

# Workers' Power

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**NIXON'S WAGE FREEZE:**

## **Labor Must Fight**

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# editorial

## Nixon's Offensive

Nixon's New Economic Policy inaugurates a long period of protracted struggle for the labor movement. The Freeze on wages, the devaluation of the dollar, and the \$8 billion giveaway to the corporations are only the first steps in a general offensive against the working class.

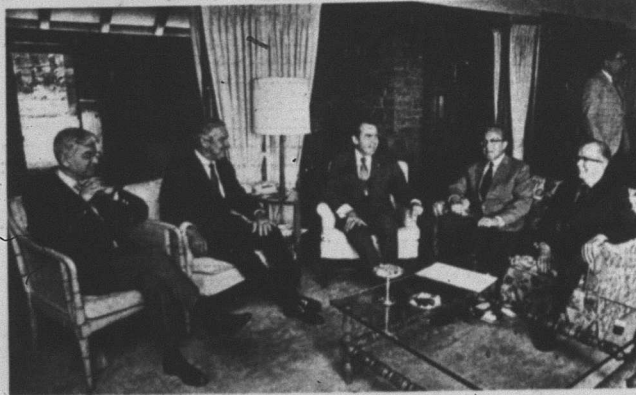
The government is passing the costs of the social decay of American capitalism onto the backs of workers. No ninety day wonder is going to overcome the sickness of the American economy, whose false prosperity, while millions lingered in poverty and on the welfare rolls, was based on the permanent war economy and the collapse of European capitalism at the end of World War Two.

### Permanent War Economy

The permanent war economy was the only solution America found to stave off or postpone depression. The ghostly choice of decaying capitalism — between war and depression — no longer exists; America now has both at once.

The cost of the war and war production average over \$80 billion a year, and the NEP calls for further increases in the war budget. This enormous production of the means of destruction is essentially waste production contributing to economic stagnation, particularly when compared with the German and Japanese economies whose small budgets allow for greater reinvestment.

The permanent war economy has an inborn tendency to inflation. The 200 giant corporations who receive the war contracts have tight control over the market and prices, allowing them to make



NEP Economists: Burns, Connally, Nixon, Shultz & McCracken

super profits and to pass on their taxes to the consumer. The free market is a myth — monopoly capitalism has destroyed internal competition and is responsible for inflation.

Meanwhile, the enormous war budget no longer provides full employment. The shift to highly technical nuclear missiles, away from conventional weapons, has wiped out jobs as the cost of the war budget continues to mount. The economic needs of the American people, not to speak of justice and world peace, requires that the war in Vietnam be ended and that the permanent war budget be converted to producing for human needs — rebuilding the cities and the environment,

providing needed social services and jobs for all.

### Competition

In the wake of the Second World War, US capitalism was healthy, precisely because all the other capitalist nations were in ruins. Without the competition of Western Europe and Japan, American capitalism, its armies and dollar ruled the world. Today American imperialism is being rolled back — not just in the colonies, as in Vietnam, but also in the advanced industrial countries whose markets are much more important.

As international trade has grown, so has international competition — from

Western Europe and Japan whose economies have been rebuilt in the last 25 years under tight governmental control, and are more modern than American industry. The balance of forces on the world market have changed — US capitalism can no longer single-handedly dominate world economics. Inflation, the war, the permanent war economy, and monopoly super-profits are pricing US goods out of world trade.

Just as American industry exported its inflation to the rest of the world through the build-up of \$50 billion American dollars in Europe and Japan, it is now trying to export its balance of payments and unemployment problems by forcing a revaluation of the world currencies. It is unlikely that the Europeans and Japanese will allow the US to try to price them out of the world market without a fight.

The announced surcharge on imports, while presumably only temporary — until the world has been black jacked into revaluation — contains within it the possibility of opening a new era of tariff warfare which may bring an international trade depression. It is ripping apart the stability of the entire world capitalist system.

### Rationalization

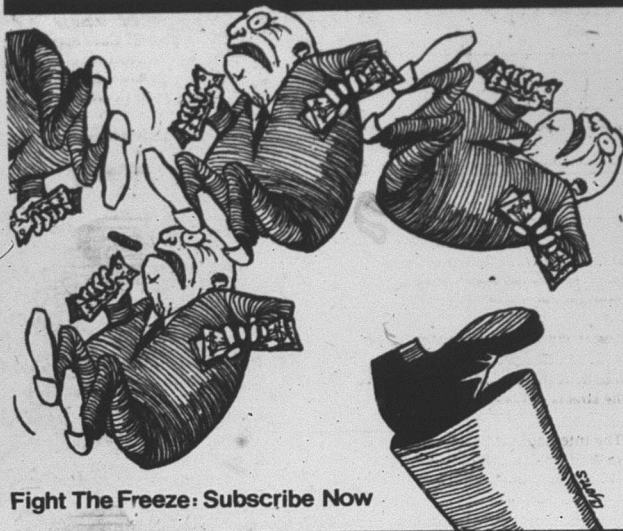
Nixon's NEP so far contains only temporary measures. The administration will soon come up with other proposals to rationalize the economy.

The new era of economic nationalism will require greater regulation of the entire economy by the capitalist state. The state will protect profits and be used as a club in international competition. The model already exists in Europe and Japan.

The likelihood is for a new wave of mergers to meet the pressures of the international cartels and to concentrate the enormous amounts of capital required for technological innovations. The first target for future monopolization will be in steel and aerospace where even the giants are in sick shape. There will be government protection for this new increase in the power of monopolies, justified by the competition of foreign monopolies.

This will mean freeing the corporations more and more from competition, from any control except their own drive for profits. It will mean an unlimited ability to raise profits and prices, to enforce speed-up, to keep working-class living standards down.

*(Continued on page 5)*



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## Workers' Power 40

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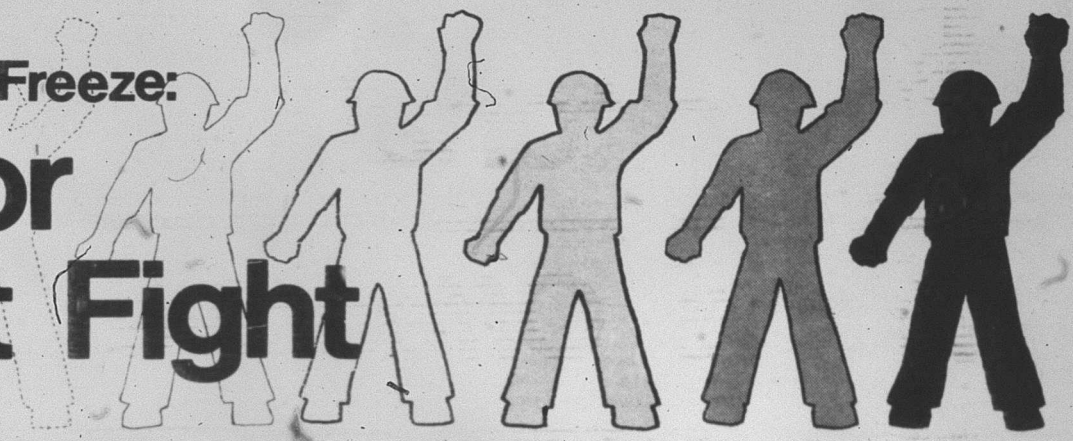
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# The Wage Freeze:

# Labor Must Fight

James Coleman



Nothing like it had been heard for 20 years. Like Titans exchanging thunderbolts from neighboring mountaintops, the representatives of labor, business, and government hurled smoking invective at each other.

"Mr. Meany is out of touch with the needs and desires of America's working men and women," fumed Labor Secretary James Hodgson.

"Apparently today's economic policies are too complicated for a plumber's Stone Age economics," sneered Arch N. Booth, Executive Vice President of the US Chamber of Commerce.

Asked if he had protested Hodgson's remark while meeting with him, AFL-CIO President George Meany shot back, "If you have a problem with the landlord, you don't discuss it with the janitor."

Muffled for 20 years by "labor statesmanship," the language of class conflict crackled in Washington. The cause was the unexpectedly defiant response, by almost all of official labor, to President Nixon's New Economic Policy.

## Defiance

This defiance did not begin with the AFL-CIO Executive Council: it rose up around them.

As the wage-price freeze took effect, Nixon's top labor mediator, J. Curtis Counts, asked for a "voluntary" no-strike pledge. "We are not holding a club over them," Counts said virtuously. But when asked how long the government would wait for a union "voluntarily" to end a strike, before using legal sanctions, Counts answered, "That would not be a long period."

When Nixon announced the wage freeze August 15, more than 150,000 workers were involved in over 360 strikes. The first important direct defiance of the no-strike plea came from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's

Union, with 15,000 members on strike against West Coast shippers since July 1.

The union President, Harry Bridges, announced he had sent a telegram to President Nixon saying the strike would continue "in full force." The union would fight inflation through "one hell of a good wage increase," Bridges said. The only way his members would return to work, he stated, was by voting to do so. (But he hedged on whether the union would defy an injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act.)

Senator Bob Packwood of Oregon, a state whose shippers have felt the impact of the strike, immediately called for an injunction if the strike did not end.

In New York State, 38,000 members of Local 1103, Communications Workers of America, continued to strike after rejecting the contract offered by the Bell System and accepted by most CWA locals. Local 1101, which sparked the original contract rejection, also remained on strike. New York Western union also remained struck by the CWA.

In Michigan, 5,400 members of the Utility Workers of America continued a 100-day strike against Consumers Power Corporation. When the wage-price freeze was first announced, a company representative had gleefully offered to let the workers resume work under the expired contract. On August 18, the Local President rejected the offer.

And in California, 50,000 construction workers in the Teamsters Union continued a strike against Northern California construction sites.

A week after the freeze began, none of the important strikes had ended, although one or two small locals had gone back to work.

These defiant unions were fighting not only for their own members, but indirectly, for other workers as well. During the life of the 90-day freeze, the contracts of

80,000 soft-coal miners expire, along with those of 200,000 air and aerospace workers represented by the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists. The contracts of most of the nation's 2.2 million teachers — both those covered by collective bargaining and those not covered — expire in September. And after the 90 days, when some form of wage control is expected to continue, auto workers and Teamsters are due increases under existing contracts.

## Woodcock's War

Several days after the freeze began, the non-compliance of the striking unions was endorsed by labor's top leaders.

President Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers, after an emergency meeting of the UAW Executive Board, issued a statement that if any money due under present UAW contracts were stopped by an extension of the freeze, the UAW would consider the contracts violated and terminate them. (The UAW's auto contracts call for a 13.6% wage increase on November 22, 10 days after the 90-day freeze expires, and about 17% in cost-of-living in December. More than 50 UAW locals are now involved in local strikes.)

Woodcock stopped short of promising strike action. He called for mobilizing the entire labor movement against the freeze, and intoned, "If the Nixon Administration wants war, we'll give them war!"

Behind these phrases, his actual proposals were quite tame. He announced that the UAW would file suit to "test the legality" of the freeze. Does he really imagine that the courts will go against the US government on an issue of this magnitude?

In addition, Woodcock announced that he would call off any of the 57 current local strikes which are "for purely economic gains." Although this is a tricky formula — very few strikes are for purely

economic gains — the fact remains that for all his fire-snorting speechmaking, Woodcock was the first leader of a top union to announce that he would stop strikes in progress to comply with the ban.

A day later, Meany took a tougher stand. The AFL-CIO Executive Council announced it would not comply with the wage freeze, and authorized unions not receiving increases due under contract to strike.

Only one union announced support for the freeze. The Teamsters described the freeze as a "bold measure," pledging that they would "cooperate fully." The statement piously proclaimed, "No responsible union would strike to compel an employer to violate the law."

Thus with one stroke the International prepared to undercut the 50,000 Teamster brothers and sisters striking in California. The only dissent contained in the statement was a request that the Administration allow strikes over non-economic questions.

With this exception, the labor bureaucracy presented a united front in opposition to the freeze. And as nothing else could have, this opposition cemented, at least for the moment, the loyalty of the rank and file to this bureaucracy.

AFL-CIO officials reported "tremendous unanimity" in support of Meany in letters and telegrams from union members. Nixon's hopes to appeal to the ranks over Meany's head had backfired, and it was one of the more serious miscalculations of Nixon's calculating career.

Indeed, awareness of the mood of the rank largely explained the bureaucrats' response. Last year, for example, UAW members struck for 67 days against General Motors, winning little except cost-of-living — which they are now to be denied. Woodcock knew that to endorse the freeze

[Continued on page 4]

# For A One-Day Work Stoppage

"As far as I am concerned, Nixon can end the damned freeze right now!"

The most courageous proposal for opposing the wage-price freeze which has yet come from the official union leadership was made by Myra Wolfgang, International Vice-President of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Employees Union, in a statement August 17. Rejecting compliance with the freeze, Wolfgang proposed a one-day National Work Stoppage with a massive demonstration in Washington on Labor Day to demand an end to the freeze.

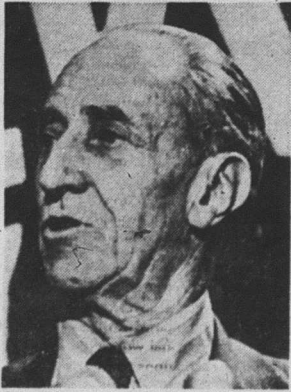
If the freeze was "voluntary," Wolfgang snapped, "we're not volunteering."

Backing up her words with actions, Wolfgang is now leading a strike of workers at Detroit's Belle Isle Casino to win a negotiated wage increase not allowed by the freeze.

This is the kind of opposition which is needed to Nixon's freeze — opposition both at the workplace and in unity in the streets of Washington.

The International Socialists endorse Myra Wolfgang's call for a National Work Stoppage and demonstration in Washington. We urge all militants to fight for its swift passage in unions throughout the country.





Harry Bridges

[Continued from page 3]

would bring rumblings from below, as well as possible challenges to his leadership from within the bureaucracy.

The united opposition of the bureaucracy was the most impressive display of courage this fossilized leadership has offered since the days following World War II. But behind this display were ominous signs.

On August 21, Meany announced plans to fight the freeze through court challenges (as Woodcock had proposed). Although this would be all right if linked with mass actions such as the proposed one-day national strike and Washington demonstration, it was more likely that the bureaucrats would use the court challenges as a substitute for mass action.

For the long run, too, the signs were disturbing. In the same speech containing his challenge to "war," Woodcock called for the establishment, in place of the freeze, of a "wage-price stabilization board," with legal power to control wages and compel capital and labor to "justify" increases. Meany, too, has been on record for several years as favoring such a board.

Labor's leaders favor wage-price boards in which wage boosts would be negotiated with governmental authority (hopefully, authority which would favor them) — relieving them of the more difficult task of leading militant, costly strikes.

But according to most accounts, such a wage-price board, in which wage boosts would be tied to increases in productivity, is exactly what Nixon favors as a long-term policy.

Thus, behind the tough stand, Woodcock, Meany, and the AFL-CIO leaders

are angling toward an accommodation with Nixon.

Labor's leaders do oppose the present freeze, which denies gains fought for and already won. But, they say, they will accept a wage-price policy which involves "equality of sacrifice." Thus the Teamsters, in supporting Nixon, found space to complain: "The authority granted the President...does not extend itself to the areas of profits, dividends, and interest. This is a legislative omission that should be corrected immediately."

"Equality of sacrifice" itself is a far cry from the stand taken by Woodcock's own union, the UAW, 25 years ago. Then, it struck for 113 days against GM demanding "wage increases without price increases" (see *Workers' Power* no. 22). The logic was simple: working people have too little money and should have



Leonard Woodcock

more — but the same is not true of the corporations. There should not be "equality of sacrifice."

This logic is no less valid today. Myra Wolfgang of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees made this point when she noted that most of her members receive only the minimum wage of \$1.60 an hour, 63¢ less than the Federally defined poverty level. "It just seems incredible to me that anyone is seriously going to say you can't raise someone's wages who's getting \$1.60 an hour," Wolfgang said.

Both the wage freeze and long-term "productivity deals" are reactionary, first of all because they attempt to solidify inequality and back it up by law.

Moreover, "equality of sacrifice" is impossible, because it contradicts the very purpose of wage-price control. Leaving dividends and profits uncontrolled was not an "omission," as the Teamster statement assumed. The very purpose of the freeze is to raise profits. The inequities of the program cannot be fought without fighting against wage-price control altogether.

For this reason, the *Wall Street Journal* commented, "To ask for enforcement machinery...that could guarantee true equality of sacrifice for all Americans sets an impossible condition."

Acceptance of "equality of sacrifice" by the labor bureaucrats reflects a deeper attitude — acceptance of the present distribution of income (with a few revisions). They have given up the fight to radically raise labor's place in society.

The bureaucrats can't be expected to cooperate in the wage-price boards when they are finally set up. Their argument will be, "This way at least we have a voice." But what is "a voice" worth when it means giving up labor's independence and taking

responsibility for the work of the wage-price boards? Militants should demand: **NO PARTICIPATION BY LABOR ON WAGE-PRICE BOARDS — NO WAGE RESTRAINTS — NO PRODUCTIVITY DEALS.**

### Democratic Dagger

Instead of fighting the New Economic Policy with the massed power of labor at the place of production, the long-run strategy of the bureaucracy will be to seek to influence the wage boards from the inside while working through the elections to try to win an Administration favorable to labor.

The American Federation of Teachers has already announced, at the conclusion of its convention in San Francisco this month, that it will seek to raise a \$1 million "war chest" to defeat Nixon next year. Officially, this \$1 million will be non-partisan, going to whichever candidate "promises to be most favorable to education."

It's a foregone conclusion, however, that this will mean supporting the Democratic candidate. We can expect a massive effort by the whole leadership of labor to deliver the labor vote to the Democrats in 1972.

But the Democrats too favor wage-price controls — in fact, they called for them long before Nixon would even consider them. In his speech to the UAW denouncing the freeze, Woodcock pointed out, perfectly accurately, that "Mr. Nixon's hand wielded the dagger, but the dagger was put there by the leading Democrats in Congress, who advocated a law to put in the restraints."

Yet every election year the UAW's newspaper, *Solidarity*, calls for a vote for the Democrats as "pro-labor." What will



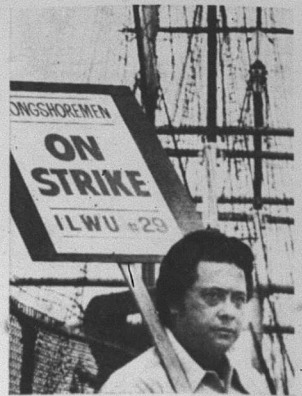
Frank Fitzsimmons

Woodcock tell his members now? Vote Republican — for the wielders of the dagger? Vote Democratic — for the suppliers of the dagger?

On August 21, the Democrats predictably took a position designed to harvest the labor vote. Echoing the "equality of sacrifice" line of Meany, the Democratic National Committee supported long-term wage-price controls while criticizing the "pro-business" aspects of the program.

But the Democrats cannot fight for a wage-price control policy which controls profits. Nor can they oppose the gearing of wage increases to productivity, limitations on the right to strike, etc.

It is not just that they have supported these policies in the past. The Democrats are committed, no less than the Republicans, to the welfare of American capitalism, particularly in its competition with



West Coast dock striker

capitalist rivals abroad.

Now, when the US is no longer the supreme capitalist power, this competition requires wage controls, speedup to increase productivity, limitations on the right to strike, etc. As competition makes profits harder to come by, more of the profits must be taken out of the workers' skin.

This is the meaning of the New Economic Policy. And therefore, no party which bases its policies on the international interests of US capitalism can truly oppose this exploitation. And the Democrats like the Republicans are such a party.

### For a Workers' Party

Real opposition could only be carried out by a party which was not committed first of all to the interests of capitalism, but which placed the needs of working people and oppressed minorities first. And this could only be a party composed of and controlled by these same people — in other words, an independent party of the working class.

Such a party cannot be built overnight. But the fight for it can begin now.

Unions, or rank and file organizations, can begin the process by entering candidates in specific races — working class candidates who would oppose the anti-labor Democratic and Republican parties, who would fight for labor's interest, who would not just make campaign speeches but would also help defend and organize the struggles and strikes against the wage freeze, the wage-price boards, and the productivity deals which are bound to occur in the future — and who would put forward a bold program to solve the economic crisis in labor's interest.

That is the logic of Woodcock's speech, though Woodcock himself cannot see it. ■



George Meany

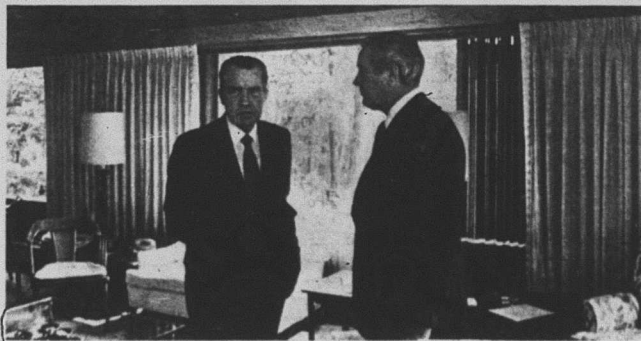


New York telephone workers



# Editorial

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2



Nixon's policies, which are all pro-business and anti-labor. If they make good any of their threats, socialists and militants must push for the whole labor movement to back their fight.

But even as the union leaders talk tough, they are already planning concessions. After all, Meany and his coterie had been calling for wage and price controls long before Nixon dared to think of them.

Already the union bureaucrats are tying labor's hands behind its back by saying they will accept wage-price review boards. In return for collaboration between the state and union bureaucracy, which Nixon has so far been ungracious enough not to grant, they are willing to give up the fight.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy is going to be plunking hard for a Democratic administration in 1972, an administration which will throw them a bone, putting a few-union bureaucrats on the wage review boards, while all the meat and gravy is reserved for the corporations. But the Democratic Party is no ally in this fight. The "liberal" Democrats have been the worst in blaming the inflation on workers, and calling for wage controls.

Whatever minor concessions it makes to its union bureaucrat supporters, the

Democratic Party is tied to the same concerns of the capitalist system which required Nixon's policies as its only solution to the crisis. *What is required is an independent party of the labor movement, not tied to accepting the needs of the corporations, which can advance a working class solution to the crisis.*

Suggestions have already been made for first steps to fight the government and capitalist offensive. Myra Wolfgang, Vice President of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, had the courage to call for a national one day work stoppage, and for a labor March on Washington. The Michigan AFL-CIO has endorsed this call, as have some local unions.

We support this bold first step. Unionists must raise this call in every factory, office and union, pushing for a united fight on the part of the whole labor movement.

The power of all the unions, of the whole working class, must be brought to bear against this attack which is a class-wide attack on the whole labor movement. Any union threatened with sanctions must be defended by all unions.

It is the rank and file of the labor movement who will feel the speed-up and decline in wages. The ranks must launch a powerful movement to make

sure there is an effective working class defense and counter-attack.

Rank and file caucuses must be organized to make sure the unions fight effectively, to fight where and when the bureaucracy refuses to fight or makes concessions or capitulates, and to fight to take over the unions and transform them into democratic vehicles for militant struggle against the corporate offensive. To do so they must arm themselves with a program to meet the new tasks of the labor movement.

We propose the following as labor's program to fight the government offensive:

1. No compliance with the wage freeze — for a one day national work stoppage and massive demonstrations to roll back the freeze.
2. Payment of all wage increases under contracts, enforced by strike action if necessary.
3. United labor action to back unions threatened with sanctions.
4. Unlimited right to strike.
5. No labor participation on wage-price control boards — no productivity deals.

We propose the following as a program for labor to solve the economic crisis:

1. Control prices and profits, not wages — Nationalize the inflation producing monopolies under workers' control.
2. Jobs for all at a union wage — 30 hours work for 40 hours pay.
3. Convert the war economy to rebuild the cities.
4. Immediate withdrawal from Vietnam — Withdraw all troops from foreign countries — No trade or tariff wars.
5. Oppose the anti-labor Democratic and Republican Parties — Independent political action by labor in labor's interests — For a political party of the working class.
6. Build rank and file organizations to fight for this program and to make the unions serve the workers' needs. ■

To this we reply with the working-class answer — control profits, not wages; and where the monopolies are impossible to control, nationalize them under the control of the workers.

The capitalist state has no intention of fighting the real causes of the economic crisis. Instead, it plans to make the working class pay for the crisis.

The wage freeze may be extended. But it cannot be maintained for long without risking an explosion in the working class. The next step will be to introduce more permanent forms of wage restraint through incomes policy, wage review boards and tying wages to productivity.

Wages will be kept down, and the whip of the speed-up will be cracked; capital's interest will be called "the national interest". To enforce compliance with this new "patriotism", new anti-labor legislation will be required to further restrict the right to strike, probably including forms of compulsory arbitration which take the right to vote on contracts away from the ranks.

## Fight Back

A whole offensive against the working class will have to be launched by the government to break the will of the ranks to fight back. To meet the capitalist and state offensive the working class must fight as militantly as workers in France, Italy, Poland, and Britain have in the last 3 years against similar offensives against them.

The union leaders have started to talk tough. So far they have had no choice because of the blatant class nature of

# The Freeze and the Poor

Michael Stewart

American labor leaders have been quick to point out that Nixon's new economic package discriminates against workers in favor of big business. However, the program is also discriminatory in another sense.

Some workers will be hurt more than others. Hardest hit will be those on the lower levels of the economic ladder — the minorities, including blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans; and also women.

The new policy freezes all wages at current levels. Thus it maintains the discrimination that already exists, where average wages for blacks and women are at best only two-thirds those of white male workers.

Moreover, plans are now being made for the establishment of wage stabilization boards, such as already exist in construction, which would replace the "temporary" freeze. Since such boards would be aimed at restraining wage increases in the future, they would make it more difficult, if not impossible, for the lowest-paid sections of the working class ever to catch up with the rest.

The cutbacks and postponements of Federal programs, as well as the layoffs of 5 percent of government employees, will also hit these sections hardest. It is not the arms budget which will be reduced,

but those social programs which are most needed by the poor in this country.

The abandonment of Federal revenue sharing will place further economic hardships on the cities and on the black populations in them. It is the lowest seniority workers, overwhelmingly blacks and women, who will be the first fired from government jobs.

**Blacks must continue their ongoing struggles against racism. In order to do this, they will be forced to fight against all these aspects of the Nixon policy, and therefore, to take up the struggle for the entire working class against this latest attack by the Nixon Administration.**

The black liberation movement has helped encourage a rapid rise of militancy among black workers in their struggles against the racist policies of the employers and the state. This militancy and willingness to struggle has often made it possible for black workers to play a leading role in the fights of broader sections of the working class — as occurred during the postal workers' wildcats last year. Now, black workers must again play such a leadership role in the struggle against this latest attack on the entire labor movement. ■





# Nixon's N.E.P.: Who Wins, Who Loses?

Walter Daum

Calling for a new period of peace and prosperity, and proclaiming that America's best days were still ahead, President Nixon last week scuttled his previous economic "revolution" and announced a disaster for American workers. The President's New Economic Policy, despite the lofty language used to introduce it, is in fact a radically new attempt to solve the nation's economic problems at the expense of the American working class.

Prompted by the latest round of attacks on the dollar by European banks, and by the announced deficit in the US balance of trade, Nixon's new program is a response to the failure of his previous economic strategies to cope with the crisis.

## Long-term attack

Rather than being temporary, the new policy is just the beginning of a long-term attack on workers' standard of living and the labor movement's ability to fight for a better deal.

Let's examine what Nixon's economic package means:

**Wage-Price Controls.** Wage controls are the most direct attack on labor. Workers who are now negotiating for raises, and those who have already won raises to take effect in the next three months, will lose their gains if Nixon's plan holds up.

The first 90 days are only the beginning. Raises postponed won't be allowed to take effect retroactively, and new policies will be developed to restrain wages in the future. This is all proclaimed in the name of helping the American worker to "get off the treadmill," where wages have been chasing prices in an upward spiral. It does this, however, by making him crawl.

To reinforce this point, the Administration has threatened to ban all strikes. Such a ban could become permanent if new boards are set up to restrain wages.

Price controls, on the other hand, are

really a fraud. The \$5,000 fines that back up the Administration's reliance on voluntary compliance would have little effect on big businesses that decided to raise their prices. A weak enforcement procedure is called for. The main burden of enforcement is placed on public opinion.

Already, the New York landlords' association (and others in scattered cities) has announced that it will not be bound by the Administration's voluntary rent controls. Even if major formal price rises are discouraged, nothing prevents businesses from selling smaller or lower quality products at the same prices. (In another gambit, it was reported in Detroit that some equipment slated to be standard on 1972 cars might be reclassified as "optional," allowing the firms to charge extra for these items.)

Nothing prevents businesses, either, from cutting unit costs through speedup — indeed, this is encouraged, since one aim of the policy is to increase produc-

tivity.

For the moment, business is mainly cooperating. The big capitalist firms have announced that they will freeze prices for the 90 days. And why shouldn't they? There are so many give-aways to them in other parts of the program that they stand to make super-profits anyway. Basically, the program against inflation is for their benefit.

The reality of wage-price controls was demonstrated by the reaction of the stock market to Nixon's announcement. Stock prices (obviously not controlled) rose by the highest one-day gains in history. Other forms of capitalist income — interest, profits, capital gains — were also left uncontrolled.

**Federal Spending Cuts.** In this second part of Nixon's program, the \$4.7 billion to be cut will come from programs like health, housing, and transportation. The massive arms budget — which is one major cause of the economic crisis — will go up. Defense Secretary Laird promised

an \$80 billion defense budget for next year, the level reached at the height of the Vietnam war.

Nixon also announced a 5 percent cut in the number of Federal employees. Throwing 150,000 people out of work is hardly a cure for unemployment.

**Tax Cuts.** The "job creating" investment tax incentives will create nothing in the short run except lower taxes for businesses. The tax credit is subtracted from taxes, not from taxable profits, so it's much higher than the announced 10 percent. The tax breaks may induce business to spend more on new plant and equipment, but the US economy is already running at 27 percent less than full capacity.

The problem is the inefficiency and backwardness of American industry — outside of the armaments sector — in comparison with the Europeans and Japanese. Because American wages are higher than elsewhere, new investment designed to increase efficiency means an attempt to produce more with less labor. Hence, in the long run, fewer jobs.

The proposed increase in personal income tax exemptions is a tiny one — an average of \$50 less in Federal taxes for a worker with three dependents. (State and local taxes are uncontrolled, and are rising.) It's a poor compensation for the wage freeze.

**International Policy** Here the Administration is maneuvering to restore the US's competitive position, which has been severely damaged by massive military spending and the loss of markets to a revitalized Europe and Japan. Nixon's declaration that the dollar would no longer be convertible to gold does away with the international monetary structure that has been in effect since World War II.

Nixon hopes to devalue the dollar by encouraging foreign currencies to up their value. This will make US goods more competitive, but will also hurt the standard of living of US workers, since all the imported goods you buy will cost more.

The 10 percent surcharge imposed on most imported goods is added as blackmail to force the other countries to revalue their currencies, and is particularly aimed at the Japanese yen. Whether or not it succeeds in forcing revaluation, the use of such a device could lead other countries to retaliate, resulting in a trade and tariff war with the world carved up into protectionist blocks.

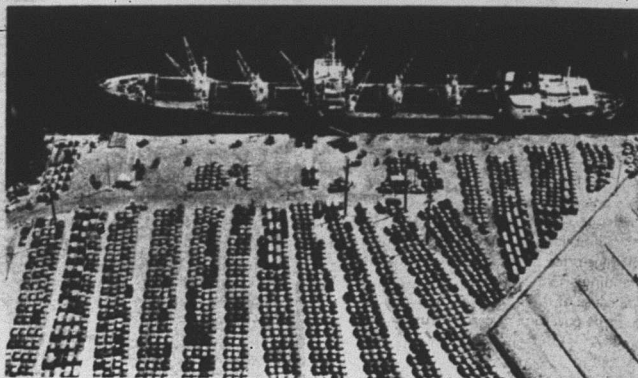
## Losing Game

Since coming into office, the Administration has been desperately searching for a successful economic strategy. Nixon has already tried two "game plans" for the economy, and both have been losers. The combination of inflation, unemployment, and stagnating production isn't supposed to happen under capitalism, but that's precisely what we've got.

Game Plan # 1 was designed to stop inflation. Federal spending was cut back and interest rates were raised, in order to hold production down. The idea was to threaten business with lower profits because of the declining production, so that it would be forced to resist wage demands from labor. Labor, in turn, would be softened up by growing unemployment, and moderate its demands.

The plan worked up to a point. Nixon succeeded in creating a recession: the Gross National Product went down for the first time in over a decade, and many more people lost their jobs. But inflation — the target of the strategy — was hardly touched.

Inflation remained high chiefly because powerful corporations were in a position to boost their prices to make up



VOLKSWAGENS ON CALIFORNIA DOCK



for the lower volume of production, and because workers insisted on keeping up with the cost of living after years of no improvement in real wages. So the first plan was discarded at the end of last year.

Game Plan # 2 called for rapid expansion of the economy, the reverse of # 1. The idea was now to reduce unemployment and to raise productivity without stimulating further inflation. It was hoped that higher output would convince businessmen not to keep raising their prices.

But that failed too. In May, an earlier run on the dollar was prompted by the lowering of interest rates in the US, which drove speculators' funds abroad. The upturn in inflation rates and the large Federal budget deficit frightened the Administration — and so the expansionist policies were dropped.

Treasury Secretary Connally announced that there would be no more thought of additional government programs to produce jobs. Connally claimed that inflation was the primary goal, and that a high level of unemployment would have to be tolerated.

So the Administration was back where it started, one recession and two game plans later.

### Workers Must Pay

When the balance of payments hit a new low in mid-August, a radically new plan became inevitable. The old economics which relied solely on monetary and fiscal policies had to be supplemented by a new program which relied on more direct intervention by the state to control wages and defend capitalism internationally.

Although the devaluation of the dollar would make US goods more competitive in the short run, this was only a temporary effect. In the long run, the competitiveness of US goods could only be assured if wages were kept from rising, and if productivity were increased — partly through more efficient use of technology, but largely through more intensive work, that is, through speedup.

Thus, the inequity of Nixon's program, on which critics have focused rather than opposing the program as a whole, is not an accident, but essential to it.

While Nixon will never succeed in uniting the American people, his new plan has succeeded in uniting Republicans, Democrats, and the business establishment. While they may differ over aspects of the New Economic Policy, they are all agreed that it is workers who must be made to pay for this country's economic crisis. ■



# Labor And Wage Controls

Arthur Rymer

Before Nixon introduced his New Economic Policy, most labor leaders, including George Meany, were in favor of wage-price controls. Many working people were for them too, on the grounds that something had to be done about inflation.

Of course, labor insisted on "equitable" controls that would control businesses as well as workers. And now that Nixon's policies are clear, a number of labor leaders have declared opposition.

But labor should have been aware that wage-price controls can't work in its favor. They're not designed to, and they never have. Controls can only worsen the financial position of workers and their families, and they restrict workers' rights to fight back in their own defense.

First of all, wage-price controls only control workers' incomes, and not the profits, dividends, interest, and capital gains that make up the incomes of the wealthy. Nixon's pious appeal to businesses to control dividends voluntarily conceals the fact that dividends are only a part of business profits, which include capital gains as well.

### Profit Boost

Controls on wages not only don't control profits — they do just the opposite. Every dollar taken from wages goes to profits, so wage controls ensure that profits go up at the expense of wages.

Nor will price controls do the job of fighting inflation. The real cause of inflation is the Permanent Arms Economy that American business has depended upon since World War II.

Federal spending on "defense" contracts, and the dominant corporations' ability to make high prices stick, are responsible for the high cost of living. Because the arms budget is unable to provide enough jobs, and because capitalism refuses to spend enough money for social needs such as education, health, and mass transportation, we are faced with mounting unemployment and a serious social crisis.

Behind labor's acceptance of the idea of wage-price controls are two misunderstandings. One is that rising wages are the cause of inflation, and the second is that the government can be trusted to administer controls objectively and impartially.

We have often been told that labor is to blame for inflationary wage settlements. True, hourly wages have gone up — but they have not kept pace with prices. Ac-

ording to government statistics, since 1965 average real wages (taking into account the loss of purchasing power per dollar) have increased only slightly if at all, while taxes have gone up and reduced take-home pay even further.

Organized workers are hardly to blame for inflation. They have been struggling to keep up with it, and unorganized workers have fallen far behind.

### Simple-minded

The government's fairness in administering economic controls has been tested before. During World War II the War Labor Board "selectively" allowed consumer prices to rise at almost twice the rate of manufacturing wages, while corporate profits went up almost 10 times as fast.

George Meany, who was then the AFL representative on the War Labor Board, wrote in 1944:

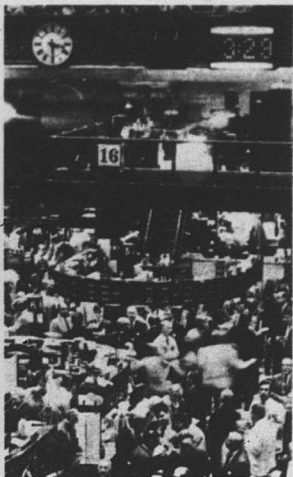
*"Is there anyone in America who really believes that the cost of living has been controlled by the government in the last two years? Is there anyone so simple-*

*minded as to believe that price control as it now functions can be relied upon by American workers?"*

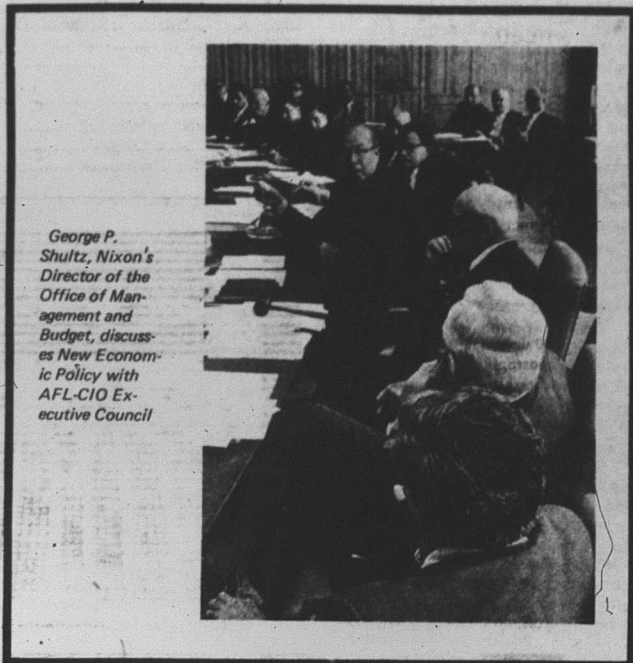
Today, there is no lack of such people. It seems easy to believe, even if this Administration is blatantly anti-labor, that another one would be pro-labor, and administer wage-price controls in a pro-labor, or at least a fairer, fashion.

But in fact, it is the competition now faced by US goods, in a world market the US no longer controls, which forces the Administration to hold down the costs to business — that is, to limit wages and not profits. Any Administration which is dedicated to maintaining the strength of US capitalism must do the same.

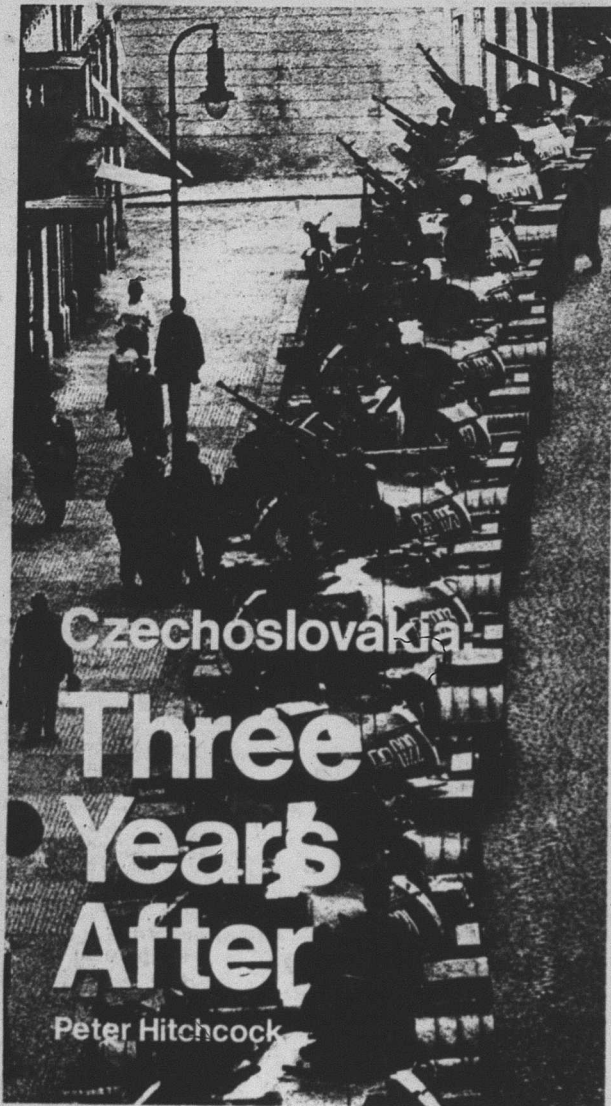
The AFL-CIO Executive Board's call for wage-price controls under "equality of sacrifice" contributed to this latest attack on labor. Equality of anything is a myth in this country, "sacrifice" above all. The labor movement has a right to expect this minimal understanding from its leaders. ■



Stock Market boom



George P. Shultz, Nixon's Director of the Office of Management and Budget, discusses New Economic Policy with AFL-CIO Executive Council



# Czechoslovakia Three Years After

Peter Hitchcock

As Czechoslovakia approaches the third anniversary of its invasion by Mr. Brezhnev's tanks, Stalin must be tickling himself with delight in his grave beneath the Kremlin wall.

The trumped-up confessions of the purge trials of the 1930s have now been matched by the extraordinary sight of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress solemnly thanking the Warsaw Pact for invading the country in August 1968. In all the long history of Stalinism and neo-Stalinism this must be one of the sickest cases of a subordinate party feeding the hand that bites it.

## R.S.V.P.

In the days immediately after the invasion, Gustav Husak said publicly that the suggestion in Pravda that the Russians had been "invited" in to save socialism was nonsense. None of the party's leading organs had ever issued such an invitation.

Now he agrees with the Russians' official line that the invasion was "by invitation" and "an act of international solidarity" which staged off a counter revolution.

During the same traumatic post-invasion period Husak also said that if Dubcek went he would go too. Now he is celebrating the second anniversary of his own dismissal of Dubcek

from the top party job and accusing him of leading the party into a counter-revolutionary situation.

Grotesque though it all is, it has to be admitted that much of this was predictable from the moment the tanks rolled in.

On the night of the invasion the Dubcek leadership condemned the invasion but gave orders that there should be no armed resistance. Probably the decision was wise, because in the short period that the Dubcek reform movement was on, there has been no attempt to mobilise workers for such an eventuality.

It was only after the invasion that working-class forces were able to achieve their first victories and start building alliances among themselves and with outside groups like students.

During the autumn and winter of 1968 and right up to the next summer, workers went on illegal protest strikes in a surprising number of factories.

But by then it was too late and the Russian-backed Husak regime brought in a series of so-called emergency laws, which are still in force, to allow for preventive detention and severe punishment for even the mildest form of resistance activity.

The recent trial of 19 young marxist revolutionaries, the first mass trial since

the invasion, has served notice that the regime will not tolerate any dissent. Dissent that comes from within a marxist tradition is seen as the most dangerous form of all.

A complete purge has taken place in the Communist Party, with almost 500,000 members now having been dropped. In the trade unions, in factory management, in schools and universities people have been subjected to questioning and told to agree that the invasion was justified. Otherwise they lose their jobs.

Thousands of workers have resigned from the party rather than submit to this process.

The party, a so-called workers' party, now finds that only 26 per cent of its members are workers. Its average age is 47.

The whole trade union movement has been purged from top to bottom. Its new head is Mr. Karel Hoffman whose main qualification for telling workers what to do is that he used to be Minister of Information (i.e. head of the police forces) under the ultra-Stalinist former president Antonin Novotny.

Novotny himself is now reported to have been re-admitted to the party after being suspended during the Dubcek period. Other men who have been restored to party favor this month include the chief prosecutor in the notorious Slansky trial in 1952, as well as men responsible for Husak's own trial in 1954.

## "Vietnamization"

Not surprisingly, the whole process has been called a "successful Vietnamization". The Russians sent in an army of half a million, and within three years have so effectively built up a local puppet regime that all but 80,000 of their forces have now been withdrawn.

The elite they have installed in power is using the classic techniques of divide and rule plus fierce repression of dissent.

The old Novotny policy of deliberately making workers suspicious of intellectuals and vice versa (which was largely abandoned in 1968) has been restored. The Dubcek movement is now branded as the machinations of an intellectual Prague-based elite.

But the charge comes inappropriately from an old Stalinist elite which has far less of a working-class following than its predecessors.

Two factors have made the process easier to achieve for the Russians than the Americans have found things in Vietnam. One is Czechoslovakia's geographical position, caught on the frontier between the two rival Warsaw Pact and NATO empires.

Until 1968 Czechoslovakia was in an abnormal situation. So tight was

internal control that the Stalinists in Moscow saw no need to place their own troops in the country. It was the only Warsaw Pact country, apart from Rumania, that had no Russian garrisons.

It was not for nothing that in 1968 the Dubcek leadership desperately sought to get the Russians to agree that Czech forces were still adequate to defend the Warsaw Pact's western flank.

But NATO made it easier for the Russians to argue that Czechoslovakia was at risk from American imperialism and that Russian troops would have to be brought in.

## Unchanged Melody

The second reason for the comparatively rapid success with which Moscow has brought Czechoslovakia under its control goes back to the original nature of the Stalinist system. In 1968 the country enjoyed barely eight months in which to loosen some of the chains of centrally-controlled bureaucracy.

There was time only to make a few changes — a freer press, greater frankness from the top leadership, a few experiments in some factories to elect workers' councils.

But there was no upheaval in the social structure and no challenge to technocratic control of the economy. It was not surprising that when the Russians intervened they found the original bureaucratic machine still largely intact and able to be put back into motion.

The surprising thing is that it took them so relatively long, almost three years, before full control could be restored. But there is no denying now that that has been achieved.

The remarkable strikes of 1969 have now given way to random, individual protests. Absenteeism, which always was a problem, has reached new heights.

Pilfering from public enterprises is on the increase. Skilled workers increasingly reserve their energy for private work done after normal hours, in for example car repairing, plumbing, small-scale house-building.

Workers could hardly feel a more complete alienation from what Husak laughingly calls "socialist construction" but which everyone knows is work done for a repressive elite propped up by a foreign power.

People escape into their private lives. They earn a living as best they can in the primitive jungle of petty private enterprise that has grown up in the loopholes of the official centralised economy.

And when they hear Dr. Husak claiming that Czechs and Slovaks have never had it so good, they retch. ■

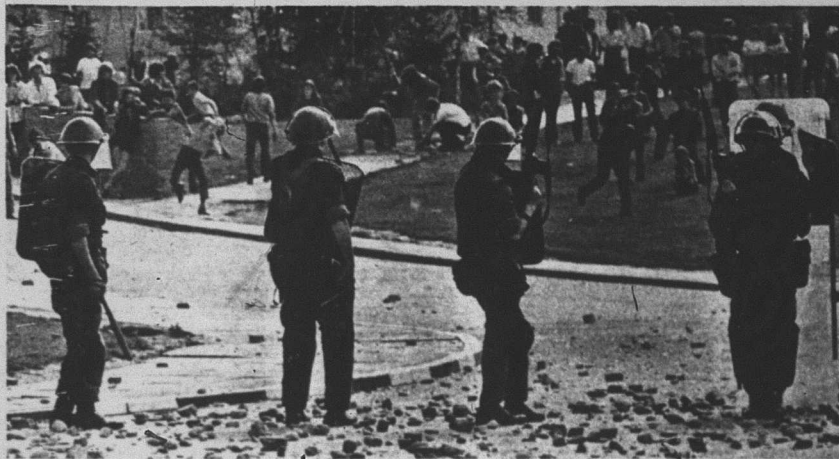
[Peter Hitchcock is a member of the British International Socialists]



Husak and Svoboda with Russian leaders



# British Terrorism In Belfast



[A special analysis by Paul Foot, Brian Trench, Jimmy Grealy, and Chris Harman, excerpted from Socialist Worker, the British International Socialist weekly, August 21, 1971.]

The most savage terrorism of all, that of the British army, is on the loose in Belfast. All pretence that Northern Ireland is a democracy has been cast aside.

Men have been imprisoned without charge or trial. Many may be held there for years. The few who have been released tell of torture practised by the British army and the Northern Ireland police.

In the streets a score or more of people have been killed, most of them from the nationalist section of the population. Already, thousands of people are streaming in terror out of Belfast into primitive refugee camps in Southern Ireland.

## Who is Guilty?

The British government claims that it has had to introduce internment — imprisonment without trial — in order to "clear out the murderers." The British press has backed up Heath and Maudling by continual talk of "terrorists."

Most of the killing, however, has been carried out not by the IRA, but by the British army and the bigoted thugs in the Orange Order. The present arrests have nothing to do with stopping violence. Leaders of both wings of the IRA have repeatedly made it clear that they are opposed to attacks on the Protestant section of the population.

Their "crime" in the eyes of the British government is that they have armed themselves to defend the lives of Catholic workers from attacks by armed Orangemen and that they want the British troops out of Ireland.

In a typically cynical statement on August 11, Mr. Brian Faulkner (Northern Ireland's Prime Minister) admitted that the purpose of internment was to "flush" the IRA out into the open so that the army could defeat them in open combat.

In the name of "peace," violence has been deliberately provoked by Northern Ireland and Westminster governments. The 20 deaths and all which follow are directly the responsibility of Messrs Heath (the British Prime Minister) Maudling and Faulkner.

The basis of the Northern Ireland state for 50 years has been religious hatred. By deliberately fostering a

loathing for Catholics among the Protestant working class, the big landowners industrialists and their British backers have clung to popular support.

Protestants have been given marginal privileges to distract them from unemployment and slum housing. They have been organised into bodies like the Orange Order, which every few years launches murderous attacks upon Catholic areas.

Two years ago the British government was forced to introduce reforms designed, it was claimed, to end discrimination against Catholics. It doing so, it undermined the foundation of rule through the Stormont regime.

The British government, however, is not prepared to see Stormont collapse without a struggle. Every gesture of opposition to reform from the right wing of the Unionist Party and the supporters of Ian Paisley, has been greeted with concessions from the British government.

The decision to intern was taken to appease the Unionist right wing, which for more than a year has placed internment top of the list of its demands upon the government.

On August 5, Faulkner flew to London for talks with Mr. Maudling and Mr. Heath. Without internment, he said, his government would collapse, and direct rule from Westminster or Paisleyism in Ulster were the only two alternatives.

Heath and Maudling immediately surrendered. To save a bankrupt and bigoted government, plus a handful of Tory votes in the House of Commons, they gave the army permission to intern.

When British troops were moved into Northern Ireland in 1969, the stated intention was "to keep the peace." For several weeks, the troops appeared to do just that. They held regular conferences with the various Citizens Defense Committees, and were

openly hostile to the Protestant extremists.

Gradually, however, as the British government continued to support the reactionary junta at Stormont, the troops became increasingly hostile to the oppressed minority.

For more than a year now, the pretence of "keeping the peace" has been abandoned and the troops have cooperated with the RUC, the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Ulster Defence Regiment, the newly formed organisation of the hated B-Specials.

Today, there is not even a pretence at impartiality. When a gang of UVF men went into action recently in Belfast, troops lined the streets cheering them on and singing the Sash, the battle hymn of the Orange Order.

What has been the reaction of British liberalism and the British Labor Party to this flagrant breach of the "traditional civil liberties" for which, laughably, the United Kingdom is means to stand?

Unanimously, the British press has approved the decision to intern. Little or nothing has been allowed in their pages to disturb the solidarity between the press and the British troops.

The facts about internment have not been sought. In the rare instances where journalists have discovered some of the truth about the internment camps, the editors have consigned their reports to the wastepaper basket.

The reaction of the Labor Party has been in direct violation of everything for which the labor movement stands.

Mr. Harold Wilson is in the Scilly Islands, apparently out of contact with the worst breach of civil liberties in the UK in a hundred years.

Mr. Callaghan, Labor's Home Affairs spokesman, has described the internment as a "gamble." He obviously hopes it will succeed.

But Harold Wilson, James Callaghan, and all the editors in the world cannot stop the resistance. In Northern Ireland, the resistance rules in the beleaguered areas.

ered areas.

From five o'clock in the morning the streets are full of people determined to ensure that the "snatch squads" will not surprise them again. 2,000 women have demonstrated in Derry. Barricades are being erected as fast as the army can pull them down.

In Dublin, a massive demonstration has been called to unite the socialist and republican movements and declare solidarity with the resistance in the North.

The Dublin branch of the woodworkers' union has called an all-out strike in protest against internment. The Labor Party in Co Donegal has called for a general strike.

Irish people, socialists, and republicans in Britain must rally to support their countrymen and comrades in the North of Ireland.

**NO INTERNMENT!  
RELEASE THE POLITICAL PRISONERS!  
BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND NOW!**

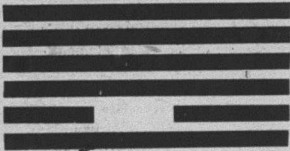
[It is also vital that there be international demonstrations opposing the attempt to destroy the radical movement in Northern Ireland. On Thursday, August 12, a small demonstration was organized at the British Consulate in Chicago by the International Socialists. A group of Irish students also demonstrated the following day.

In New York, on August 14, a militant picket of over 100 people demanded the immediate release of all political prisoners and the removal of British troops from Ireland. The march was organized by the Irish Republican Clubs (American supporters of the Irish Republican Army) and participating organizations included the International Socialists.

Over 50 people picketed at the British Trade Center in Seattle on Friday, August 20. The demonstration was called by the Seattle International Socialists; demands included, "End Internment, Free All Political Prisoners," "British Troops Out of Ireland," and "For a United Irish Workers' Republic," a slogan raised by the socialist wing of the Irish movement.]



[In order to provide room for the above coverage of the latest developments in Northern Ireland, the second installment of Robert St. Cyr's three-part series on the background of the crisis has been postponed till next issue.]



# UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD

James Coleman

["Hexagram 13: T'ung Jen -- Lovers, Beloved, Friends, Like-Minded Persons, Universal Brotherhood. Text: Lovers (friends) in the open -- Success! It is advantageous to cross the great river (or sea). The Superior Man will benefit if he does not slaken his righteous persistence. Commentary: Who would find it blameworthy to receive the beloved at the gate!" -- I Ching, translated by John Blofeld]



RESTON INTERVIEWING CHOU EN-LAI

"Peaceful coexistence," "international cooperation," and other fine phrases are the reasons officially given by both China and the United States for their attempt to reduce tensions between themselves. An interview between China's Premier Chou En-lai and senior *New York Times* reporter James Reston, conducted in Peking in early August, reveals some of the meat sandwiched between this bread and mayonnaise.

The first thing that strikes the reader about the Chinese side of the interview is Chou En-lai's tone of magnanimity... obviously, Chou has waited long and patiently for the day when the political and journalistic dignitaries of the US will knock at his door. Just as much, one is struck by James Reston's servility: Reston, the "independent" journalist and liberal commentator, fawns at the knee of power whether the power is Chinese or American.

## Flexibility

Chou En-lai in the interview strove to communicate to Reston China's minimum demands, which must be satisfied as the basis of a relaxation between the two countries. These include the withdrawal of US troops and aid from Taiwan; and of US troops — aid is not mentioned — from Vietnam.

Beyond this, Chou will compromise: MR. RESTON: *There is one thing I want you to clarify for me if you will. When I hear General Huang say that we must withdraw from the Philippines, we must withdraw from Japan, we must withdraw from Thailand, I think this is asking us...to withdraw from the Pacific, and I get depressed at that point because this doesn't seem to me to be...realistic.*

MR. CHOU: *...The troops of all the countries, not only US troops, should be withdrawn from the territories of the countries they have occupied....*

*This is a question of principle. But as to when and where these withdrawals are to take place first, and how to discuss and reach agreements with the governments concerned, they are concrete matters.*

In other words, Chou will accept a US

sphere of influence, if China's minimum demands are settled.

The motivation for this flexibility also appears clearly in the interview: fear of Japan.

"Just look at the economic development of Japan," Chou exclaims, and proceeds to give statistics: "...Economic expansion is bound to bring about military expansion.... When you said that there is no militarism [in Japan], well, I'll argue with you on that score."

For his part, Reston's view is that US policy involves a "contradiction."

MR. RESTON: *The thought I have in mind is this: ...as we try to reduce our commitments in the Pacific, we encour-*

*age Japan and other countries to assume a larger military role, and that, in turn, leads to greater dismay and anxiety on the part of China. Is there a conflict here?*

MR. CHOU: *You put it well.*

What Reston refers to, however, is only part of the contradiction. Beyond the "anxiety" of China is that of Nixon. For 25 years, the US has built up Japan as a buffer, first against Russia, then against China. The US has encouraged Japan to rearm. With defeat in Vietnam, however, Nixon has recognized that his ability to play a role in Asia will depend on reaching agreement with China.

Not only has this overridden the previous strategy of building up Japan against China — in addition, the US has found a common interest with China: its own fear, not yet so much of Japan's military expansion, but of Japan's economic competition (this in fact was a major factor in Nixon's wage-price freeze domestically). Thus both the US and China are working toward a *detente* at the expense of Japan.

In doing so, both sides regard the peoples of Asia as pawns. The interview illustrates this most clearly in the case of Taiwan.

Chou repeats that Taiwan is a province of China. "The liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair which brooks no foreign interference." He rejects entry for China into the UN if Taiwan remains, either as "Nationalist China" or as an independent "Taiwan." He will negotiate with the US about US withdrawal from Taiwan, but about the status of Taiwan (whether it is to be Nationalist Chinese, Communist Chinese, or independent) he will negotiate with no one, not even the people of Taiwan.

To Chou, an independent Taiwan is an "absurd state of affairs." Some people, he charges, are trying "to separate Taiwan from China to create a so-called independent Taiwan," which, he implies, would really be dominated by either the US or Japan.

This is rank cynicism. To begin with Chou dismisses the right of self-determination. Moreover, if it is true that in the modern world an independent Taiwan would be forced to accept "protection" (and domination) by either the US or Japan, that is because these are imperialist states — and also, in part, because China, which claims to be anti-imperialist, will not pledge to defend the independence of Taiwan if the Taiwanese choose it, but instead, offers not neo-colonial domination but outright annexation!

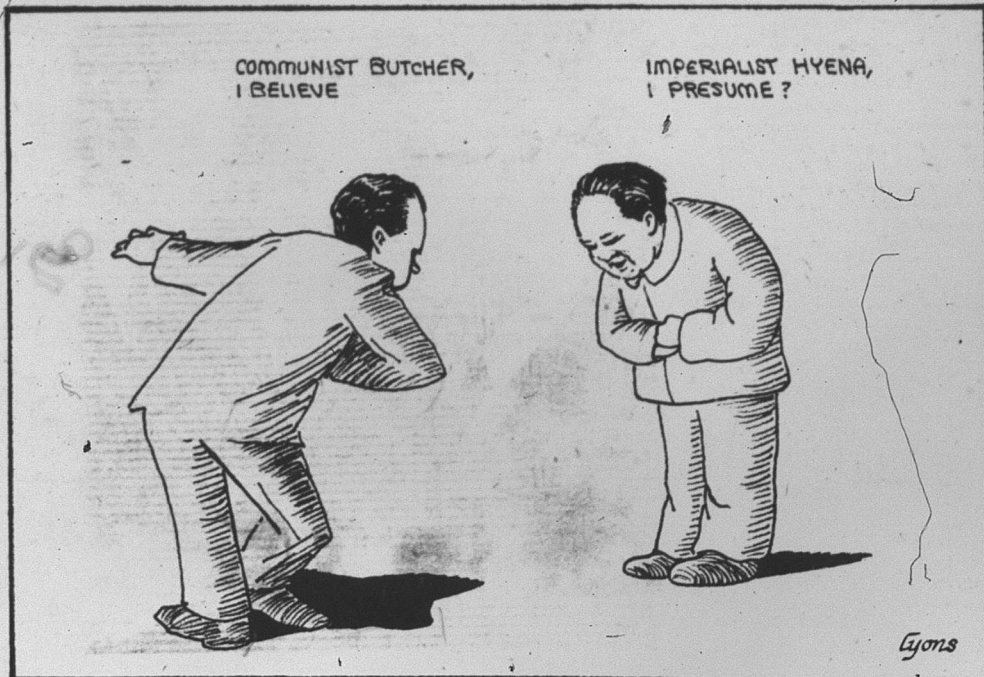
With one eye on Taiwan's jugular, Chou talks virtuously about Japanese and US imperialism!

## Gentleman's Agreement

If anything could match this for cynicism, it is Reston's reply (and no doubt Reston, the *confidant* of Presidents, here expresses not just his own opinion, but Nixon's as well):

MR. RESTON: *You asked me before about what did I mean by favoring China and the end of the Taiwan relationship. It's very simple. We cannot resolve the problems in the world without China.... We can resolve the problems of the world without Taiwan.*

If the Taiwanese object...well, Nixon's mind is on the noble goal of world peace. Thus do the imperialists, in amiable dinner conversation, settle the fate of the world. ■





# Lindsay: Out of the Frying pan, Into the Fire

James Coleman



On August 11, Mayor John Lindsay of New York announced his defection from the Republican Party and his registration as a Democrat. Admitting "the failure of 20 active years in Republican politics," Lindsay called for a new progressive political coalition to "change the direction of this country."

In narrowly political terms, Lindsay's choice is impressively logical. He barely won re-election as Mayor in 1969. Since then, nothing has gone right for New York City. Cursing Lindsay is the easiest way to get a friendly smile from almost any New Yorker.

In this situation Lindsay must look for greener pastures; but Republican pastures are closed to him. When his term expires, his major enemy, Governor Nelson Rockefeller, will still be in office — and even if Rockefeller retires after his present term, in 1975, he will still run the Republican Party in New York State.

## New Coalition

But there is more to Lindsay's move than narrow ambition. He has consistently followed a political course whose major followers are Democrats; and this political course is behind his call for a new "progressive coalition."

The call is, in effect, an attempt to reconstruct the Democratic Party of the 1930's and 1940's, which seemed to many (including many radicals) a fighting force for reforms. Only the presence in the party of a reactionary Southern wing seemed to hold it back.

Even 30 years ago, this was a falacious picture. What the Democrats did, during the Depression, was to see more clearly than the Republicans the need for government guidance for a capitalist economy which was shaking itself apart. Deficit spending, sophisticated monetary policies, the arms economy as a stabilizer — all these devices started with the Democrats.

The other side of the party's image — its claim to stand for the rights of labor and minorities — was deceptive. In truth, labor and Negroes stood for their own rights, and parts of their demands were accepted by the Democrats, who desperately needed a base of support.

Today, the Democrats continue to champion reforms in words — particularly when they are out of office. What is their actual program?

In foreign policy, the Democrats are the architects of the program of worldwide US interventionism, and specifically of the Vietnam war. Their program now (when that war has been lost) is to withdraw from Vietnam, but retain an inter-

ventionist position elsewhere.

Democrats such as Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, a self-described "anti-war candidate," specify that they support increased US military aid to Israel. But Israel, a popular cause in the United States, is merely the example these Democrats use to win acceptance for a strategy of intervention around the world.

On civil rights, the Democrats have offered year after year of empty promises. The weapons in the Federal government's hands, such as denial of funds for segregated facilities, have seldom been used. The Democrats stand opposed to more militant black organizations. It took the outright murder of Black Panther Fred Hampton to get a word of protest against the repression of this organization — and then merely a bleat from Arthur Goldberg, not a major figure in the Party.

To labor, traditionally the Democrats' base, they have offered wage-price controls, which they fought for until Nixon accepted them. This is the end product of the Democrats' old programs for economic management. With deficit financing, monetary manipulation, and arms spending all failing to stabilize the economy, the Democrats were forced to turn to outright curbs on the rights of labor.

This is not the whole story, however. Some of the most influential behind-the-scenes Democrats do have both a cause and a program.

The cause is "saving the cities." Both the big-city mayors (with the former exception of Lindsay, nearly all are Democrats) and also influential Democrats such as John Gardner who has struggled to build his "urban coalition" of concerned politicians and big businessmen, are terrified of the economic collapse of the major cities. They fear the deteriorating conditions, the flight of business capital to the suburbs, and the social unrest which results from economic decay.

Their program is to win massive Federal funds for public works — slum clearance, transportation, assistance programs, creation of jobs, etc. These, however, cannot do the job by themselves. The real content of the program is the hope that these changes will stop business from leaving the cities, and attract new business.

This, however, shapes the whole program in an anti-working class direction. To attract business, the cities must first of all control union demands — both the demands of public employees' unions, which directly strain the cities' budgets,

and the demands of other unions, which could discourage investment.

Further, if the cities are to become an attractive environment for business, services and the new housing and other facilities which replace the cleared slums must be geared toward a "better element" than the slum population, which is simply cleared along with the bricks.

In addition, whatever jobs might be provided by new investment would be largely for more skilled, better-educated workers. This would not touch the permanent unemployment of millions in the inner cities. Although some corporations have sponsored training programs, these have barely scratched the surface — they are mainly for public relations.

## Save the Businessmen

Further, because the strategy is geared to attracting business, any public programs must be financed by increasing taxes on the working class, rather than by cutting into business profits. For this reason too, the liberals must support curbs on the rights of unions.

The logic of Lindsay's switch to the Democratic Party is that the above is actually his program. His first act in office was an attempt to break the 1966 strike of New York transit workers. In six years of setting his teeth against strikes of teachers, sanitation workers, fire fighters, policemen, and most recently District 37 of AFSCME (see *Workers' Power* no. 38), Lindsay has amassed the most solidly anti-labor record of any New York mayor of the past 40 years.

Further, although Lindsay's voting base is nearly 30 percent black and Puerto Rican, he has not been able to find jobs for people on welfare or to raise these minorities from second-class status. Those who are employed are either non-unionized and completely unprotected, or concentrated in the very municipal unions which Lindsay has tried to thwart.

The strategy of "saving the cities" by massive injections of Federal funds and a resulting renewal of business confidence will, however, save one group of the cities' population — the businessmen. If the cities continue to deteriorate, they will be faced with the choice of staying — and risking ruin — or getting out, and taking enormous losses.

This is particularly true of fixed investments in real estate, existing plants, public and cultural facilities, universities, and the like, which unlike corporate headquarters and retail stores, cannot simply be moved to the suburbs. "Saving the cities" is in fact designed to save one class, the capitalist class, and not many people besides.

In taking his leap into the Democratic Party, Lindsay is attempting to aid in building a pro-business political force with a progressive public face. In addition, he is attempting to re-cement the support of dissatisfied social groups for the Democratic Party by refurbishing the party's progressive image.

Given the almost limitless capacity of humans to wait for salvation from some powerful and beneficent leader, Lindsay's attempt may succeed, momentarily. The simple existence of a "progressive coalition" may calm unrest even if the coalition does little. In objective terms, however, the effort will turn on the ability to provide a rising living standard, better social services, more productive jobs — tasks the coalition is not really designed to accomplish.

It is Lindsay's democratic right to leap from the frying pan into the fire. His effort to lead the dissatisfied and protesting with him, however, is merely a Democratic ruse. ■



# Repression Roundup



## Carlos Feliciano

The defense of Carlos Feliciano — the Puerto Rican militant and nationalist charged with several New York bombings and held for over a year without trial on \$175,000 bail — continues to gather support.

The Chicano/Chicana-Puerto Rican workshop at the recent National Peace Action Coalition convention endorsed the defense. It called for Feliciano's immediate release and the dropping of all charges, along with those against Rudolf (Corky) Gonzales of the Crusade for Justice. The convention adopted this proposal.

The Defense Committee is seeking the broadest possible support from Puerto Rican organizations, trade unionists, civil libertarians, students and intellectuals, and others. Articles in support of Carlos Feliciano have recently appeared in *La Raza* magazine and the New York liberal weekly *The Village Voice*.

A number of Puerto Rican organizations and leaders in conjunction with William Kunstler, one of the lawyers, are launching a "positive action" Federal suit against New York State. They will demand that the State show evidence and cause why Feliciano has been held without evidence or lowered bail.

The case will probably come to trial in September. In order to stop the wheels of repression and prevent the rail-roading of Carlos Feliciano, solidarity rallies and demonstrations should be built across the country in the next few months.

Maximum pressure should be focused on the courts. The courts function as a defender of corporate interest. Behind

a wall of legal mumbo-jumbo, they work to behead movements that challenge the power of the rulers, keeping valuable militants behind bars.

Only a broad defense can help guarantee the protection of hard-won civil liberties. It is crucial for all movements of social protest and especially for the Puerto Rican movement's fight for liberation, that Carlos Feliciano be freed.

On Tuesday, August 17, over a hundred Puerto Rican militants jammed the New York City courtroom where Carlos Feliciano faced a pre-trial hearing. Others waited outside. This large demonstration of solidarity shows the depth of support for Feliciano from all pro-independence forces.

As Feliciano was brought into the courtroom under heavy guard, his right wrist handcuffed, he raised his left hand in a fist salute. The packed courtroom rang with cries for freedom for Feliciano and independence for Puerto Rico.

When the presiding judge was unable to clear the courtroom, he quickly adjourned the proceedings. The prosecutor, Assistant D.A. Fine, made a statement about "disruption of due process," something which he and the politicians behind him have carried out against Feliciano for 15 months. As a result of this mass pressure, Feliciano's bail has been reduced to \$25,000.

[Support, hard work, and funds are still desperately needed. Contact: Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, P.O. Box 356, Canal St. Station, New York, N.Y. 10013.]

## Juan Farinas

The appeal of Juan Farinas, a revolutionary socialist facing two years in prison for "disrupting the draft and refusing induction," will be decided later this summer.

Farinas was arrested in August, 1968, when he reported for induction and passed out leaflets informing his fellow inductees of their constitutional rights and denouncing the war in Vietnam as an imperialist war. He at no time refused induction, but rather made clear that he would serve, while agitating against the war and for GI rights.

He was convicted for exercising the First Amendment right of free speech. As the Juan Farinas Defense Committee petition points out, his conviction is part of the ongoing attack on the democratic rights of labor, minorities, and youth.

[For further information, contact: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14 St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Send letters supporting the defense to Judges Feinberg, Mansfield, and Moore, US Court of Appeals, US Court House, New York City, N.Y.]

## Michael Fylstra

The case of Michael Fylstra is typical of the recent militancy of homosexuals in fighting against discrimination.

Fylstra is a gay activist in Detroit. Last February, while walking alone late at night, he was offered a ride by two men. After getting into their car, he was asked if he "liked to get it in the ass." Before he could say no, Fylstra was arrested on the charge of "accosting and soliciting for an immoral act."

This is typical of police behavior against homosexuals. Vice Squad police will pick out someone who looks gay, encourage him to make advances or make advances themselves, then arrest him.

Usually the victims, afraid of public exposure, quietly pay their fines. Instead, Fylstra decided to fight in court. With the aid of the National Lawyers' Guild, he prepared a defense challenging the constitutionality of the Accosting and Soliciting ordinance and charging police entrapment.

On July 23, a preliminary hearing occurred when the judge, after hearing pre-trial motions on constitutionality, continued the case until December to allow both sides to present full briefs. Nevertheless, it is not expected that a lower court judge will overturn the ordinance on constitutional grounds.

[For further information, write: Michael Fylstra Defense Committee, P.O. Box 631-A, Detroit, MI 48232.]

## Pvt. Ed Jurenas

The dropping of charges against Pvt. Ed Jurenas is an important victory for GI rights and the ability of GI's to organize against the war.

The growing movement of GI's against the Vietnam war and for GI rights — as well as recent protests by Black and Third World GI's against Army racism — has the Army brass climbing the walls. In an authoritarian Army committed to crushing popular revolts against the US empire around the world, they can ill afford a rank and file revolt.

It is in this context that the Army's decision to court-martial Private Ed Jurenas must be viewed. Pvt. Jurenas is a leading anti-war activist and editor of the base anti-war paper, *Arctic Circle*, at Fort Greely, Alaska.

While the official charges against Jurenas were "disrespect for an officer, failure to comply with a regulation, and making a disloyal statement," his court martial was a clear attack on free speech.

[Further information: GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, P.O. Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011.]



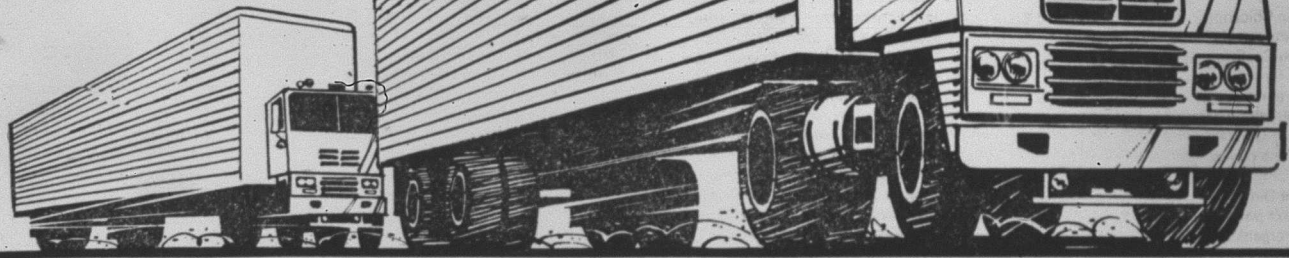
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# TURF Teamster Ranks Organize

Dave McDonald



Eighty-nine Teamsters representing organizations in locals throughout the country have established a national organization, Teamsters United Rank and File (TURF), dedicated to returning control of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to its more than two million members.

The initial base for TURF is very large. The meeting was originally called by the Teamsters United Unity Committees of America, a coalition of groups between Philadelphia and Chicago.

This solid base in the mid-west was joined by representatives from Local 327 in Nashville, Tenn., Local 208 in Los Angeles, the 500 at 50 pension protest group, and others, mostly from the mid-west and South.

The founders of TURF declare themselves a loyal opposition within the IBT. Although they recognize that real reform in the IBT will necessitate major structural changes and not just a change of leadership, TURF is not an attempt to form another union.

The importance of the conference which founded TURF, held in Toledo, Ohio, on July 24-25, can hardly be overstated. Such a national meeting primarily of rank and file workers — whose goal is to democratize their union through local and nationally coordinated work — has not been held since the dues protest in the United Steelworkers in 1956. TURF's founders are prepared for a long-range struggle.

## New Situation

There have always been local protest groups within the Teamsters in different areas, but lack of national communication and coordination — as well as the relative success of the "business unionism" at which Hoffa excelled — helped keep the ranks in line and isolate concerned groups and individuals.

Today this situation has changed radically. The new Teamsters President, Frank Fitzsimmons, was not elected because he gained the confidence of IBT

members, or even of the real power-holders in the International — the officers of the various conferences — but because he promised not to interfere in their political battles or to try to further consolidate power in the International. Fitzsimmons' election will probably usher in an era of factionalism and regional fighting among various conferences.

Moreover, Hoffa's style depended on the conditions of a relatively expanding economy in which it was easier for management to meet his demands than to face a protracted strike.

These conditions are gone. If Hoffa were still president of the IBT, he would no more be able to "deliver" than Fitzsimmons.

The Teamsters Union, like the labor movement as a whole, will have to be prepared to wage a real struggle to stop the offensive against the working class represented by Nixon's wage freeze. But it is just this sort of struggle which Fitzsimmons and his colleagues will do anything to avoid. The rank and file must organize to do the job.

The Toledo conference of TURF was a hopeful beginning in reshaping the IBT. No permanent officers were elected, because the organizers hope that the next conference will be even more representative and provide the basis for a program that speaks to all Teamster members.

TURF has constituted itself as a membership organization open to any Teamster. Although its constitution will not be written and voted on until the next conference (to be held in late September), all individuals and organizations will be represented on a one person, one vote basis.

Although those who attended the Toledo conference were mostly truckers, TURF is well aware that truckers are a minority in the Teamsters; that, in fact, hundreds of different job classifications are organized by the IBT. It will not be easy for TURF to develop a program that speaks to non-truckers; nevertheless, it is crucial. Most non-trucking Teamsters

are organized by sweetheart contracts in locals with no stewards or Business Agents, and often no meetings. These members are critical to any effort to reshape the IBT.

TURF sees communication among its members as a high priority. Representatives from such disparate localities as New York, California, Ohio, and Tennessee have fought the International with varying degrees of success and failure for years. An enormous amount of valuable information changed hands at the Toledo conference — tactics that one group has tried and found successful can be used by other groups, while tactics that failed in one place can be avoided in others.

The realization of the need for a national organization pervaded the Toledo meeting. First the recession, and now the wage-price freeze and the wage-control measures which are sure to follow it, have created similar problems throughout the country. Recent centralization of power in the International and changes in Federal law (one such change would make it easier to put locals in trusteeship) underscore the need for a national organization.

TURF also needs strong local organization. The fight for democracy will inevitably be local at first — to get elected stewards and B.A.s, change local by-laws and pension plan control, assert the right to have local newspapers, etc..

## Working Conditions

Beyond the need for union democracy, it is important that TURF develop a program of demands on issues that affect all Teamsters. Certain working conditions fall into this category. We suggest the following as demands that TURF can fight for and organize around:

1. Guaranteed 40 hour work week;
2. Minimum hourly wage for all Teamsters regardless of job classification;
3. No compulsory overtime;
4. Overtime controlled by elected and recallable stewards;
5. Health and Welfare benefits paid on overtime hours.

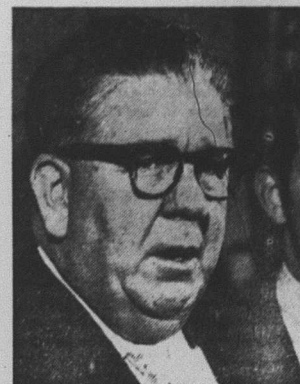
This program has a double value. First, it would improve conditions of life for all Teamsters and its immediate value would be obvious to all. Second, it demonstrates the practical usefulness of a democratic union structure.

TURF's founders know they cannot match the money of the International. They know, too, that the best defense they can muster is to make it too costly for the International to try to squash them.

The ability to expose and fight nationally what may happen in any given place should form the basis of TURF's self-defense. The International's thugs and gangsters are — thugs and gangsters. They and the International are sure to think twice if they know their acts will not go unnoticed and unavenged.

TURF can help restore democracy in the IBT and make it the potent force for social change which it once was and still should be. It is in the interest of every Teamster to give TURF active encouragement and support. ■

[For more information contact:  
T.U.R.F., POB 4204, Downey,  
CA, 90241.]



Worried Frank

# Blues for Newport

Eric Arctander



The Newport Jazz Festival is dead. It was destroyed by the greed of its promoters and the economic structure of the music industry, under which jazz music, musicians, and fans are all victimized. The violence which cancelled the 1971 Festival, probably closing it down for good, resulted directly from these factors.

The Newport Jazz Festival at its best cost a lot of money and hassle, and produced a lot of good jazz which made it all worthwhile. Every summer since 1954, jazzmen (and a small handful of jazzwomen) and fans have gathered in the open air for the once-a-year occasion, facing the threat of sunstroke in the afternoons, chilling winds in the evenings, and inclement weather anytime.

The Festival brought together musicians who would rarely have the chance to interact on the club circuit (which is also dying), often producing historic performances which gave impetus to the development of jazz. One example was the spontaneous collaboration of "modernist" pianist Thelonious Monk and "traditional-mainstream" clarinetist Fee Wee Russell in 1963. The audiences at Newport were largely working class (mainly young) and black.

The first trouble at Newport occurred in 1960, when the Festival producer sold more tickets than he had seats for. The fans' natural reaction to this rip-off was labelled "the beer riots" by the local press. That early incident indicated two trends that resurfaced in 1969 and resulted in the events of 1971: first, the increasing greed of the management, and second, the tendency to blame managerial mistakes on the fans.

Until 1968, the Festival maintained its focus on jazz — America's indigenous urban working-class musical form. In 1969, the producer, George Wein, decided to radically alter the format to include rock music, claiming to have been

inspired by a Mothers of Invention concert where he saw "kids crowding around the bandstand like we used to for Benny and Duke in the ballroom days." Yet Wein admits that "the Beatles' message still eludes me" — thus his motivation seemed to be "kids" and "crowding" rather than music.

## Profits

Our purpose here is not to argue the aesthetic merits of jazz and rock, but to consider the evolution of a Festival that was willing to change its whole conception for one apparent purpose — maximizing the profits: This would be done by relying on jazz fans to make their yearly pilgrimage, while attracting a second audience of rock fans who had become a boon to speculators and promoters at festivals like Woodstock.

Wein's opportunism, as well as his contempt for the music he programmed for the fateful 1969 Festival, are best summed up in his own words from the "Forward" of the program:

(On rock) "Yet every time I hear some kid guitarist play his blues licks at an excruciating volume level, I can't help thinking of Tal Farlow and Barney Kessel with whom I'll be playing this fall when the Newport All-Stars tour the world. Thank God for little blessings."

(On jazz) "The avant-garde movement in jazz is going nowhere. It has been around for about ten years and all it has done, in addition to destroying the precious quality in jazz known as style, is to confuse an entire decade of young musicians who feel it is necessary to be associated with the so-called forward line."

Evidently the message of jazz "eludes" Wein as much as that of the Beatles.

Wein's suggestion to these "avant-garde-destructive" forces in jazz is that "the jazzmen might also try playing other people's good songs again." "When the jazz-

man found he could make an extra penny a side if he recorded his own originals," Wein added, "a lot of composers appeared as if by magic."

Wein not only compounds his misunderstanding of jazz, he also slanders the artists by implying that they are out for the money over art. The quote does show, however, what is on Wein's mind.

The jazz market is less susceptible than rock to fads, and does not generally cater to the "super-star" elitism characteristic of the rock market (although this is often imposed on jazz by the demands of capitalist promotion). The differences flow from the nature of jazz itself, which combines musical and functional criteria (i.e. dancing and entertainment), in contrast to the mass-spectacular aspirations of rock.

## Spectacle

It was the spectacular that Wein intended for the 1969 Festival — with rock groups from Jethro Tull to Blood Sweat and Tears and rock announcer Scott Munie, topped off with the Joshua Light Show of Fillmore fame. The audience reached 78,000, nearly 20,000 more than the previous record for a jazz festival.

But the spectacle didn't work. Hundreds crashed the gate — having been excluded by the field's capacity of 18,500 and excessive ticket prices. New fans had been led to expect a Woodstock rather than a concert atmosphere.

Again the fans took the rap in the press: "Unruly Fans Upset Newport Jazz Festival" (*New York Times*, July 7, 1969). Ira Gitler (*Downbeat*, August 21, 1969) came closer: "Apart from the musical deficiencies, it was fortunate that the potential trouble did not turn the festival into a real disaster. George Wein got hungry. He also got lucky."

The reaction was immediate, as the Newport City Council slapped a ban on

rock music at the Festival and disgruntled jazz fans voiced their complaints through jazz magazines and radio stations. Wein now faced the job of counteracting his own enticements to the rock fans, i.e., getting rid of the "rock kids" (which is how he always refers to rock fans, both in writing and when addressing them). This was easier said than done.

Newport 1970 was all jazz (highlighted by the first American appearance in many years of tenor saxophone great Dexter Gordon), but rock fans persisted. The program for 1971 was again essentially all jazz (there were some "jazz-rock" acts scheduled without violating the ban on rock), but once again rock fans returned.

Not even skyrocketing prices kept them away, although many a jazz fan was disposed not to come. From 1968 to 1971 the price of an afternoon concert rose from \$2 to \$4, starting prices for evenings from \$3.50 to \$5. Wein had hit working-class pockets too hard. But rock fans — known to be a hardy lot — camped in a nearby park and listened from an adjoining hill, as precedent had permitted.

The second night of this year's Festival (Saturday, July 3) ended in disaster. No one knows who moved first — the police on the fans or the fans on the Festival. In mid-concert George Wein mounted the stage and hysterically informed the audience that there was "trouble in the streets" and that the police had been forced to use tear gas. He then asked — incredibly — that the more than 20,000 fans inside the Festival field file out onto the streets!

## Final Solution

Pleading for the fans to help him keep his license, he mentioned that what was happening "broke [his] heart and [his] wife's heart," begged for order, and also made a general request that "some kids with bongos" come up on stage to ease things along. Who wouldn't want to say that he had played on the Newport stage? The media reported that "the stage was stormed."

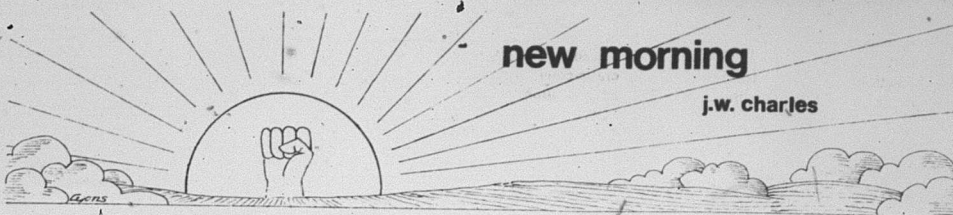
Meanwhile it was the "final solution" for the rock fans. There was considerable "police action" with nightsticks and tear gas — no arrests, but hospitals reported over 300 for what they called "minor injuries." The "kids" were dispersed from the Festival but not from the island, so a midnight teargas assault was launched on the campgrounds. All night there was a steady exodus across the Newport (\$2 toll) Bridge that lasted through morning.

Over breakfast, jazz fans who survived the night gathered to compare stories and read the accounts in the morning papers. Back at Festival Field, a crude handwritten sign affixed to the closed box office informed the handful of people there that the remaining concerts were cancelled and that ticket refunds would be made by mail if one enclosed a self-addressed stamped envelope.

The commercialization and brutalization that turned Woodstock into Altamont and killed the rock festivals have struck again. The "final solution" for the "kids" seems to be the final solution for the Newport Jazz Festival.

new morning

j.w. charles



when the rooster fails to crow at dawn we will know he was up all night planning how to liberate the farm

when the workers rise not with the alarm clock but with their own desires the ruling class must beware



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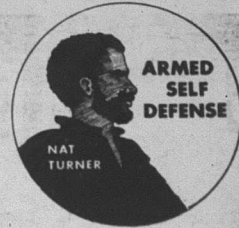
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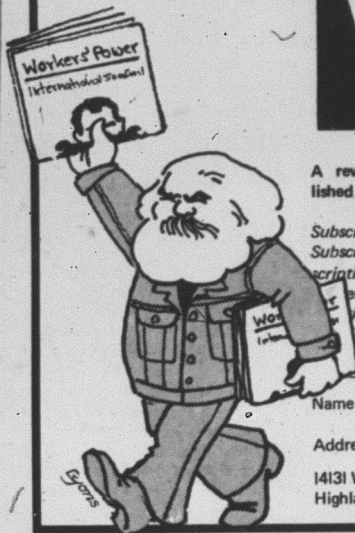


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# Workers' Power

## George Jackson

Murdered,  
August 21  
1971

Michael Stewart



George Jackson, one of the Soledad Three defendants, and author of the best selling book, *Soledad Brother*, is dead.

We may never learn the exact circumstances which led to his being shot by guards at the San Quentin jail where he was awaiting trial. The official version claims that he had a gun and was shot trying to escape. This story is hard to believe.

Jackson had been kept under maximum

security. They have even built a glass shield in the courtroom to "protect" the Judge from him. Jackson was well aware that the state was trying to set him up for murder, and was being especially cool because of that.

Yet the state expects us to believe that somehow someone smuggled him a gun in San Quentin — that with that gun he made a foolhardy attempt to escape, turning right into the fire of

the guards. I suppose that if one still believes that Jackson belonged in prison, you can also believe this account of his death.

It is always possible, of course, that Jackson, with the rage and fury that he so eloquently wrote about in his book, cracked under the pressure and brutality of the prison system and attempted to escape. Even so, it is this society, and the state that imprisoned him, which bear the responsibility for his death and that of the others who died with him. For Jackson knew that he couldn't rely on the courts for justice in this society.

It was those same courts that have kept Jackson in prison for more than ten years. What was his crime that led to such a long sentence? Murder, rape? No, it was only that Jackson made the mistake when he was 18 years old of stealing \$70.

Lieutenant William Calley is found guilty of murdering dozens of women and children, and is given a sentence which will probably see him paroled in 7 years. Jackson, a black man, steals \$70 and gets sentenced to from one year to life. And that is called the American way of justice.

There are some today who still argue that our prison system is aimed at rehabilitating the prisoners. The irony is that George Jackson was "rehabilitated", not by the system, but in spite of it.

For while he was in jail he developed into a revolutionary, committed to the

liberation of all black people and to overthrowing the racist and discriminatory system which had kept him in jail. Because of that he became a symbol for blacks everywhere, and an example of the resistance struggle going on among blacks throughout the jails of this country.

In much the same way, Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver were "rehabilitated". It is a solution that the state is not willing to accept; Malcolm X and George Jackson are now dead, Eldridge Cleaver is exiled.

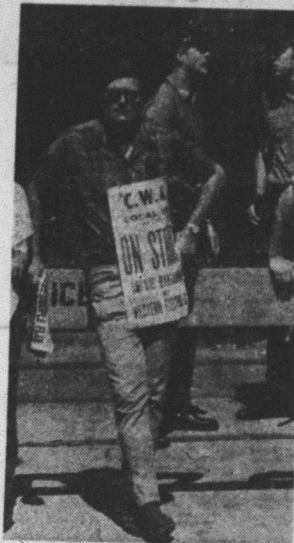
In the last analysis it is because of Jackson's revolutionary ideas, and the fact that he was a symbol of the black liberation struggle everywhere, that he had to die. The Warden admitted this when he blamed Jackson's death on what he called "dilettante revolutionaries" outside the prison, who had promoted revolutionary ideas inside San Quentin.

Actually, the Warden's account gives too much credit to the revolutionaries on the outside. For basically Jackson became a revolutionary because of his own independent determination to fight back against injustice. Because of that, the state decided he had to die. Regardless of what went on during those few minutes in San Quentin, this society and the State of California are responsible for his murder.

The movement must now redouble its efforts to free the remaining two Soledad defendants, Ruffel Magee, Angela Davis, and all other political prisoners before the state can murder them also.

## Hang Up On Nixon

William Hastings



President Nixon's call for all striking workers to return to work has added further ammunition to the Bell System's arsenal of weapons to be used against the striking N.Y. Telephone plant locals.

One week after the beginning of the first nationwide telephone strike since 1947, Communications Workers of America (CWA) President Joseph Bieme ordered us back to work — before the ratification vote and even though Bell's offer had only minutely changed since we first went out (see *Workers' Power* No. 39). The reaction to this sell-out was mixed, with some locals across

the country returning to work, voting to go back out, and then returning again.

The New York State locals stayed out. But their failure, particularly on the part of the 14,000-member Local 1101 in New York City, to act forcefully to get the rest of the country to stay out left the N.Y. state locals on the streets alone.

Then, only one day before Nixon's statement about the freeze, Bieme announced the results of the vote: the N.Y. locals voted to reject it, the rest of the country accepted it. With the strike

well into its second month, the union still has no strategy for winning a decent contract, much less fighting the freeze.

The way Bieme bargains with the Bell System is to set certain items as national bargaining questions (like wages, pensions, vacations) and treat the rest as "local critical items" (working conditions, the Absence Control Plan, upgrades, etc.). Thus, as far as Bieme is concerned, the important items of wages and vacations are decided.

The N.Y. locals must reject these formal limits imposed on us by Bieme if we are to break the national pattern-setting contract. We must bargain for the 50% wage raise that the membership of 1101 adopted as being what we need, double time for all overtime, and 15 paid personal days a year to be taken when we want.

These demands, together with the local items such as abolition of the Absence Control Plan (while keeping the payment for prolonged illness), upgrading for clerks and B & S without the discriminatory tests, penalties for working women, etc., must be the basis from which we bargain. If we continue to demand small potatoes, all we'll get is potato chips.

Overshadowed for the moment by the wage-price freeze is the all important election going on in Traffic, with the results to be announced August 25. The NLRB election has on the ballot CWA, TTU (the company union), District 65 and no union. A run-off election will be forced if none of these get a majority.

The most important indicator of the future unity possible between the now-divided operators and craftsmen is the fact that almost all of the Traffic militants who were active in keeping people

out at the beginning of the strike are still strongly for the CWA, despite the sell-out by Bieme and the lies spread by the TTU.

Ricky Carnivale, President of Local 1101, appears resigned to the fact that we will not get a wage raise during the freeze. He has been taken in by the supposed time limit that Nixon put on the freeze and he seems unwilling to actively fight the freeze now.

The "oppositionists" in the form of Ed Dempsey, one of the four vice presidents, have nothing to say either. Dempsey decided to call a rally at the Central Labor Council for Friday, August 20. But his intention was simply to demand that the other AFL-CIO unions should stop crossing our picket lines; the rally was to have nothing to do with what is obviously on everyone's mind: what do we do about the freeze.

No one could be found to help organize an irrelevant rally. Dempsey called it off.

The only way we are going to be able to win a real wage raise is to fight Nixon not only by staying out on strike but by not going back without getting our raise now. If we go back with our wages fixed by a contract signed three years ago, Nixon will have successfully broken our strike.

The membership of 1101 and the other N.Y. locals, and particularly rank and file groups like United Action and Strikeback, must actively fight for this since neither Carnivale nor Dempsey is going to lead this kind of fight against Nixon. A successful attack on the wage freeze will require a response by all of labor — something we are in a position to take the lead in, being immediately threatened by Nixon's anti-labor actions.