant strategy to a conservative means of forcing lousy settlements on weaker unions. This conservative version of "pattern" bargaining is what the officials of the steelworkers, communications workers, and others have in mind for 1974.

The "pattern" the labor bureaucrats are proposing for 1974 has already been set: not on the picket line or even at the bargaining table, but in the closed chambers of big business, the government, and the top levels of the union leadership.

This "pattern" has nothing to

so there's no need to discuss that."

The union's Basic Steel Conference endorsed this view, saying that pension improvements are the big issue this year.

Joe Beirne, President of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) announced his version of this strategy. Beirne stated that CWA and the Bell Telephone System would negotiate one national contract for the first time in history.

In the past, Bell has bitterly opposed national bargaining, preferring to play the workers in one Bell (AT&T) subsidiary against those in another.

United national bargaining could be a strong weapon in the hands of the workers, but that's



New York phone workers meeting during 1972 strike

do with the needs of the workers. The "pattern" is the acceptance, in practice, of Nixon's and the employers' plan for the U.S. economy for 1974 and beyond. Inflation will be fought by holding down the workers' wages and speeding up their work.

"Stability" will be sought by heading off major strikes. Preparation by government, bosses and labor leaders will begin long before contract expirations so union leaders will have time to "sell" their settlements to the union members.

No strike pledge

In the notorious "Experimental Negotiating Agreement," steelworkers president I. W. Abel promised that the steelworkers will not call a national strike — no matter what.

This means that the strongest union in the field this year has already surrendered.

Indeed, there is almost no pretense by steelworker leaders that they will put up any fight for wages. The leader of one USW local recently said, "We all know we'll probably get five percent to seven percent in wages,

not what Beirne and Bell have worked out.

The *New York Times* explained the joint view of the company and the CWA leadership, putting it in this year's context:

"It is hoped that the national bargaining approach will eliminate regional dissatisfactions of the kind that produced a seven month strike of New York telephone workers in 1971-72 after other union members had accepted a wage settlement."

"Today's agreement between the communications workers and the Bell System is the latest in recent efforts by labor and management in major industry to find ways to reach collective bargaining agreements without strikes or lockouts." (N. Y. Times, 1/17/74)

Yes, that's what national bargaining means to Joe Beirne — "agreements without strikes." This plan, by the way, was negotiated in complete secrecy by Beirne and the company and presented to the Bell System Bargaining Council of the CWA as an offer they couldn't refuse.

This then was their plan for 1974: no strikes, or as few as possible; smooth ratification of

[Continued on page 14]

Workers' Power photo

THEY FOUGHT TO FREE THE WORLD

V.I. Lenin, one of the greatest revolutionary leaders in history, died 50 years ago this January. Malcolm X, spokesman of the Black revolution and the foremost revolutionary leader in the U.S. since Debs, was murdered ten years ago at the beginning of his most significant work. They were revolutionaries because they saw the possibility that masses of men and women could create a society free of exploitation, oppression, and violence. They dedicated themselves to the struggle for that new society, a struggle which will continue so long as a tiny minority class continues to enrich itself at the expense of the poverty and misery of millions. The lives, words, and deeds of Malcolm X and Lenin will inspire those who fight for socialism and human liberation, until the victory of that struggle is achieved.

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MALCOLM X 1925-1965

This month begins the tenth year since the vicious murder of Malcolm X — the greatest American revolutionary in decades.

Malcolm grew up in small town mid-America during the Depression. It was a time of hardship and brutal privation for most, but particularly for black people. Malcolm's father, lynched for his political activity, was a follower of Marcus Garvey.

Malcolm was encouraged by racist white teachers not to spend time on intellectual studies in school, but to develop a manual skill. As a black, he was told, he could not expect to make a living as a professional.

He would be left unable to support himself if he pursued studies others considered foolish. His childhood was typical for a black child.

Failure was drummed into his head. The American Dream was clearly not for him or for other black people. When he left the mid-West for Boston, and eventually Harlem, he had already begun to street hustle. Crime was one open road for blacks to make it big, and Mal-

colm walked it for many years.

He tried numbers, dope, theft, and pimping. He believed a man should do anything a man "was sick, bad or bold enough to do." Eventually he wound up in prison. He was twenty.

At that point, Malcolm says, he had "sunk to the very bottom of the American white man's society." He was alone, trusting no one. He hated both himself and his rotten position in white society.

Black Muslims

But in prison Malcolm began to change. He still ran hustles, but he also began to read books. He began a correspondence course. In Detroit and Chicago, his family had been converted to the Nation of Islam — and they in turn began to convert Malcolm.

Across the country black people were picking up on the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, founder of the Nation of Islam. The Black Muslims, first and foremost, said to blacks that this racist misery in America is not our doing — it is the white man's and he is a devil.

The Muslims had an explanation for the racist exploitation blacks suffer. They taught that

blacks should be proud — of their skin color, their heritage, their people. They fought the self-hatred American society imposes on all black people. And in standing up for black peoples' dignity and humanity the Muslims became a pole of attraction to blacks.

Particularly the Muslims found followers among black prison inmates where, as Malcolm chronicles, "The white man is the devil" is a perfect echo of that black convict's life-long experience."

Malcolm joined the Muslims and by 1955 was the Minister of Temple 7 — Harlem. He had become a revolutionary and a separatist. Always an activist and an organizer, he built Temple 7 into a powerful force in Harlem. He soon became as famous as Elijah Muhammad himself.

Mass struggle

Through these years black people began to move and struggle for freedom. The civil rights movement in the South had begun to get off the ground.

At first, as a revolutionary, Malcolm was scornful of this new movement. Organized through Southern black churches, the civil rights movement precepts were non-violence and love thy enemy.

Its goal was integration into white society. All of these things — non-violence, loving enemies and integration — were wrong to Malcolm X. *But black people were fighting to free themselves and Malcolm began to support that struggle.*

As the civil rights movement grew it began slowly to change. Non-violence became more difficult to maintain. Southern sheriffs were beating hell out of black people; many were killed.

Martin Luther King was saying, "if any blood be shed, let it be ours." Malcolm X was saying blacks would struggle "by any means necessary."

Malcolm's ideas were gaining followers in the movement, but he remained isolated from it. As both a revolutionary and a separatist Malcolm was torn in two directions. Masses of blacks were in struggle and he was rapidly being pulled in their direction.

The movement began to have an impact inside the Nation of Islam, and the Muslims' conservatism began to show itself to Malcolm.

Elijah Muhammad wanted to build a separate black society, but that society was a mirror of white society — some blacks at the top, most at the bottom. Elijah was in interested in the mass movement, or in the blacks who put their lives on the line to free all black people.

Malcolm began to see that black people in struggle were a tremendous force. He began to envision a revolutionary struggle to transform this racist society and he began to fight for it. **This fight for organizing political struggle by black people caused his final break with the Nation of Islam.**

Too long had Malcolm been isolated from the tremendous struggle of his people. Parts of the movement were rejecting the liberal integration strategy of its leadership. They began to look to Malcolm X, his ideas and his strategy.

Malcolm X damned the Democratic Party! "A Democrat, is a Dixiecrat; is a Democrat," he said. "As a revolutionary Malcolm X rejected the strategy of King, CORE and SNCC to attempt reform of the Democratic Party. The civil rights struggle time and again was held back by the liberal Democrats. In 1964 the movement's leaders went so far as to call off all demonstrations to ensure Lyndon Johnson's election.

Malcolm X began to work out new alternatives for black political action. Black people needed their own organizations, he said, organizations that could make alliances with whites — based on black people's strength, not their weakness — to build and organize the struggle against racism and for human dignity. But the struggle had to go beyond that.

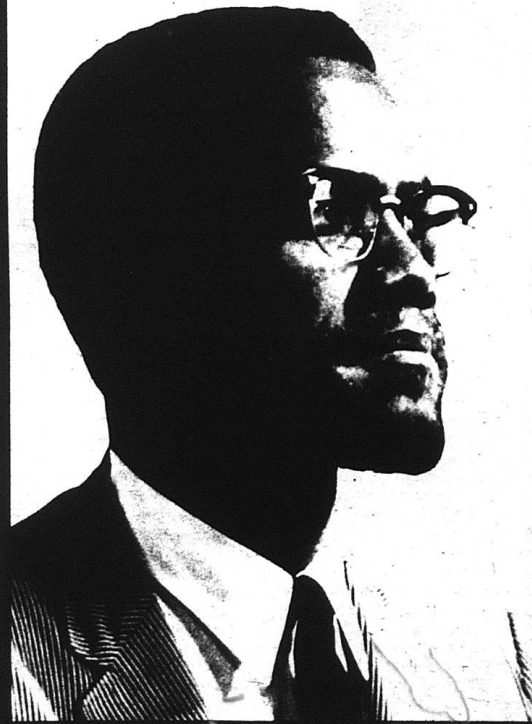
Revolutionary courage

The black urban rebellions began to break out. While King and others called for the police and army to crush them, Malcolm X was in the streets of Harlem saying we must struggle "by any means necessary."

This society is wrong, he said. It is a racist, exploitative society and it must be transformed. *We can do that,* Malcolm said.

Not all of the civil rights movement was ready for his message, but many were. He began to speak to greater and greater audiences — attracted by his tremendous speaking power, his revolutionary courage — and his refusal

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Lenin's Road To World Revolution

Tony Cliff



Fifty years ago the great revolutionary socialist leader Vladimir Ilyich Lenin died. At every anniversary of his death, Moscow and its friends on the one hand, and Western opponents of Communism on the other, do their best to distort the real historical role of this great man.

The legend was cultivated over a long period that Lenin was the father of Stalinism, a man who believed in totalitarian dictatorship. Nothing can be further from the truth.

What happened to Lenin was prophetically foretold by him in his brilliant work, *State and Revolution*, when he described the fate of revolutionary leaders in the past:

"During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say. . . while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its substance, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it."

Festivals of the oppressed

Above all, Lenin had supreme confidence in the creative abilities of the masses.

Thus, for instance, he wrote in June-July 1905:

"Revolutions are festivals of the oppressed and the exploited. At no other time are the mass of the people in a position to come forward so actively as creators of a new social order, as at a time of revolution."

"At such times the people are capable of performing miracles, if judged by the limited, philistine yardsticks of gradualist progress."

Workers learn in the struggle. They learn from their own experience in battle.

The role of a really consistent revolutionary socialist workers' party is not to lecture to the workers, but to learn from the workers in struggle and teach them in struggle.

"When bourgeois gentry and their uncritical echoers, the social reformists, talk about the "education of the masses," they usually mean something schoolmasterly, pedantic, something that demoralizes the masses and

instils in them bourgeois prejudices.

"The real education of the masses can never be separated from their independent political, and especially revolutionary struggle. Only struggle educates the exploited class. Only struggle discloses to it the magnitude of its own power, widens its horizon, enhances its abilities, clarifies its mind, forges its will."

The aim of the revolutionary socialist party is to tap the natural potential resources of energy and ingenuity hidden in the masses.

"There is an enormous amount of organizing talent among the 'people,' i.e., among the workers and the peasants who do not exploit the labor of others. Capital crushed these talented people in thousands; it killed their talent and threw them on to the scrapheap."

"We are not yet able to find them, encourage them, put them on their feet, promote them. But we shall learn to do so if we

set about it with an all-out revolutionary enthusiasm, without which there can be no victorious revolutions."

To learn from the masses the party must also be able and ready to learn from its own mistakes, to be very self-critical. As Lenin put it:

"A political party's attitude towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it fulfills in practice its obligations towards its class, and the working people."

"Frankly acknowledging a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions that have led up to it, and thrashing out the means of correcting it — that is the hallmark of a serious party; that is how it should perform its duties, and how it should educate and train its class, and then the masses."

The open debate is ever more vital and essential at the period of direct revolutionary struggle.



Lenin speaking to steel workers at the Putilov factory in Petrograd

So Lenin wrote in a leaflet, April 25-26, 1906:

"In a revolutionary epoch like the present, all theoretical errors and tactical deviations of the party are most ruthlessly criticized by experience itself, which enlightens and educates the working class with unprecedented speed."

"At such a time, the duty of every socialist is to strive to ensure that the ideological struggle within the party on questions of theory and tactics is conducted as openly as possible, but that on no account does it disturb or hamper the unity of revolutionary action of the Social-Democratic proletariat."

"The party of the revolutionary proletariat is strong enough to openly criticize itself, and unequivocally call mistakes and weaknesses by their proper names."

"The fighting party of the advanced class need not fear mistakes. What it should fear is persistence in a mistake, refusal to admit and correct a mistake out of a false sense of shame."

Of course, inner-party discussions must not lead to lack of discipline and unity of action.

But on the contrary, inner-party democracy has to serve as a base for unity in action. As Lenin so well put it:

"We have more than once already enunciated our theoretical views on the importance of discipline and on how this concept is to be understood in the party of the working class. We defined it as: unity of action, freedom of discussion and criticism. Only such discipline is worthy of the democratic party of the advanced class."

"The proletariat does not recognize unity of action without freedom to discuss and criticize. . . there can be no mass party, no party of a class, without full clarity of essential shadings, without an open struggle between various tendencies, without informing the masses as to which leaders and which organizations of the party are pursuing this or that line. Without this, a party worthy of the name cannot be built."

Socialist democracy

Contrary to Stalinist mythology — as well as that of liberal opponents of Bolshevism — the Bolshevik Party has never been a monolithic or totalitarian party. Far from it.

Internal democracy had always been of the utmost im-

portance in party life.

Thus for instance, when the most important question of all, the question of the October insurrection in 1917 was the order of the day, the leadership was sharply divided: a strong faction led by Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Piatakov, Miliutin and Nogin, opposed the rising.

Nevertheless, when the political bureau was elected by the central committee, neither Zinoviev nor Kamenev were excluded.

After taking power, the differences in the party leadership continued to be as sharp as before. A few days after the revolution, a number of party leaders came out with a demand for a coalition with other socialist parties.

Those insisting on this included Rykov, the People's Commissar of the Interior, Miliutin, the People's Commissar of Industry and Trade, Lunacharsky, the Commissar of Education, Kamenev, the president of the Republic and Zinoviev.

They went as far as resigning from the government, thus compelling Lenin and his supporters to open negotiations with the other parties.

The negotiations broke down because the right-wing socialists insisted on the exclusion of Lenin and Trotsky from the coalition government.

Again, on the question of holding or postponing the elections to the Constituent Assembly in December 1917, Lenin found himself in a minority in the central committee, and the elections were held against his advice.

War and peace

A little later he was again defeated on the question of the peace negotiations with Germany at Brest-Litovsk.

Lenin was for an immediate peace to give the young workers' state a much-needed breathing space. But at a meeting of the central committee and active workers, held on January 21, 1918, his motion received only 15 votes against Bukharin's motion for "revolutionary war," which received 32 votes, and Trotsky's for "neither peace nor war," which received 16.

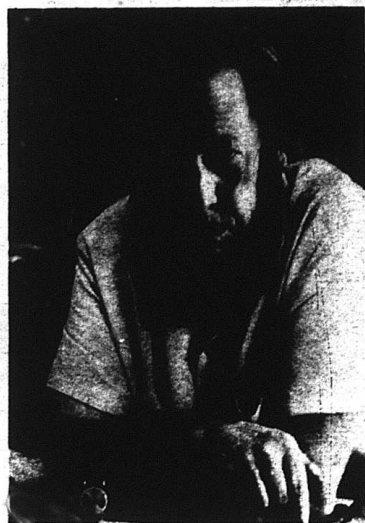
At a session of the central committee next day, Lenin was again defeated.

But at last he succeeded, under the pressure of events, in convincing the majority of members of the central committee of

[Continued on page 14]

"The Gulag Archipelago": A Revolutionary Appraisal

Kevin Bradley



SOLZHENITSYN

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, a leading Russian dissident, has just published the book *Gulag Archipelago 1918-1956* in the West. The conditions under which he published the book illustrate the severe repression to which dissident writers in Russia are subjected. Solzhenitsyn's book is about Russian forced labor camps, whose history and meaning the repressive authorities in the USSR cannot truthfully reveal.

Gulag Archipelago has not stimulated a word of honest literary or historical criticism from the Russian regime or its supporters. Instead there has been a stream of abuse labelling the author a traitor to his country, efforts by the regime to use international copyright laws to suppress the book, and a campaign of terror against Solzhenitsyn himself. A serious critique of this book can come only from other opponents of the regime, from those who defend Solzhenitsyn's right to be heard, not from those who receive their pay and privileges for defending his oppressors.

Since only selected excerpts have been published in English thus far, a rounded assessment of Solzhenitsyn's new work is not yet possible. But the storm of controversy it has aroused de-

mands an immediate response from revolutionary socialists concerning the historical circumstances that produced this novel.

New exposures

Alexander Solzhenitsyn was arrested in 1945. He was in forced labor camps for nine years and then spent several years exiled in Central Asia. During that time he questioned other prisoners in every jail, labor camp and transportation vehicle.

He memorized thousands of names, dates and facts; anything he wrote down could be confiscated by the authorities and used to expose his fellow prisoners to even worse repression.

Solzhenitsyn, of course, is not the first to detail the conditions in Stalin's labor camps. They have been discussed by many authors, including other oppositionist writers in the Soviet Union, and even by Nikita Khrushchev's famous speech on Stalin's crimes in 1956. But new exposures are necessary, because today's rulers in Russia want to bury this history as "the ancient past" in order to protect themselves.

The circumstances that led to the publication of *Gulag Archipelago* are typical of the situation facing dissidents in Russia. Solzhenitsyn gave part of the manuscript to a friend, Yelizaveta Voronyanskaya. Last August he received threats on his life

through the mail, and warned in an interview, "My death will not make happy those people who count on my death to stop my literary activity." After his death the main part of his works would be published.

The Russian secret police stepped up their efforts to find his manuscripts. They arrested and interviewed Mrs. Varonyanskaya. She was interrogated for five days continuously, worn down and terrorized. At last she broke down and revealed the location of the manuscript. She was released by the police, went home and committed suicide.

Solzhenitsyn today lives under such fearful conditions that, when interviewed by Western lawyers, he had to whisper and answer questions on little slips of paper which he burned in an ashtray at the end of the interview.

Slave labor

The word "Gulag" in *Gulag Archipelago* is the Russian abbreviation for Main Administration of Corrective Labor Camps, which administered the slave labor camps under Stalin. The great bulk of Solzhenitsyn's book is concerned with the inhumanly brutal conditions of these camps. He describes, for instance, the buying and selling of slaves.

The buyers, who wanted to see the merchandise alive and

bare-skinned, were welcomed guests at transit prisons. "Well, what merchandise have you bought?" asked a buyer at the Butyrka station, observing and inspecting the female appurtenances of a 17-year-old, Ira Kalina."

The Stalinist system in the 1930's, during the most rapid building of heavy industry in Russia, saw this slave labor as intrinsic to its needs. *The Large Soviet Encyclopedia* said, "The grandiose victory of socialism on all fronts made possible the wide employment of the labor of criminals in the general channel of socialist construction. . . . With the entry of the USSR into the period of socialism, the possibility of using coercive measures by corrective labor have immeasurably increased."

Moscow trials

Solzhenitsyn also attempts to solve the "riddle of the Moscow trials of the thirties." In these show trials the close associates of Lenin, high government officials and leaders of the Bolshevik Party that led the Russian revolution, "confessed" to being fascist agents and trying to sabotage the regime and the Party for twenty or thirty years. They were all shot.

The riddle is why these leaders made such abject and obviously false confessions. Solzhenitsyn points out how they were threatened with being shot, with their children and grandchildren being shot, and how even after they confessed to phoney crimes they were subject to continuing interrogation, punishment cells, beatings and further torture. This was done to make them soft putty in the hands of their persecutors.

But this is not enough to explain how men who helped make a successful revolution could capitulate so abjectly. Solzhenitsyn gives two main reasons for their actions.

First, he suggests that those tried by Stalin were not the victims of Czarist prisons, as Lenin's Bolshevik Party was supposedly not regarded by the Czarist police to be as much a threat as other parties. Thus Solzhenitsyn argues that the

Bolsheviks lacked the stamina to resist Stalinist tortures.

Second, according to Solzhenitsyn, the Bolsheviks on trial were "morally weak" because they condoned the use of terror against right wing opponents, the taking of hostages, and the repression of other revolutionary parties during the Civil War fifteen years earlier. Here is where Solzhenitsyn's own misunderstanding of Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution — and of Stalinism — begins to distort his perceptions.

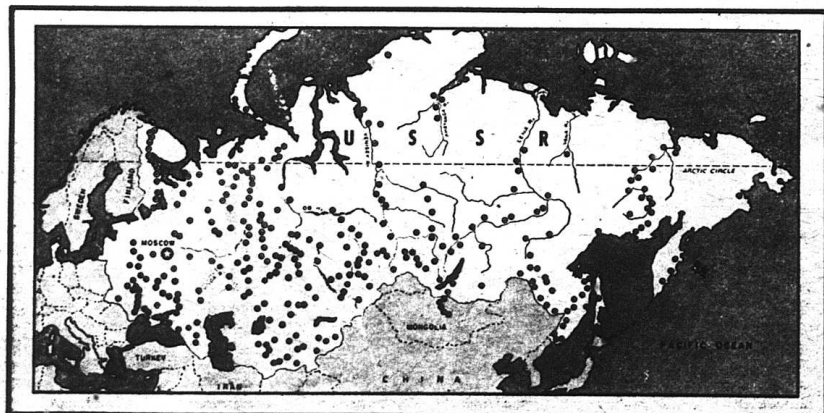
The reason the Bolshevik Party survived Czarist repression and lived to lead the Russian workers' revolution was that it was hardened and able to withstand prison, torture and police infiltration. Far from being morally weak, the Bolshevik cadres had a tremendous moral strength that withstood all the horrors of Czarist exile and torture because they knew what they were suffering and fighting for — a workers' revolution to liberate humanity.

Stalin's torturers were much more systematic and brutal than the Czar's, but what broke the old Bolsheviks and forced them to drag themselves and their past through every kind of imaginable filth was that they no longer had a perspective for resistance that could survive torture. They no longer understood what was happening in Russia. Those who did — the Left Opposition led by Trotsky — had been exiled or crushed long before.

Bolshevism's gravedigger

The Moscow trials were the climax of the transformation of the Bolshevik Party from a genuine workers party which stood for democratic workers revolution into a thoroughly bureaucratic, Stalinist Party. By the end of the 1930's, over 90 percent of the old Bolshevik Party was dead, either through the civil war or the great Stalin purges.

Stalin had to destroy, morally or physically, every Party member who was active in the early Bolshevik Party, no matter how craven they became towards him. For anyone who had taken



part in the Bolshevik Party understood what a democratic revolutionary party was all about, what its socialist goals were. They would be a potential source of opposition to the new bureaucratic ruling class. The Bolshevik Party itself was the most important obstacle between Stalin and absolute power.

Solzhenitsyn's attempts to trace the origins of the Stalinist terror in Leninism confuse two complete opposites. Leninism meant the rule of the working class, the first and only successful workers' state. Stalinism was its gravedigger, the counter-revolution led by a new bureaucratic ruling class. Solzhenitsyn confuses the two by a superficial comparison of the different sorts of repression occurring under each.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks had to defend themselves against bourgeois counter-revolution during a brutal Civil War. Atrocities and victimization under Stalin were carried out against the working class and peasantry, years after Stalin had proclaimed "the victory of socialism"!

Terror and Counter-terror

A glimpse of the brutality inflicted by the old Czarist ruling class can be obtained from the repression in Siberia in 1918. In villages which rebelled against the old landlords peasants were shot by the dozens, women were whipped, girls raped, hundreds of towns were bombed or burned. When the workers in Omak rebelled, they were repressed with 900 deaths. Villages were burned for acts of sabotage against the railroads.

Inside Russia, other parties organized to restore capitalism and the Czar. The Allied imperialist bloc of the U.S., England and France organized an invasion of the workers' state.

Under these conditions of domestic counter-revolution and imperialist intervention from both the Allied and Central Power blocs, Red Terror was established. The Red Terror was instituted to defend the working class and its newly won state. It was directed against counter-revolutionary agitation, incitement of Red soldiers to disobedience, giving of assistance to the Czarist armies or foreign power, espionage, corruption, and race riots against Jews.

Offenders in many cases were shot and hostages taken from the capitalist class. Yet the terror imposed by the working class and its peasant allies, a majority of the population, never equalled the terror of the capitalists, a tiny minority class. When the victorious capitalists put down the workers Commune of Paris in 1871, they killed more workers in a single week in Paris than

the Cheka killed in three years all over Russia.

Stalin's terror, by contrast, not only destroyed the workers' revolution but slaughtered four to five million people — probably more than were killed on both sides in the Revolution and the whole Civil War put together.

False alternative

The unbelievable brutality that Solzhenitsyn was subjected to by Stalinism has not only led him to break with his previous support of Leninism. It has led him to support capitalism with its supposedly "moral" values. In his Nobel Prize acceptance speech last year, he stated that the West embodied all the great human values which are crushed by totalitarianism.

These "great human values" are responsible for the war in Vietnam, the brutalization of blacks in the U.S., the rape and plunder of Latin America and starvation and hardship for millions. This same morality tried to destroy the Russian workers' state, crushed the workers' revolution in Europe through brutal terror, and created the isolation of Russia which brought Stalin to power over the Russian workers.

Solzhenitsyn's support for capitalism against Stalinism leads to confusion in assessing Roosevelt and Churchill. When in prison he and his comrades were amazed at "their systematic shortsightedness and stupidities." They gave no guarantees for the independence of Eastern Europe, gave over to Stalin broad sections of Germany, and turned over several hundred thousand armed Russian citizens determined not to return to death at Stalin's hands.

These actions on the part of Roosevelt and Churchill make no "political or military sense" to Solzhenitsyn, because he does not understand the imperialist morality of the capitalist democracies which he supports. To be free to pursue their own crimes, they gladly let Stalin terrorize Eastern Europe when his armies occupied these countries; in return Stalin allowed them to repress a workers' rising in Greece, and allowed them to keep control of their own colonial slaves.

The tragedy of Solzhenitsyn is that he recognizes no social force in Russia capable of struggling for democracy against the regime which rules Russia today. In abandoning the regime which falsely claims to represent socialism and the working class, he has turned away from the working class fight for socialism itself — the only force which can carry through the "cleansing of society" called for by Solzhenitsyn. ■

Vultures Come Home to Prey

One of the mysteries of Watergate is this. Nixon is down. Why don't the Democrats kick him and get it over with? One year of Watergate, certainly is enough.

The answer is not hard to find. The Democrats, like the Republicans, support the system. Watergate shows plainly how rotten and corrupt it is. If they push too hard they may do more

campaign for re-election.

According to the Pittsburgh Crime Commission, Duggan juggled large sums of money from one bank account to another and covered up the evidence.

He also extorted contributions from his employees, through a compulsory quota system. He shook them down for three percent of their annual incomes.

In the words of the 92-page Crime Commission report, "The

Needless to say, as Robber Barons of the highest order, this is not the first dirt to soil their hands.

Meanwhile, next door in Ohio, the Cleveland Press featured a story on the finances of Governor John Gilligan, a liberal Democrat who has promised to clean up Ohio's notoriously corrupt campaign financing system.

"You cover both sides"

Gilligan spent more than \$1.5 million on his successful 1970 campaign and once in office, he dutifully repaid his supporters, giving favors and awarding contracts as freely as Spiro Agnew.

According to the Press, for example, the Cleveland law firm of Ginsberg, Guren and Merritt gave Gilligan \$30,000. Twenty-six months later the Governor returned the favor by selecting land owned by them for the new \$15 million state office building.

Columbus physician Howard Sirak gave \$11,250. One year later, Gilligan made him a Trustee of Ohio State University.

George M. Steinbrenner, the President of American Ship Building Co., threw in at least \$4,000. Investigators are still searching for his firm's \$37,000 in unaccounted campaign contributions.

Steinbrenner is currently in trouble for \$25,000 in illegal contributions to the Campaign to Re-elect the President.

When asked why Steinbrenner supported both Democrats and Republicans, his aide, Erhard Eckert, said, "You cover both sides." Steinbrenner was named to the Ohio Board of Regents.

Organized labor legally poured \$225,000 into Gilligan's campaign. But what reward was given the workers of Ohio, the Press did not say. Nevertheless, it is at least clear that Gilligan is not partial to truckers. They got the National Guard. ■



than expose Nixon — they may expose themselves.

The Nixon administration is not an aberration in American politics — it is American politics.

From the nastiest right-wing Republican to the sweetest liberal Democrat they all support capitalism and will prop it and themselves up, by any means necessary.

Here are just two more examples, from the Midwest, of how our public servants really operate.

In Pittsburgh, the Allegheny County District Attorney, Robert W. Duggan, has been charged with concealing contributions and expenses during his 1971

magnitude of falsification is substantial. . . a total of \$68,033.27 was never reported."

Politically, Duggan is a reactionary, who made his reputation cracking down on petty crime and x-rated movies.

At the same time, he represents the right wing of the Mellon family, which he recently joined by marrying a family heiress, Cornelia Scaife May. Richard Mellon Scaife helped manage his campaign.

The Mellons and Scaifes, of course, virtually own the city of Pittsburgh, through their control of Gulf Oil and the Mellon Bank.

They also own the politicians.

Last year Richard Nixon called Dr. Thomas Matthew a "prime example of black capitalism." Last month Matthew was sentenced to up to three years in jail for misuse of Medicaid funds.

And it wasn't like Nixon didn't know. Four years ago he commuted a jail term for income tax evasion for the neurosurgeon. Matthew is now out on appeal, having the cash to pay his \$25,000 bail.

Matthew had gained national prominence as a strong supporter of Nixon and as the head of the National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization (NEGRO).

NEGRO is known as a sell-out

organization. Members have been against, for instance, building low income housing in well-to-do areas. (It simply isn't good business.)

Like all good capitalists putting profits above people, Matthews, like a lot of other figures this year, made the mistake of not covering his tracks well enough.

He was charged with 71 counts of grand larceny stemming from the misuse of money slated for NEGRO's black self-help programs.

Matthew, it seems, preferred to help his own self — to the government funds. ■

Dotty Grant

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

No. 3 in a series of educational reprints designed to bring to today's socialists the lessons of the past.

Contains articles written during the years 1935 - 1957 by Harold Isaacs, Li Fu-Jen, Ria Stone, Ygael Gluckstein, M. Y. Yang, and Tony Cliff, from *The New International Socialist Review*, and *Mao's China*.

\$1

I. S. Book Service

Nixon Helps Those Who Help Selves

NATO In Crisis: The Thieves Fall Out

Joel Geier



The biggest casualty of the Middle East war and the oil crisis is NATO. Along with it has gone America's peaceful, unchallenged rule over the fortunes of Europe and half the rest of the world.

The NATO alliance, cemented by the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949, coordinated the interests of the Western imperialist powers. It was expensively outfitted by Washington, which paid for much of its military hardware and troops, on condition that it was the United States which set policy for the whole capitalist world.

To finance this vast military machine American workers were heavily taxed — to put troops in West Germany, and for so-called foreign aid to shore up military dictatorships in Greece, Turkey and Portugal.

These U.S.-backed dictatorships were known as the Free World. Today, the same Freedom exists in Chile, South Vietnam and Brazil.

Cold war myths

To soak American workers to pay for this war alliance, the Cold War ideology was made a part of our daily diet in the 1950's by the newspapers, TV, the schools and churches.

These media and institutions, conservative and liberal alike, were used to create the myth that NATO was the great defender of democracy, capitalist style, from the forces of evil — the rival Communist imperialists of Moscow.

While the U.S. and other NATO countries landed troops in places like the Suez Canal,

Lebanon and the Dominican Republic, the armies of the Soviet Union crushed popular movements fighting for freedom in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

America's Cold War, and the ever-expanding war budget that went with it, was not just a military weapon against a rival social system. It was arms spending which revived the American economy and created the much-acclaimed prosperity of the postwar capitalist world.

It enabled U.S. capitalism to reorganize Europe and Japan, and to become the unchallenged king of world capitalism. America's road to world power led also to the slaughter in Korea, and later Vietnam.

Inter-imperialist rivalry

But now the tables have turned. The allies of NATO are publicly knifing each other in the back. Gone are the beautiful words written for them by professors and priests.

Out front are naked imperialist interests. All of them are haggling over world oil.

The competition among the capitalist powers has been slowly maturing in the last decade. It has produced the struggle for trade in the world market and the periodic currency crises of the last five years. Now it has come to the boiling point in the fallout over the Arab oil embargo.

Military cooperation, political agreement and economic unity among the U.S. and its allies have all broken down as each country looks for a bit more oil for itself, so its capitalists will have an advantage over the capitalists from other countries in world trade.

France and Japan are making

their own deals for oil, while Nixon calls an oil consumers' conference to try to bludgeon the Arabs to lower prices and to restore U.S. authority.

Gone are the days when the fight against the international Communist conspiracy got top

billing. Of course, they're still jacking up the arms budget and talking about how to win a "limited" nuclear war. But if you're still gung-ho on beating back the Communist Menace you're pretty much stuck with old movies on TV and occasional ads for Radio Free Europe.

The inter-imperialist rivalry among the NATO allies is now the greatest threat to the U.S. capitalists who paid for and ran NATO in their own interests.

They are now hoping that somehow Kissinger, their latest savior, will be able to put NATO back together again — just as soon as he gets back from putting the Mideast back together as it should be, as obedient client states fronting for the American oil companies which pump their wealth back to Wall Street.

Meanwhile, the capitalists are trying to do business with the Russians. Imperialist business, like trading off different parts of the world.

The U.S. will cut Russia in on a share of the Middle East if it gets to keep Vietnam. Besides, Kissinger needs Russian help to make sure that people like the Arabs of Palestine don't get too noisy about demanding their rights.

Chou: NATO booster

The rulers of China, however, have another angle. They are now more concerned with their fight with Russia, and so they denounce U.S.-Russian collusion in the Middle East. For their own purposes they also want to see a strong capitalist alliance to clip the Russian wings, so naturally Chou en-Lai is upset when the capitalists, who used to be denounced daily as imperialists in the Maoist press, start to fall out among themselves.

Chou has urged that the U.S. work to maintain a strong NATO.

He has also warned the U.S. not to withdraw too rapidly from Southeast Asia.

NATO was strictly a way for Western imperialism under American leadership to dominate the world. But the myth that NATO had something to do with democracy took a long time to die among many workers.

The myth that China, or even Russia, have anything to do with socialism or anti-imperialism may also take a long time to die in the American left. Myths about how people have democracy in the West, and socialism in the East, are created precisely because the ideas of socialism and democracy are so important to working people who don't want to be exploited by anyone but instead want to run their own lives.

End imperialism, east & west

These myths are now being exploded by the filthy deals being cooked up by the Americans and the Chinese, the Russians and the French.

The old myths of the Communist conspiracy are being replaced by new ones about "detente," about a peaceful division of influence among rival super-powers. And tomorrow these new myths will be replaced by still newer ones as fresh deals are constructed.

What is required now is a revolutionary movement which doesn't need any myths, which stands against imperialism East and West. A conscious, working class movement which stands with all peoples in their struggle for national liberation — Vietnam and Czechoslovakia, Angola and Palestine, and even Tibet. Such a movement — independent of Washington, Moscow and Peking — can smash not only the imperialists' myths but the systems which created them. ■

When Chile's generals launched the bloody overthrow of Allende's Popular Unity Government in September 1973, inflation soared at around 500 percent and there was no food and other basic necessities available in the stores.

This situation, produced by hoarding goods and sabotage by the capitalists of the Chilean economy, had led to a collapse of the entire economy.

Today, five months later, inflation is still close to 500 percent, and while production of goods has risen significantly, and there are goods and food on the shelves, few are buying.

Why? Because now the overwhelming bulk of Chileans, including workers and peasants must spend close to 80 percent of their income for food alone. The Junta's policy of keeping down wages and allowing prices to skyrocket has meant that only a few have money to buy anything beyond the absolute necessities.

Far from solving Chile's economic problems, the generals have reduced the masses of people — including many of their middle class supporters — to a state of misery. ■

SOLIDARITE AVEC LE PEUPLE CHILIEN



reviews



"Miss Jane Pittman"

"The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman" is one of the finest movies shown on TV. Cicely Tyson as Miss Pittman was magnificent. But more important than one person's performance was a well-put-together chronicle of one part of black history in America.

In the past, black women were portrayed by TV as being jolly fat maids. Today, movies depict them as tough sexy cops. Cicely Tyson, as Jane Pittman, portrayed black women as they are — strong, defiant and brave. They had to be. To be a black woman in America meant (and still does) enduring poverty, injustice, and inhuman brutality.

Violence surrounds Miss Jane. When travelling north after emancipation all but one of the group she travels with is brutally massacred by a white vigilante gang.

Jane's husband, Joe Pittman, is killed by a wild horse on a ranch in East Texas. After ten years Jane is re-united with her "adopted" son, Ned, a political man involved in the struggle for freedom. But he is soon shot-

gunned to death by a hired killer for organizing a black school.

Jane becomes "grandmother" to Jimmy, a plantation child who grows up to participate in the 1960's civil rights movement. He is arrested in a protest and murdered in jail.

This final act of violence is the one that pushes Miss Jane to the brink. She can no longer endure, as black women have long endured tremendous injustice, without fighting back. She is 110 years old, but she goes into the town of her grandchild's death and drinks from the "white only" fountain. She becomes a heroine of the civil rights movement.

There were many brilliant scenes in the movie. One of the most horrifying was a scene when the KKK rode into a freedom school and burned it to the ground. They took the leader of the group and hanged him, while his wife, holding their baby, watched screaming in anguish.

As Jane and the other survivor, Ned, tried to get north they come across a poor white wom-

an. Embittered by her poverty and the loss of her husband in the Civil War the woman gives them water, but hurls racist abuse. "I hate you niggers!" "I hope you all die!" "You're the cause of all this misery!" She had been convinced that as poor and as bad off as she was, at least she wasn't black.

And it is true that she was better off — black women throughout the south were beaten, raped, killed, watched their families get killed, witnessed castrations and lynchings. It is the capacity for enduring these racist atrocities, the ability not to be crushed by them, the strength to continue struggling for decent lives and for freedom, that Tyson so dramatically portrays.

There were some distortions in the film. In the first scene an Ohio soldier befriends Jane, and encourages her to drop her slave name. Chances are this didn't happen too often.

Ned gives a speech in the 1920's that is also slightly unbelievable. He denounces separatism, and tries to show that



in the Communist Party and the African Black Brotherhood who put forward the ideas of national liberation and socialist revolution.

Some critics argue the show preached non-violence, that it did not show the resistance by blacks to racist society. There is some validity in that point, for instance, Ned's death could have been avenged.

But Ned, who represented black leaders such as Medgar Evers and Martin Luther King knew he would die at the hands of white racists. To him, retaliation would mean that the KKK would ride into the town, beat and rape the women, hang the men and destroy all that had been built. This happened all the time in the South. To Ned, the most important thing was

that the struggle for freedom continue.

The most serious weakness was the way the Southern civil rights movement was shown. The civil rights movement was a mass movement. Millions of black people sat in in restaurants

[Continued on page 15]

books

Women's History

*[International Women's Day, by Alexandra Kollontai. Introduction by Celia Emerson. International Socialist pamphlet. \$25.]

High school history books used to picture the early women's movement as square-jawed, stiff-lipped spinsters (whom no one wanted to marry) marching for the vote. They were always white, middle class Anglo-Saxon.

The more creative ones showed cartoons of women terrorizing meek submissive, men with frying pans, rolling pins or suffrage signs, dragging them out of bars.

The new women's movement has changed that image somewhat. Today equal rights for women is an idea most non-Neanderthals at least give lip service to.

History books now treat the early women's movement respectfully, as a legitimate struggle of white, middle class Anglo-Saxon, women for the vote.

But we are still being robbed. The early women's movement was much more than the struggle of middle class women for

suffrage. Working women throughout the world, in Russia, China, the U.S. and elsewhere, struggled for their liberation.

Many were socialists, who fought side by side with working class men for the emancipation of the entire working class.

The reprinting of International

Women's Day, by Alexandra Kollontai, gives us back some of that history.

Kollontai was a leader of the Russian revolution and an internationally known fighter for women's liberation and socialism.

She helped organize the first

women's groups in Russia and was won to the ideas of revolutionary socialism through her work with women textile workers.

After the revolution Kollontai became the Soviet Minister of Welfare. She was the first woman to be named to an important political post in modern history.

This pamphlet, addressed to women workers, was written in 1920. Its purpose was to explain the significance of International Women's Day in the struggle for women's liberation.

Kollontai traces the history of International Women's Day. On March 8th, 1907 socialist women, mainly garment workers, organized a massive demonstration in New York City demanding an end to sweatshop conditions, equal pay and equal work, childcare centers and the right to vote.

Clara Zetkin, a leader of the German women's movement and the German Socialist Party, was so inspired by the New York women that she called on the international working class socialist movement to celebrate

March 8th as Working Women's Day.

Most of this is background on International Women's Day, and can be gotten elsewhere. In fact, some of Kollontai's facts are actually wrong and are corrected in the Introduction and footnotes by Celia Emerson.

The importance of this pamphlet, today, is the understanding it gives us of the importance of the question of women's liberation in the struggles of working women in the early 1900's.

"The first International Women's Day took place in 1911. Its success exceeded all expectation. Germany and Austria on Working Women's Day was one seething, trembling sea of women.

"This was certainly the first show of militancy by the working women. Men stayed at home with their children for a change, and their wives, the captive housewives, went to meetings."

Thirty thousand women took to the streets demanding liberation.

In Russia meetings were out-

[Continued on page 15]





Lenin

[Continued from page 9]

his point of view, and at its session on February 24 his motion for peace gained seven votes, while four voted against and another four abstained.

As a result of the weakness of the Russian working class, after nearly seven years of war and civil war, the isolation of the Russian revolution following the betrayal of the German revolution by right wing labor leaders — including the murder of the great socialist leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht — the Stalinist bureaucracy rose in Russia.

This bureaucracy consolidated itself after the mass murder of Lenin's old comrades in arms during the 1930s, One-man management in the factories where managers earn 100 times more than workers, where workers have no right to strike and are deprived of all freedoms, became the hallmark of the Stalinist regime.

But the future belongs to the ideas of Marx and Lenin. The basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism:

That the working class is the agent of socialism.

That the working class needs a vanguard party to lead it, to raise its combative ability, consciousness and organization.

The need to smash the bureaucratic militarist police state machine of capitalism and replace it with democratic workers' councils, where all officials get the same wages as the workers they represent, with regular elections of all officials and the right to recall them.

These ideas are of vital importance to workers everywhere, whether in Britain or Russia, the United States, China or India.

The future belongs to the ideas of Marx and Lenin. ■

Which Side?

[Continued from page 7]

agreements; 5-7 percent wage increases; minor improvements in benefits and pensions. A sorry plan if there ever was one.

Then came the "energy crisis." With one eye over his shoulder for Hoffa and the other for the rank and file, Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters announced he was reopening the big master freight agreements.

Then came strikes and contract rejections in local Teamster agreements and the blockades and strikes by independent truckers. More inflation, and more threatened oil and gas price hikes. Which means, more strikes that can't be prevented.

The energy crisis is no boon for workers. It adds to the cost of living and bloats oil company profits. But the fact is that

the energy crisis has taken some of the wind out of the sails of the union leaders who hoped for a smooth ride this year.

This opens a way to fight the current plans of the labor bureaucracy. The first step in turning things around is to make it clear that the ranks will not sit still for their rotten idea of "pattern" bargaining.

Behind the often polite facade of collective bargaining stands the class struggle. Each contract fight is an expression of the on-going fight between the two major social classes of society, the employing or capitalist class and the working class.

Thus, each fight by a group of workers against their boss is potentially a fight for the interests of all workers.

The bosses know this, in their own way. That is why they are counting on I. W. Abel, Joe Beirne, and the other big labor leaders to hold things down.

In Britain today, the class nature of the miners' fight for better wages has been openly recognized by all. The Conservative Heath government is protecting all the employers by refusing to grant a decent wage increase.

Rank and file trade unionists of Britain also know this. In spite of hardships, the vast majority of British workers stand behind the miners — by raising money for their strike and refusing to handle scab coal.

The lesson here is that a determined struggle by the ranks can force even the most rotten leadership, like that of the British miners' union, into a fight with the employers. The other lesson, of course, is that the ranks must get rid of the labor bureaucrats and make the unions fighting organizations.

That, of course is a long struggle, but it can start with the fight for decent living and working conditions in 1974.

Militants must urge the steelworkers to strike, nationally if possible, locally if necessary, and reject Abel's rotten offers. At the same time militants must force their own unions to support the steelworkers down the line.

It is possible that the Teamsters will be the spearhead when they get down to re-negotiating parts of their contract. Teamsters have wildcatted before, they could do it again. But other workers must be ready to support them with cash, if necessary, and by refusing to deal with scab truckers.

To put it another way, the basic principles of trade union solidarity need to be taken out of the closet and put on display where the bosses and the bureaucrats can see them. ■

Demonstration and Picket to Support the Gallo Boycott
February 20 10 am - 8 pm
Gallo Southern Calif. Offices
2650 Commerce Way
City of Commerce, Calif.

RALLY AT NOON

Information - Los Angeles
381-1136

Letter from prison

I am a Black Brother at Prison. I understand I can get a free subscription to your paper and free books.

I've been able to read a copy of your paper and was delighted to dig that a lot of people on this plantation country share the same thoughts as I.

When Tricky Dick (Nixon) and his fallpartner get out of office and someone gets in there that will think of other people's needs instead of their own it would be an improvement in making a better country.

I hope you could offer some help to me in what I'm trying to do. I'm trying to get names of people to write letters to forgotten prisoners that don't have any family or anyone to write them because a letter will mean a whole lot to a guy in here.

I would like it if you could forward me more information about this service and a catalog.

F. W.

Editor's note: The International Socialists maintain a special fund to provide free literature and subscriptions to Workers' Power to prisoners who otherwise would be unable to afford it. Anyone wishing to contribute to this fund, or prisoners who would like a subscription or our literature list should write to: I. S. Prisoners Fund, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203.

Excellent example

Workers' Power is an excellent example of a visually interesting paper—with content. You have had a number of these recently—I don't know anything about writing, but the articles have been informative, interesting, short, and I hope accurate of late.

Larry Lewis

Fleetwood forced labor

Before the ink was dry on the 1973 Big Three Auto contracts with the UAW these contracts were outdated. The issue of compulsory overtime was forgotten with layoffs of tens of thousands of workers.

The officers of Local 15,

Fleetwood, who have been collaborating with management for the last 25 years are at a loss to know what to do. These flunkies of the International Union will avoid a struggle with the Company as long as possible.

Many of the workers who have retired from Fleetwood during recent years speak of conditions in the plant as if it were a forced labor camp. They say the UAW no longer functions in the interest of its membership.

Of the 99 workers who retired from Fleetwood during 1973, forty-one of these were retired on total disability. Under present conditions in the Fleetwood plant, 40 per cent of the workers are unable to complete their 30 years of service required to get maximum pensions.

John Anderson

[The writer was a leader of the Fleetwood sit-down strike in 1937 and President of Local 15 during its militant days in the 1940's.]

Compliment

While I acknowledge the ideological differences between IS and the African People's Socialist Party, I would like to compliment you on such a well put together newspaper, Workers' Power.

Your well-written and well-researched articles and analysis make us proud you are in the socialist camp.

Umoja na Uhuru
(Unity and Freedom)

Joseph Waller
Chairman, African People's Socialist Party

Reply on "Graffiti"

I am compelled to take vigorous exception to Lynn Jones' review of "American Graffiti" in issue number 88 of Workers' Power. Jones' review smacks of idealism, misses the whole point of "American Graffiti," and worse, presumably in the name of Marxist materialism, takes the movie to task for not being something that it really never purported to be in the first place.

"American Graffiti" is director George Lucas' personal statement, generalizing a particular slice of life in Modesto, California as representative of the prevailing American youth culture at a particular point in time.

It does not purport to be an exhaustive, comprehensive, documentary of growing up in the '50's. It excludes Blacks precisely because Blacks were excluded from participation in the mainstream of white society in the '50's (as indeed they are today). The important exception being (which Jones fails to note) that Blacks played a central and integral role, albeit behind the scenes, in producing the unifying theme of the "youth culture" of the '50's, rock and roll music.

A cursory listening to Graffiti's sound track reveals that most of the selections were either written or sung by Black performers. This salient fact was deliberately withheld from white audiences by the whites in control of the music business in the '50's.

Jones might have made a political contribution by pointing out that the hero, an engaging and genuinely human aspiring writer, chose to evacuate to Canada (which probably reflects Lucas' view) instead of remaining in the US and building the anti-war movement in the belly of the monster.

Granted the American ruling class would prefer a return to the tranquility and mindlessness of the '50's. Fortunately for us, however, economic reality has precluded any such possibility. The movements of the '60's will indeed return, this time however, subsumed in a generalized offensive by the American working class.

"American Graffiti," I would suggest, provides an excellent insight into our generation's origins: It is faithful to its purpose, well-acted and directed, and has excellent cinematography and a magnificently representative sound track. It is a refreshing departure from the usual trash emanating from Hollywood.

Mike Patrick

Workers' Power wants to hear from you. What you like about the paper—and what you don't. What you think of the political ideas we present, and your comments on problems facing working people. But please be brief.



UMW

[Continued from page 2]

mine coal under unsafe conditions.

But while Miller remains militant on the important question of mine safety, his vision stops there. Already he is travelling the well worn path of the labor statesmen by trying to balance the needs of the owners with the needs of the miners.

What Miller hopes to gain by squashing wildcats is this: he wants to trade off stability in the mines for significant contract gains. The UMW has made big demands in wages, cost-of-living, pension royalties, and safety practices for a new contract to replace the present one which expires in November. Miller hopes that this bargaining will be easier if he can give something in return.

What this strategy represents is a big step in the conversion of the former MFD leadership from militant rank and file leaders to liberal trade union bureaucrats — the type that see trade unions as a business and themselves as the managers. Collective bargaining becomes a matter of "you give me this and I'll give you that" rather than part of an all-out, continuing fight on behalf of the workers.

Miller has hired staff members from other unions. They will undoubtedly play an important role in the taming of the UMW.

The direction that the new UMW leaderships taking can mean nothing but disaster for rank and file miners. Contract gains are related to one thing: the militancy, self-confidence, willingness and ability of the rank and file to act on their own behalf.

If Miller is successful in destroying the miners' tradition of independent activity — which, fortunately, will not be done easily — the way will be paved for a steady erosion of wages, benefits, and working conditions. If wildcats end, there will be more deaths in the mines — even though this is the exact opposite of what Miller wants.

Now, more than ever, rank and file miners need to use the new freedom they won in kicking out the corrupt Boyle regime to consolidate control of the UMW in their own hands, rather than letting a new set of bureaucrats take it over. ■

Jim Woodward

Malcolm

[Continued from page 8]

to make deals with white racism and its power brokers. And then he was killed.

But the black movement was not. Malcolm X was murdered in 1965 — on the eve of the most dramatic ghetto rebellions and the dawn of Black Power.

The tragedy of his death is

that Malcolm was killed just when the black liberation movement was most open to his ideas. Malcolm X, had he lived, might have brought together a black movement that fought for more than an end to racism.

Malcolm's revolutionary vision was black people organized to defeat capitalism and to build a new society in its place. The Black Power movement that developed out of the civil rights struggles did not succeed in fulfilling his vision — but that vision is not gone.

Malcolm's dream lives in the hearts and struggles of black people today as the fight for black liberation continues. Racist misery, capitalism's child, can only be destroyed by a socialist revolution by working people.

But a workers' revolution cannot succeed in America without the independent black struggle Malcolm X foresaw. Both white and black workers must unite to build a revolution, and that can never be done without the fight for black freedom.

The banner held up by Malcolm X, his vision of a revolutionary struggle against a racist capitalist society, will be raised again — and carried through to victory. ■

Kay Stacy



Kollantai

[Continued from page 13]

lawed under the Czar. In 1913 an illegal meeting was held to a packed hall, which was eventually broken up by the police.

In 1914 the workers newspapers carried full spreads on Working Women's Day.

Then, in 1917, "hunger, cold and the trials of war broke the patience of women workers and peasant women of Russia. . . on the 8th of March, Working Women's Day, they came out boldly in the streets of Petrograd.

"The women — some were workers, some were wives of soldiers — demanded 'Bread for our children' and 'The return of our husbands from the trenches'."

This demonstration on International Women's Day touched off the Russian Revolution.

The working class revolution in Russia freed women. Under the workers' government women were the complete social and political equals of men.

Divorce became a simple matter of consent. The notion of an illegitimate child was abolished.

ed. Communal nurseries and cafeterias were set up to free women from the household drudgery.

It was understood by the Bolsheviks (the leaders of the Russian revolution) that centuries of chauvinism wouldn't disappear overnight. Women were encouraged to join women's groups, both to help overcome their own oppression and to fight male chauvinist ideas in Russia as a whole.

At the end of the pamphlet Kollantai calls on working women throughout the world to join in the struggle for revolutionary socialism.

She states simply that only a workers state "can guarantee complete and absolute equality." She does not try to convince — but simply points out the condition of women in revolutionary Russia.

Kollantai did not have to convince — women in Revolutionary Russia achieved a degree of equality not yet equalled.

This was in 1920 — revolution in Europe seemed almost at hand.

Stalin had not yet risen to power on the back of counter-revolution, undoing the gains of the workers' state and returning women to the oppression of domestic slavery.

This pamphlet will not give you all the arguments — it was not meant to. But it will give you a glimpse of a period when

liberation seemed almost achieved, and a direction to go from here. ■

Gay Semel

Pittman

[Continued from page 13]

and theaters, risked their lives as they boarded the Greyhound buses for the "freedom rides," marched and picketed and registered people to vote. The civil rights movement inspired millions of people in America and throughout the world. None of that dynamic strength of the movement was portrayed.

If this film was symbolic of the black woman in white America, there should have been a character who symbolized the thousands of black women who, like Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth, actively participated in the fight for liberation.

True, Laura, the mother of Ned, was killed while leading Jane and her friends north. But other women have followed. Laura's path, in particular, in the black liberation struggles of the 60's. That too should have been shown. ■

Celia Emerson

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what's on

Los Angeles, Feb. 21—Forum: *Dumping Nixon: a Marxist Analysis*. Joel Geier, National Chairman, International Socialists. UCLA, Kerckhoff Hall Room 400, 12:30 pm.

Los Angeles, Feb. 23—Forum: *World Economy - Crisis 1974*. Joel Geier, National Chairman, International Socialists. Embassy Auditorium, Howard Hall Room 201, 843 Grand (corner 9th, 1 block north of Olympic), 7:30 pm, 50¢ admission.

New York, March 1—Forum: *Working Women Today*. I. S. Hall, 17 E. 17th St., 7:30 pm.

Detroit, March 10—International Women's Day. Film: *Salt of the Earth*. Panel: *Struggles of Working Women*. First Presbyterian Church, 2930 Woodward, 3-8 pm.

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Police Terror Swells At Wounded Knee

Three hundred Indians indicted for their part in the occupation of Wounded Knee last spring are on trial in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Twelve of the first nineteen to be tried are Indian women, indicted by an all-white grand jury.

These women, whose ages range from the teens to the fifties, are mainly working people — factory workers, teacher aides, health aides, and lab technicians, many with several children. They face trial in what Madonna Gilbert, one of the defendants, has described as the "frontier climate" of South Dakota, in which the only good Indian, it seems, is a dead Indian — or, at least, an Indian who does not complain.

Racist legal mill

In a clever move, the Federal government allowed the trials of American Indian Movement leaders Russell Means and Dennis Banks to be moved to St. Paul, Minnesota. There the government will put on a big show of judicial fairness in a lengthy, well-publicized trial.

But a similar change of venue was denied to the great majority

of the defendants. Public attention focused elsewhere, the vast majority of the defendants can be quietly run through the racist legal mill.

Systematic terror

The United States government has been wreaking its vengeance upon the Oglala Sioux and the members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) ever since the occupation of Wounded Knee ended. While the courts continue to grind out hundreds of indictments against dissatisfied Indians, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) police, the FBI, and the goon squads of puppet tribal chairman Dick Wilson have indulged in an orgy of murder, rape, arson, beating, and intimidation.

Since the occupation of Wounded Knee came to an end last May, there has been a consistent, organized and brutal attempt to terrorize the Oglala Sioux of the Pine Ridge reservation into submission, and to uproot and isolate AIM from the community. Two Indians died of wounds received during the armed occupation of Wounded Knee. But since "law and order" has been re-established, the list of victims is much longer.

Pedro Bissonette, the major AIM leader from Pine Ridge, shot to death by BIA police; Aloysius Long Soldier, AIM member from Pine Ridge, an alleged suicide; a young, unnamed AIM member, his head run over several times by a car; Allison Fast Horse, found in a ditch with a bullet through his heart; Phillip Little Cross, beaten to death; Phillip Black Elk, blown up in his house when he turned on the lights; Mary Ann Little Bear, shot in the eye by Dick Wilson's goon squad.

The murder of Pedro Bissonette is the most blatant example of the systematic terror that is being inflicted upon the Pine Ridge reservation. He was killed for two major reasons. First of all, because of all the leaders of the American Indian Movement he was the most indigenous to Pine Ridge. There was no way he could be smeared as an "outside agitator" and isolated from the community.

The other reason is that he resisted heavy government pressure to turn state's evidence in order to frame the other AIM leaders. He refused to go along with these schemes, to betray the movement he was part of.

Besides the killings and shootings, there have been many beatings — of Russell Means, AIM leader; of Mark Lane, one of the defense attorneys, and of many AIM members and supporters. There have been reports of mass rapes. People's homes have been shot up, broken into, and looted.

In addition, staff members of the community health program and the tribal work experience program have been fired for political reasons — for being AIM supporters or for having stayed in Wounded Knee during the occupation. The atmosphere on the Pine Ridge reservation is one of terror and intimidation.

BIA goon

The perpetrators of these crimes — the Bureau of Indian Affairs police and Dick Wilson's federally-financed goon squad — are free to commit further outrages. Meanwhile those who resist them are jailed and indicted for daring to fight back. The government clearly intends to



Akwesasne Notes

break the spirit of the Indians once and for all.

The recent primary election for the presidency of the Oglala Sioux tribe clearly shows where the Indians stand. Eighty percent of the Pine Ridge Indians voted for candidates who either participated in the armed occupation of Wounded Knee or spoke in favor of the occupation. Russell Means, director of AIM, received more votes than the corrupt and brutal incumbent, Dick Wilson, who has used the presidency to enrich himself and his family.

Wilson has also consistently

sided with the Bureau of Indian Affairs against the Indian movement and has used his well-paid goon squad to murder and intimidate those who oppose him. The United States government supports Wilson, but the Indians do not.

Bernard O'Higgins

Contributions to help the Wounded Knee defendants can be sent to: Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, P. O. Box 255, Sioux Falls, South Dakota 57101. Telephone: (605) 330-9805.

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