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The Bussing Crisis

Karl Fischer

This fall, seventeen years after the landmark Supreme Court decision on the question, racial integration of America's public schools finally began to become a reality in many cities and communities, both North and South. After years of court litigation, many school districts have been forced by Federal Court rulings to begin to break down their years-old patterns of disguised segregation.

The method employed by the courts to achieve some measure of integration was the only one possible, given the rigid patterns of neighborhood segregation that exist in virtually every city and town in America: the bussing of students, black and white, out of their segregated neighborhoods and into racially mixed school districts, newly created by the pressure of the courts.

In the long years that this issue has been fought out in the courts, large groups of parents — in most cases, middle-class whites — have fought vigorously to block any moves toward integration. It therefore came as no surprise that the accomplished fact of integration through bussing met strong opposition throughout the country.

What did surprise many, however, was the fact that the strongest opposition emerged not in the South, the traditional bastion of segregation and white supremacy, but in cities in the North and West.

In Southern cities, such as Memphis, Nashville, Atlanta, and others, bussing was met this September with some bitterness and resentment on the part of

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Ku Klux Klan poster at Pontiac bussing demonstration

EDITORIAL

All
Out
Nov. 6

The annual "Fall Offensive" against the Vietnam war has begun — perhaps for the last time. The disaster of the South Vietnamese invasion of Laos, the face of the South Vietnamese elections, and the political effects in the US of the wage-price freeze, may finally combine to force the withdrawal of combat troops from Vietnam before the 1972 elections.

For those who demand immediate unconditional withdrawal and support the Vietnamese war against imperialism, this will be only a partial victory. The projected indefinite presence of American "support forces" and other aid to the Saigon regime, including continued bombing of Vietnam and neighboring countries, shows that US imperialism is still hoping against hope to maintain control over Indo-China.

The capitulation of a large section of the anti-war movement — mainly those who identify politically with the leadership of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam — to the program of "set-the-date" rather than immediate withdrawal, will hinder the struggle to effect the total end of US interference in Vietnam over the next period. Even aside from this problem, however, it is unlikely that the question of US "aid" by itself will be enough to sustain a mass anti-war movement after the elections and the withdrawal of direct combat forces.

This year's anti-war offensive, however, is not less but in fact more significant than its predecessors. The imposition of wage controls by the Nixon administration has placed the economic and social crisis partly caused by the war

itself squarely in the center of American politics, where no section of the anti-war movement can ignore it.

The bureaucratic leadership of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), the largest coordinating body of the anti-war marches, has been particularly shaken. NPAC's coalition of liberal politicians (such as Indiana's Democratic Senator Vance Hartke), the labor bureaucracy (notably the UAW's Victor Reuther), and the Socialist Workers Party has been threatened by the need to respond to the freeze.

For the moment NPAC has maintained unity by promoting the endorsements of large numbers of labor leaders and by recognizing at least on paper that the issue of the freeze is integral to the Fall march-

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editorial

All Out November 6

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es and will be the key to labor participation despite their official "single-issue" character. It may prove difficult to hold the coalition together after November 6, however.

Meanwhile, the changed political situation offers to independent radical and rank-and-file forces in the anti-war movement their greatest opportunity. For the first time it is possible to go beyond simple criticisms of the single-issue character of the marches and their bureaucratic leadership, and to organize independent contingents for labor action against the war and the freeze.

In several cities, the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) formed at the NPAC convention last July 2-4 will be working to build such contingents in cooperation with other groups. Over 5,000 copies of a poster prepared by the Labor Action Contingent of Detroit have been printed up for distribution in the city's auto plants.

The perspective of building Labor Action Contingents for November 6 is part of a program to build a united labor response to the wage freeze and to the "Phase 2" measures which will follow it. These measures represent only the first step in a campaign against the unions and all other forces interested in social change.

The anti-war movement, which has attracted the sympathy if not the participation of millions of unionists and oppressed minorities, can provide a vehicle for the first united, mass demonstrations against this attack. Such demonstrations will not turn the anti-war movement away from its concern with the war, as some charge. Rather, they will increase



its power tenfold by attracting the active, militant participation of the most important social forces in the country and by turning toward an independent program rather than liberal politics.

An essential programmatic aspect of the contingents must be the call **FOR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION TO-**

WARD BUILDING A LABOR PARTY.

A repeat of the collapse of the movement into the Democratic Party, as happened in 1968, will mean disaster not only for the struggle against the war, but also for the entire working class.

It is the Democrats who advocated wage controls long before Nixon actually invoked them. It is the Democrats

who have time and again captured the labor movement politically in order to make it powerless. The failure of the mass anti-war movement to address itself to the political role of the capitalist parties must not be allowed to happen again.

In Vietnam, American imperialism has suffered its greatest defeat in the last twenty years. The war has discredited the mythology of American foreign policy, undermined popular confidence in the government, brought forth one of the greatest mass opposition movements in the history of American politics, and helped to accelerate and sharpen the economic crisis that has signalled the end of the post-World War II boom.

Imperialism has paid a heavy price for its hundreds of thousands of atrocities and murders in Vietnam. The needless sacrifice of American GI's, the napalming and fragmentation bombing of civilian villages, the My Lai massacres and the lies revealed in the Pentagon Papers, have sent shock waves throughout the world, and American society, most of all.

The time to collect on these blood debts is now. From the anti-war movement we can build an even bigger and more powerful movement that will throw back Nixon's economic offensive against the workers of the US and the world, and take a step toward the overthrow of capitalism and its wars for good.

**ALL OUT NOVEMBER 6!
FOR LABOR ACTION - STOP THE WAR, SMASH THE FREEZE!
BUILD WORK STOPPAGES AGAINST THE WAR!
TOWARD A LABOR PARTY!**



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The Bussing Crisis

Karl Fischer

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white parents, but little active resistance. But in many Northern communities, angry protests erupted against the new measures.

Philadelphia, San Francisco, and many other cities experienced these protests, but the city which resisted bussing most vigorously, which attracted the most national attention, and which thus became a symbol of resistance for the anti-integration forces throughout the country, was the city of Pontiac, Michigan. What has happened in Pontiac is of interest, not simply for its own sake, but also for what it shows about American society in general regarding the interrelated issues of racism and education.

Beyond any doubt, Pontiac is only the first battleground on which this issue will be fought out. Numerous court suits are pending in many cities involving precisely the same question; next fall, it is reasonable to expect many more American cities to be faced with the reality of integration through bussing.

Indeed, on September 27, a decision issued by Federal Court Judge Stephen Roth in Detroit ruled that the city's schools have been deliberately segregated, and that the Detroit Board of Education must submit a plan to his court which will end this pattern of segregation.

Moreover, Judge Roth's precedent-setting decision went far beyond any previous ruling on the question; it included in its jurisdiction not merely the city of Detroit, but its overwhelmingly white suburbs as well, stating that school segregation was no more acceptable on the suburban side of an arbitrary city limit line than on the other side.

Thus, the questions raised in the

Pontiac school bussing dispute are national in nature, and will be a central issue in American politics in the coming years.

Pontiac, Michigan, lies some 20 miles Northwest of Detroit. The city is dominated by one product — the automobile. Like so many smaller Midwestern cities, it is very much a company town; in this case, the company is General Motors. Some 60 percent of the town's residents depend directly on GM for their living; 25,000 alone work at GM's huge Pontiac Motor Division plant complex on the city's North side.

Pontiac also offers a prime example of absentee ownership. The population of the city is almost entirely working class; the executive and managerial class lives entirely in the wealthy Detroit suburbs of Bloomfield Hills, Birmingham, Auburn Heights, and others which line the 20-mile corridor between Detroit and Pontiac.

Pontiac's population is roughly 40 percent black, but equally important, it is nearly 85 percent Southern in origin. Pontiac's original period of growth was during the industrial boom of the 1920's, when thousands of Southern whites fled the failing farms of their native regions and came North to work in the new and growing industries of the Midwest. During the war, another great migration of Southern people — black and white — hit Pontiac, and this trend has continued in the years since then.

Pontiac is a physically run-down city; most of the existing housing units were built in the '20's and '30's, and look their age. Moreover, the city is financially broke, even more than most urban areas; the effective tax base is continually shrinking, and almost all Federal government money available in Michigan is poured into Detroit in the desperate race to keep that city

one small step ahead of complete insolvency.

As a result, social services run from poor to non-existent — the financial crisis became so bad last year that the city council laid off one third of the city's police force (although an explosion of racial violence in the city's schools forced a hasty cancellation of that move).

Black and White

Racial animosity is hardly something new in Pontiac. Housing patterns are rigidly segregated. Most of the black population is crowded into a crumbling ghetto on the South side; the North side is almost entirely white.

As mentioned above, open violence between blacks and whites broke out less than a year ago; a fight at a football game mushroomed into a three-day race riot centered among high school students, but with the participation of many adults. The city's almost completely white police force handled the outbreak in a predictable manner: black youths were arrested in wholesale sweeps, white rioters were ignored, or even encouraged in a few instances [see "Crisis in the Schools — The Fruits of Racism," Workers' Power no. 24].

The riot reinforced the conviction of Pontiac's black community that any moves on their part toward social change in Pontiac would be met with stiff resistance from both the white population and many of the city's official authorities.

The question of school integration in Pontiac was taken to court two years ago, when the NAACP decided to make Pontiac a test case in this area. The Federal courts ruled that the city was indeed guilty of legally-enforced school segregation, and ordered the parties to the dispute to submit plans for integration.

Last year, Federal Court Judge Damon Keith ruled that the plan submitted by the Pontiac NAACP — which involved the bussing of about 9,000 of Pontiac's 23,000 schoolchildren — was the only plan which met the legal requirements of an integrated school system. Judge Keith's decision was upheld during two appeals in higher Federal courts.

NAG

The reaction of those whites who opposed the integration plan was to form an anti-bussing organization called the National Action Group (NAG) over the summer. The leader of NAG is a 43-year-old woman, Irene McCabe; its base of support comes from a variety of local groups, block clubs, and conservative political groups, and includes out-and-out racist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan.

Shortly before school was to start in September, NAG announced that it was urging parents to boycott the public schools, and that it planned to set up picket lines to stop the busses from rolling.

In late August, one week before school was to begin, the already tense atmosphere in Pontiac was further charged by the firebombing of ten school busses in a night raid. The Justice Department later arrested and charged three self-admitted Ku Klux Klan members with the bombing. Judge Keith made public the fact that the FBI had warned him of a plot to murder him, which had been hatched by the Klan.

When school opened in early September, the NAG boycott kept some 40 per-

cent of Pontiac's schoolchildren home the first day. The group also made good on their threat to picket the busses, in spite of the threat of a Federal court order to end any disruption. NAG's activities attracted much attention and much support from white parents.

Ironically, NAG did not gain much support from the students themselves. Most students, black and white, stated when questioned that they really didn't much care whether they walked to school or went on a bus.

At one school, a group of about 100 students of both races stood on the school lawn one morning watching NAG members walking in a picket line. For 30 minutes, they watched in silence. When the cops arrived and ordered the picketers away with a bullhorn, the students broke out in a loud cheer.

The irony of the situation was lost on the angry white parents, however; the fact that their children could behave maturely did not prevent them from behaving like children. In any case, except for two small fights in a junior high school during the first week, the students affected by the bussing showed complete indifference to the actions taken "in their interest."

The initial success of the boycott became weaker with each passing day, and the threat of a court injunction convinced Mrs. McCabe to call off the picketing. Faced with an impasse, the NAG people adopted a new tactic. They threw up a picket line in front of the GM assembly plant, and asked workers who supported them to stay away from work that day. About half the workers did so, forcing GM to close the plant.

The picket line was announced as a one-shot affair, and was not continued after the first day. Yet, while the closing of the plant did little concretely to aid the anti-bussing cause, it dramatically demonstrated the support that NAG had among the city's white working-class population.

On September 17, the city's policemen demonstrated which side they were on by donating \$300 to NAG through their policemen's union. The public announcement of this gift produced deep resentment in the black community; the donation was taken as further evidence that the city authorities were opposed to them regardless of what the law might say.

The contradiction involved in men whose job was supposedly to enforce the law contributing money to people trying to defy that law was lost on no one; the following day, the policemen's union tried to calm the outcry by giving \$300 to the NAACP. Both groups eventually tore up the checks; but the incident did little to cool a situation already charged with tension.

Racism and Reaction

At this writing, the boycott has been officially cancelled, school attendance is back to normal, and the picketing has been ended. NAG has turned its energies toward further court challenges to the bussing, and into building political support for a Federal Constitutional amendment which would outlaw bussing to achieve integration.

So, for the moment, the crisis is over. Physical integration of Pontiac's schools is an accomplished fact; the much-feared explosion of racial violence among both students and adults has not happened.

Yet the deep social forces which brought Pontiac to the brink are still

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Wage Freeze Scoreboard:

THE FREEZE AT HALF-TIME

Michael Stewart

"Somebody's got to stop inflation. It's going round and round. Where do we gain anything? We don't gain a thing by getting a raise." — Metro Torhan, a Chrysler worker in Detroit.

"I think the freeze stinks. We have raises coming, but as long as there's a freeze we won't get them. This freeze only helps the rich man. The way it is, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer." — Bernard Johnson, a spot welder at the Jefferson Avenue Chrysler plant in Detroit.

The above comments, reported in *The New York Times*, reflect the different opinions about Nixon's wage freeze that exist inside the labor movement. At the beginning of the freeze a majority of workers may have agreed with Mr. Torhan. But today, *The Times* reports, "the attitude of union members...now appears to be antagonistic and often bitter." It is not hard to see why this change has taken place.

While wages were officially frozen by Nixon on August 15, they in fact have been unofficially "frozen" since 1965. This can be seen by comparing 1965 and 1970 wages, calculated in terms of 1967 prices. In terms of 1967 prices, the average spendable weekly earnings for a worker with three dependents was \$91.32 in 1965. At the end of 1970, that same worker got only \$90.32, or a loss in five years of \$1 a week.

Rich Get Richer

What happens now that wages are officially frozen? This will not mean stability — but a further decrease in real, spendable income.

Wages cannot rise any more — but the cost of living will. In August, it rose by 0.4 percent (a yearly rate of 4.8 percent). Nixon's Cost of Living Council claims that this sharp rise was caused by the fact that the price freeze hadn't been felt yet. But even they agree that the cost of living index will continue to rise somewhat, if for no other reason than that some prices are not even "officially" frozen (not to mention taxes, college tuition, etc.). In fact, however, things may be much worse.

During World War II, the Office of Price Administration, which was in charge of controlling prices, had 70,000 people

working for it. Even with that number, Paul Porter, its last Director, admitted that the OPA was hard-pressed to enforce price controls. The facts show that it was more than hard-pressed — prices rose 43 percent during the life of the OPA, twice as much as wages rose!

What happens to the money you lose in wages? It goes to the corporations in the form of higher profits. Thus Bernard Johnson is quite correct when he says that "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer." And this was precisely the goal of the Nixon strategy.

Indeed, the government and the business community which it represents are

united in proclaiming that profits are too low. So workers are compelled to make a "donation" from their wages to corporate profits. Yet Nixon still has the gall to claim that he is only asking everyone to make a sacrifice to get us out of the crisis he got us into.

Nixon's program also called for cutbacks in Federal spending and the firing of thousands of Federal employees. And the cutbacks in spending will be in programs which benefit us, not in those which benefit business.

The war is continuing, and Congress just passed a bill to spend billions of dol-

lars to build a new bomber, more multi-warhead missiles, and other give-aways to the big defense industries. While these programs will provide more jobs, many more jobs could have been provided by spending money on projects which would benefit people, such as new housing, hospitals, and schools.

There are currently thousands of teachers unemployed, but no one is claiming that there are too many teachers in the schools, or that there are too many schools. The problem, again, is that these programs are not as profitable to business, and so are being cut back.

As recognition of the real nature of Nixon's program has grown, opposition to it has also grown. In New York, District Council 37 of AFSCME has set up committees to monitor prices in the city. When the committees see any price increase, they report them to the IRS, in hopes of forcing a roll-back. This is a good idea, and unions throughout the country should follow the example by establishing neighborhood price control committees.

Act Now

Such action, however, should not be seen as a way to ensure "equality of sacrifice," but as one part of a struggle against the entire policy of the wage freeze. Thus it must be combined with other programs.

In Detroit, the AFL-CIO held a demonstration against the freeze and the war on September 23, at a meeting where Nixon was speaking. The demonstration attracted at least 5,000 people, and would have been much larger if the United Auto Workers, the largest union in Detroit, had supported it (see accompanying article).

Similar demonstrations could be used, to build support for the demand for a national one-day work stoppage to fight the freeze, an idea which has been raised by several unions around the country.

In the past it was only through massive strike action that the labor movement has been able to keep up with inflation. Unless decisive action is taken now, workers have no chance at all.

Nixon's program was not aimed at relieving workers of the need for striking, as Mr. Torhan implies, but rather, by denying that right, to achieve what the corporations were unable to achieve, a cut in workers' wages. If the government is to be defeated in this effort, it will take a militant struggle by a united labor movement. ■

At press time, Nixon has outlined plans for "Phase 2," to follow the end of the wage freeze November 13. But Nixon's speech really answered no major questions.

There was no answer on whether wage increases in existing contracts will be allowed. And there was no indication of what wage guidelines will be adopted.

Aside from hoopla on "a great new era" ahead, Nixon's speech contained what *Workers' Power* has predicted since August:

(1) wage control boards with seats for labor, business, and "the public"; (2) price control boards; (3) the Cost of Living Council will have power to impose "sanctions," but Nixon hopes for voluntary compliance.

Rejecting profit controls, Nixon said his aim is to increase profits. His promise to curb "windfall profits" was in fact only a request to business to "pass along a fair share" of excessive profits by cutting prices!

The speech was most notable for its

soft line. Though ready to get tough, Nixon badly wants to avoid a war with labor. The next weeks will tell whether with the help of Meany & Co. he will succeed.

Now is the time for labor's ranks to hit hard — to demand every penny due in existing contracts — to demand an increased standard of living in new contracts — to demand that Meany & Co. refuse seats on Nixon's boards, and lead the fight for all that working people need. ■

Phase II

Detroit: Labor Pickets Nixon

Marsha Lind



On Sept. 23 Nixon came to Detroit to give an after dinner speech at the Detroit Economic Club at Cobo Hall. Many thought he would outline Phase II of his "New Economic Policy" and give it a trial run in front of Detroit's many Labo: bureaucrats.

From the first, nothing quite worked out as expected. Inside, Nixon contented himself with mouthing platitudes to the cream of Detroit's ruling class. Outside, the dinner became the occasion for a massive demonstration against the wage freeze and the war.

Several different groups began organizing the demonstration as soon as the plans for the speech were announced. Doyle Whorley, from the Lithographers and Photo Engravers Union, Local 9-L, proposed an AFL-CIO sponsored demonstration to protest the wage-freeze. Jerry Deneau, from the same union, argued the proposal to include a protest against the war.

Tom Turner, head of the Detroit Metropolitan Council of the AFL-CIO, called for a demonstration of all who had been hurt by Nixon's Economic Policy and people who are against the war. An ad hoc coalition of Detroit radical groups also called for a demonstration against the wage

freeze, for immediate withdrawal from Viet Nam, jobs for all, and an end to racism and sexism.

Both the AFL-CIO and the Detroit Coalition leafleted plant gates, downtown, and local campuses. Much of the Coalition's efforts went to leafletting auto factories, despite the UAW's announced opposition to a demonstration.

The demonstration included representatives from many groups: the Michigan Education Association, the Detroit Federation of Teachers, auto workers—notably members of the United National Caucus, Michigan Bell Telephone workers, anti-war vets, women from the Livonia Women's Center, the National Organization of Women, the Detroit International Socialists, and many others. Over 5,000 in all were there; black and white, women and men, young and old, workers and students.

The turn-out for the demonstration was especially impressive since Detroit's "liberal" newspaper, the Detroit Free Press, asked people to stay at home in an editorial the day before the demonstration. The same was true of some TV stations. Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers, also advised "his" people to stay home. He said

he didn't want them to jeopardize their November wage increase. Later Woodcock and his side-kick Emil Mazey announced that all UAW action against the freeze would be held off until a special UAW convention in Detroit Nov. 13.

The labor bureaucrats were divided among themselves as to where they should be during the demonstration. Myra Wolfgang, International Vice-President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, was outside the hall picketing the dinner. Tom Turner was outside too. Leonard Woodcock and other UAW and Teamster bureaucrats were absent from both the dinner and the demonstration.

Charles Younglove, former liberal hope of Great Lakes Steel workers, and present director of the District 29 United Steelworkers, was the only labor representative at the dinner. With Younglove present, Nixon could say: "we do have a labor leader here tonight".

Only time will tell how militant the AFL-CIO and other labor leaders are willing to be. Woodcock said at the beginning of the wage freeze: "no contract, no work", and threatened a war against the freeze. But in a recent guest editorial in the Detroit

Free Press, he simply calls for profit controls in Phase II and accepts the fact that wage controls will still be in effect.

The AFL-CIO will no doubt support the Democrats in '72, the party called for the wage-price controls. In organizing the demonstration, the AFL-CIO pressed for an anti-Nixon and anti-Griffin, a Michigan Republican senator, approach in their network interviews. They hinted at a possible labor-student-black-antiwar coalition to elect Democrats.

Some demonstrators, including the IS, met this with leaflets and pickets calling for independent political action in '72 and stressing the need for a party of labor and its allies.

In interviews, union spokesmen welcomed the broad participation of students and other groups. Jerry Deneau said of the demonstration, "I was pleased to see working people along with welfare mothers and all the anti-war protesters."

This reflects a new stage for both the labor and anti-war movements—a new stage of militancy for the labor movement and a new level of maturity among anti-war protesters, who are finding that the working class is a powerful ally. ■

During the week of August 22-29, 45 maids at Eastern Illinois University were laid off by the administration and replaced by student scabs. The maids refused to be intimidated and threw up a picket line.

The maids belong to AFSCME Local 981, a chapter that also represents the janitors, cooks, laundry workers and food service employees on the EIU campus. Their jobs consist of cleaning dorms and providing linen for the students.

Like their counterparts on many other campuses, the maids have been the victims of a whole string of insults and abuse thrown at them by the housing department. Their resentment boiled over this summer when the Director of Student Housing celebrated his appointment as their immediate supervisor by beginning a campaign

of hassling and harassment.

When the maids got together and filed a grievance, the Director stepped up his program of persecution, topped off by the lockout and the introduction of scabs. The timing of the lockout—between semesters—was calculated to minimize student support for the maids.

The militant response on the part of the maids, meeting the layoff with a strike, forced the University to back down and open up negotiations. All 45 have since been reinstated, and one of the maids has been appointed supervisor, replacing the Director of Student Housing.

The determination demonstrated by the maids, and the feeling of solidarity they developed during the strike, has set an example for every worker on the campus. ■



Nanita Bendino

NEW YORK
TELEPHONE:

Beirne vs. the Strike

William Hastings

The strike of 38,000 New York Telephone Plant craftsmen is now in its twelfth week, despite the best efforts of President Joseph Beirne of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) to force a settlement as close to company terms as possible.

Back in July, when Beirne called the first national telephone strike since 1947, he talked a lot about why we needed a 25 percent increase now, about an end to discrimination against women telephone workers, and much more. Shortly after we went out on July 14, he announced that the strike would last for at least two weeks, which was the length of time needed for a mail vote of the membership.

Six days after the strike started, Beirne ordered everyone to return to work while we voted on the contract. What had happened to change his mind?

The company's new offer made just after the start of the strike included a "modified agency shop." This requires all employees to pay dues to Beirne, whether or not they are union members.

From Beirne's point of view, this was worth the sellout — he now has a larger dues base while at the same time many militants who are fed up with him can be pressured to quit the union (but still have to pay dues).

Not everyone returned to work when



ordered. All of New York State stayed out, as well as many of the other big city locals. If New York City Local 1101, the largest local in the CWA, had taken the initiative and called on the rest of the country to stay out, we could have seen the beginning of an alliance of big city locals to fight Beirne, whose base is in the small cities and the South.

But instead, the local presidents in New York State allowed the other locals to return one by one, until only New York was out. With everyone except New York back at work, the result of the mail vote was exactly what anyone could have predicted — overwhelming acceptance, except in New York State.

Beirne waited until August 14 to announce that vote. The locals in New York which had been out for a month breathed a sigh of relief as the vote went against the contract in the state. But this sigh turned into a gasp of horror the next night when Nixon announced the wage freeze.

The initial response of the local was that we would stay out and fight for our raise now — against the freeze. There were signs that the bargaining committee was falling back from that, until the company finally said that it felt it could get the raise now, provided we settled for exactly what they offered us in July.

A push was made in 1101 for a mem-

bership meeting so that a fight could be made for us to take the initiative in attacking the freeze. But despite efforts made by United Action (a rank and file group in the local), the now non-existent strike committee, and some of the officers, the Executive Board voted against calling such a meeting.

Beirne, meanwhile, was forced to open up part of the \$15 million defense fund to the New York locals, two weeks after what he considered the "start" of the strike — August 19. This meant that people could be paid for picketing up to \$30 a week (depending on the size of their family).

In New York State, strikers receive unemployment insurance payments of \$75 a week after seven weeks of strike. This was slightly delayed by the company, and then as soon as people started receiving their checks, the defense fund money was cut off. This has meant that many people who have been on strike for 12 weeks and have many bills are expected to get by on the unemployment alone.

Beirne's failure to back up the New York membership is tied to the position he put himself in. When he announced the terms of the settlement, he said that this was the best contract he could get from the Bell System. If we win more in New York, we will have shown the rest

of the country that Beirne sold them out.

Beirne is supporting us only as much as he is required to do by the union constitution. If the New York strike is victorious, it will open up the possibility that the other locals in the country will reopen their contracts and renegotiate a settlement like ours.

What Beirne could do — and what CWA members in New York should be demanding he do, is the following: (1) Pull out those locals from which management personnel have been brought in to scab. (2) Continue the strike fund payments. (3) Call for all work done in the rest of the country to be "by the book" so that pressure is brought to bear on the whole Bell System, which is what we are really up against. (4) Assess those members working to help pay for strike benefits.

Beirne said that the International would do everything possible to see that those members caught in the freeze did not suffer any inequities with the rest of the country. If he means this, Beirne, as a Vice-President of the AFL-CIO, should be fighting for a position of opposition to wage controls and no labor participation on control boards.

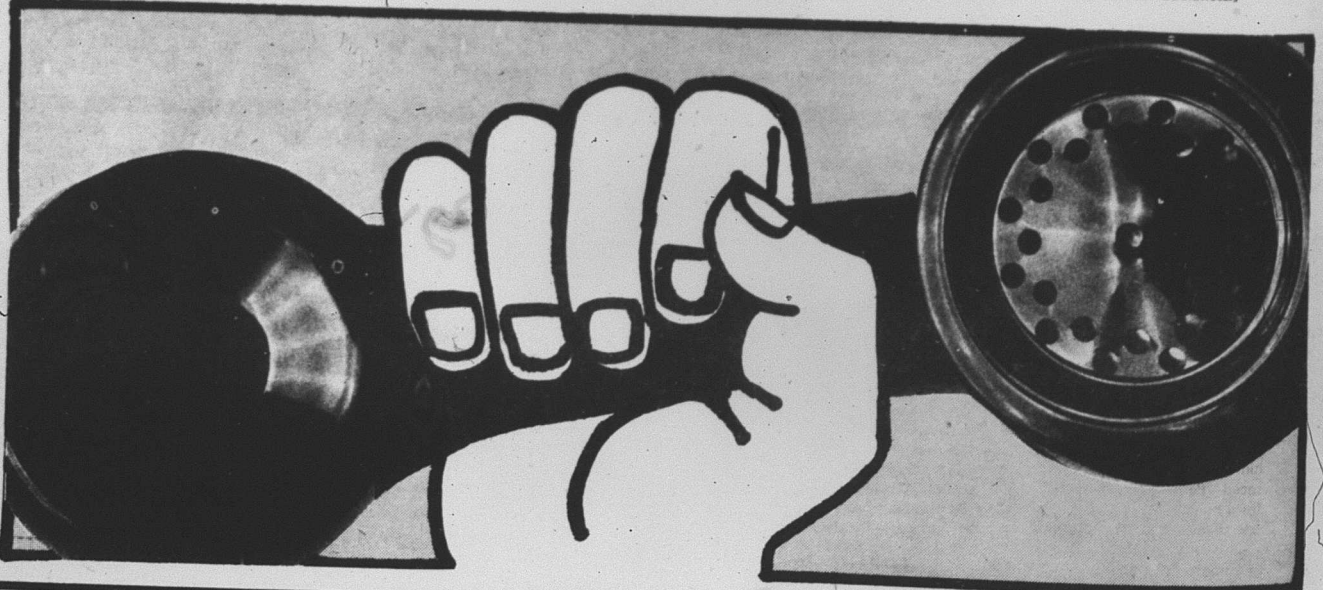
While the procedure for impeaching Beirne is very difficult, it would be relatively easy to get rid of Morton Bahr, International Vice-President for District One. A petition to impeach Bahr should be started now, while the strike is still on.

After the strike, a national opposition to Beirne must be built around a program that can unite the membership of the big city locals. Such a program must begin with opposition to wage controls and go on to attack the racial and sexual discrimination that the phone company is so notorious for. It must make the fight for equality a major aspect of its work.

Any opposition must also take up the increasing automation of the phone company and the effect it will have on jobs, especially since the CWA has never negotiated job definitions. Moreover, union democracy, from the local level to the international level, must replace the dictatorial power that Beirne holds.

In the meantime, the most effective way to lay the basis for such an opposition would be a successful contract fight in New York State. ■

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



A Nice Place To Visit, But...

Felix Wyatt



Arthur Hailey

dustry. There is lots of dialogue about social responsibility, ecology, Ralph Nader, etc., but Hailey usually gives the industry the benefit of the doubt. He also seems to be hardly aware that such a thing as the UAW exists.

The book has no central theme or character, unless a new improved type of car called the Orion may be considered to fill that slot. Instead, *Wheels* skips from one protagonist to the other, sometimes straining to establish relationships between them. It examines Motor City from a variety of angles, but all of them are seen through a glass, darkly.

One section worth reading tells some of the tricks car salesmen are liable to pull, although it is the used car dealers that really take the prize for larceny. Unfortunately, the author doesn't go into the hassle involved in trying to get a warranty honored.

Hailey's impressions of Detroit are mainly negative. He doesn't like the weather or the drivers. Here again we have to differ with him.

Coming from the boring climate of the Bahamas, he should be grateful for the stimulating variety we enjoy here. Also, Detroit drivers are less reckless than those of Los Angeles, more polite than New Yorkers, and more skillful than Bostonians. If he'd complained about the food, Hailey might have had a case. ■

[Felix Wyatt is an auto worker in Detroit and a member of the International Socialists.]

WHEELS, by Arthur Hailey; Doubleday, 374 pp., \$7.95.

It's so rare to find an industrial worker portrayed in a popular novel that when the event happens, it's worth checking out. Well, there's a worker in *Wheels*, Arthur Hailey's new novel about Detroit — but don't get your hopes up too high.

The only auto worker who gets more than passing mention in the whole book is a 29-year-old black man named Rollie Knight. Now the average Detroit assembly line worker, black or white, is probably a high school graduate with two children, a three year old car, six years on the line, and a flat on the East Side or in Hamtramck. Knight, on the other hand, is pure "lumpen" — an uneducated, apathetic, unsuccessful, small-time hustler.

He's a perpetual sucker for anyone looking for a fall-guy; a three-time loser who only goes into auto because the cops are after him again and he wants to stay off the street.

There are people like Knight on the line. There are also, thanks to the Nixon recession, people with Ph.D's. But neither type is representative of the industry.

Dog-Eat-Dog?

Nor is the plant Knight works in typical of any I've worked in or heard about. The employees there are so busy gambling, selling dope, stealing parts, committing sabotage, harassing the foreman, and pushing each other around, it's a wonder any cars come off the line at all.

During Knight's first day on the line one of his fellow workers decides to try to get him fired just for kicks. (Knight later retaliates by dropping an engine on his hand.) In reality, assembly line work is only tolerable because auto workers help each other out.

Even experienced workers get behind once in a while. No new-hire could survive if the person beside him didn't help him keep up until he developed some speed. People don't wait to be asked for a hand, because they might need one themselves any minute.

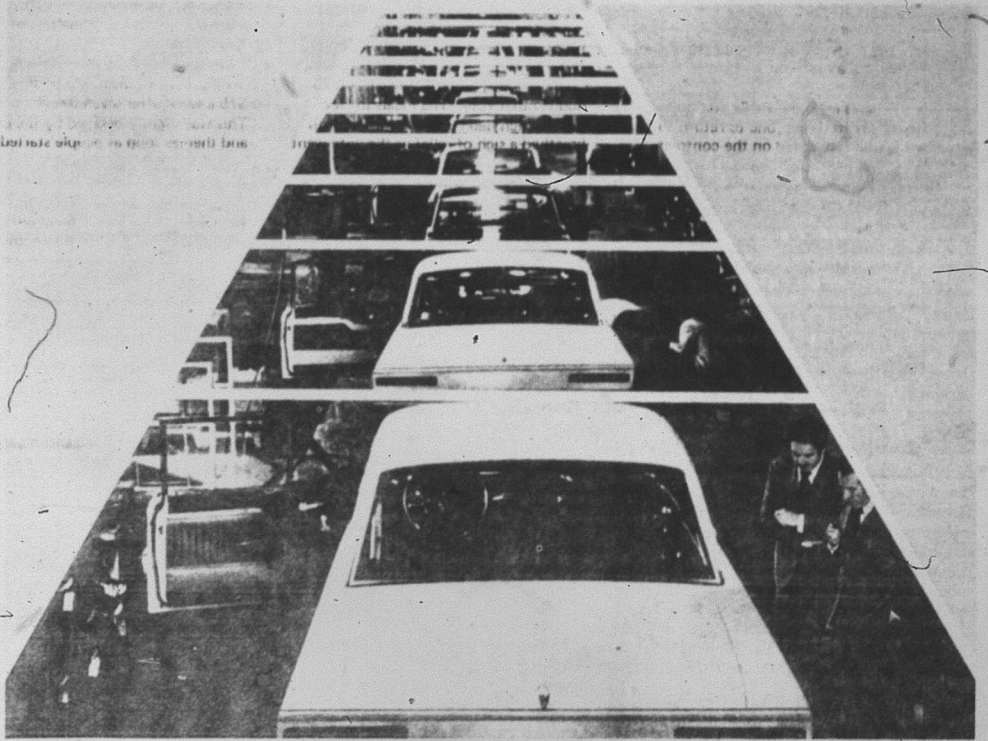
But what comes across in the book is a dog-eat-dog jungle. Granted that auto work is not fun, but very few jobs

are, and they all get done. People who feel sorry for themselves don't last long on the line.

The other characters in the book may be more accurate, but are less interesting. The executives seem identical to those in recent novels about Madison Avenue and Hollywood: they work too hard, neglect their wives, and worry about their integrity. We are introduced to some much-harassed-from-both-sides lower-management types, but these are

not really developed.

Wheels contains a good deal of interesting information about the industry itself. Most of it, however, is already common knowledge, at least in Detroit — things like the inadvisability of buying a car built during Monday, Friday, the deer hunting season, the World Series, or the month after changeover. Hailey also goes into some of the techniques of development, promotion, and industrial espionage practiced in the in-



WHEELS

ARTHUR HAILEY

Mike
Weston



Framed

stairs. When his wife asked why he was being taken away, they arrested her for disorderly conduct.

Smith was taken to the Fourth District station. With his arms still handcuffed behind him, Smith was led into the station yard. Two officers held him. A third worked him over with a black-jack, concentrating the blows in the stomach. When the beating was over, Smith was warned to keep his "cocksucking mouth shut about this."

Smith's wife was convicted of disorderly conduct, fined \$10, and given a suspended sentence. Smith was charged with three offenses:

Disorderly conduct. The police said Smith yelled at them and the judge fined him \$10.

Assaulting a police officer. Neither the prosecutor, the four policemen, nor the judge could devise a way to make this charge sound believable, and it was dropped.

Carrying a concealed weapon. Lewis Smith will be tried for this on November 3, 1971. In Ohio this means from one to three years imprisonment.

At the trial for disorderly conduct, the public prosecutor made it quite clear that Smith was not on trial for this, or for assaulting a cop, or even for the "crime" of wearing a revolver in his own house when some police happen to break in illegally without a warrant. The prosecutor emphasized that Smith is a militant black organizer, a "trouble-maker" at GE, and that this was the government's big chance to put him behind bars.

If Smith is jailed, it will be as a political prisoner. The police department created an "incident." They beat him. They framed him with phony charges. Smith's real crime is organizing workers against racial injustice, sell-out labor bosses, and the General Electric Company.

There is reason to believe that GE had a direct hand in this. Usually they don't have to bother as the police and courts automatically work in their favor. But the first day Smith returned to work, a high-ranking plainclothes security officer at the plant asked what had happened over the weekend.

He asked Smith if he were guilty. Smith said no - to which the officer smugly replied, "I thought you'd say that." This man had no way of knowing what had happened or that anything had happened at all - unless, of course, he was in direct touch with the Cincinnati



police about Lewis Smith.

Funds are needed for Smith's defense. A JOB committee has been established to raise the money. Smith's attorney needs access to the contradictory police testimony from the Grand Jury proceedings, but capitalist justice demands that a defendant pay \$150 to the court before his lawyer can get a copy of the hearing. An additional \$400 must be raised to cover court costs and legal fees.

The ruling class is making an example of Lewis Smith. They are framing him with the hope that other militant workers will point to Smith and say, "We can't fight back. Smitty did and they nailed him." This is why this frame-up is an attack on all workers, be they black or white, who are fighting for a change.

We must turn the tables on the bosses and their lieutenants in the courts and police departments. We must make Smith into our own example and teach the ruling class a lesson it sadly needs to learn: they dare not lay a hand on working class leaders. ■

[Send contributions to:
JOB Defense Fund
P.O. Box 20001
Burnet Woods Station
Cincinnati, Ohio 45220.
Make checks payable to: Justice, Opportunity, & Betterment.]

At 4:30 PM on Sunday, February 21, Lewis Smith was standing at the back door of his second-story apartment. Smith, chairman of Justice, Opportunity and Betterment (JOB), a black workers' organization at the General Electric plant in Cincinnati, had returned home two hours before after addressing an anti-war rally at the University of Cincinnati.

As Smith was talking with his wife, four policemen charged up the stairway. Smith opened the door and politely asked them what they wanted. He had been interrogated by Federal agents about his activities at GE and knew the authorities were out to get him. He also knew that white policemen needed but the slightest excuse to beat the hell out of a black man and never be called to answer for it in court. In his case, it turned out that not even a slight excuse was necessary.

Class Justice

The officers said they were responding to a phone call about a "disturbance." Smith asked his wife if she had called. She hadn't. He told the police that no one had called, that there was no disturbance, and began to close the door. They forced it open.

Smith asked them if they had a warrant to enter his home or to arrest him. It later turned out that the police had no warrant, but without answering, they entered the apartment. As he backed down the hallway, demanding that the police leave his home at once, the wheels of

class "justice" began grinding away at Lewis Smith.

The four officers grabbed Smith, slammed him against the wall, handcuffed him, and disarmed him (because of the many threats on his life he has received from racists at the plant, Smith often carried a revolver in self-defense). They shoved Smith out the back door and pushed him down two flights of

On Thursday, September 23, 5,000 black men and women in Detroit, including many workers from nearby auto plants, walked off the job and into the streets for a march and rally sponsored by the State of Emergency Committee, to protest the killing six days earlier of two young blacks, Craig Mitchell and Ricardo Buck.

The demonstration was also aimed at the oppression suffered by inmates behind the walls of the Wayne County jail, and the new national wave of racist and political oppression represented by the massacre of 30 prisoners at Attica, the assassination of George Jackson, and the case of Angela Davis.

Both Mitchell and Buck were gunned down by Richard Worobec, a member of the STRESS unit (Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets), which functions as the elite assassination squad of the Detroit police department. These latest killings represented the tenth and eleventh "potential criminals" summarily tried and executed by the redoubtable

STRESS squad since May.

Officer Worobec, a veteran of the assault in 1969 on a meeting of the Republic of New Africa at the New Bethel Church, has figured prominently in at least one other recent STRESS shooting - thus compiling, by the standards of the Detroit Police Department, an enviable record in a rather short span of time.

The STRESS unit was purportedly formed to combat crime in the streets of Detroit. The prime focus of this combat was, of course, to be the solidly black area of the inner city.

STRESS teams utilize the age-old methods of entrapment and provocation, armed with a license to kill by the city of Detroit. STRESS has become a vehicle through which racist cops carry on a systematic campaign of terror and repression in the black community.

Spurred into action by the killings of Buck and Mitchell, several organizations with bases in the inner city grouped together to fight back. The State of Emergency Committee includes the NAACP,

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STRESS: License To Kill

Dan Potter

George Jacksons

Ann Cohen

Justice is a word
that frees the
capitalists.
Justice is a word
that imprisons the
revolutionists.
Freedom is what
capitalists can
buy.
Freedom is why
George Jacksons
die.

In terms of history, prisons are a recent invention. During the ancient Roman Empire, based on slavery, law-breakers were punished by death, torture, mutilation or fines. It was a strict rule that jails could only be used to hold people until their trials, not for punishment.

The Emperor Justinian said—and it was an old rule by then—“Prisons should be maintained for holding men, not for punishing them.” During the medieval period also, the lords punished their serfs by chopping off ears or killing them, but rarely put them into their small private dungeons.

It was only with the rise of capitalism that imprisonment became an accepted form of punishment.

Under feudalism, serfs had to work for the Masters on the Masters' land for a certain part of the year. In return, they were guaranteed a part of the year to work on “their own” land. But with the growth of capitalism—in England especially—the serfs were thrown off “their” land, which the Lords used for sheep-grazing and other more profitable pursuits.

Large numbers of ex-serfs roamed the roads and flocked to the towns. Many became the first factory workers. Others became thieves and beggars.

Still others simply starved to death on the open road.

In the late 16th Century, the rich and powerful decided that this was a waste of labor and that something had to be done. They set up Workhouses for the “honest poor” who could not get jobs. There the poor worked very hard for very low pay.

For those who did not want to slave away in these Workhouses, so-called Houses of Correction were built. They were not really for “correcting” the “sturdy beggars” but for forcing them to work, like the later Russian slave labor camps.

The out-and-out thieves and criminals were thrown into the old and overcrowded jails. After a while the actual differences between jails, Houses of Correction and Workhouses disappeared. This was the beginning of our prison system.

These old-fashioned prisons were run as “private enterprises.” A manager would pay to get a “contract” to run a prison. He would make money from the convicts by selling them their food, bedding, clothes and so on.

These penal entrepreneurs all ran bars and sold rotgut gin at high prices to people who had nothing to do with themselves but drink. Many prisoners ran deeply into debt to their

jailers. Even if they had finished their sentences, they could not leave until—and if—someone had paid their debts.

Around the time of the Industrial Revolution it was decided that the old slapdash way of running prisons was inefficient. The modern penitentiary system was founded in the two most advanced capitalist countries in the world, England and America.

Many of those who planned the prisons were well-meaning reformers who really wanted to “correct” the poor workers who had been driven to crime by poverty and misery. Instead, they created houses of horror. They built “penitentiaries” where everyone lived and worked in total solitary confinement, which was supposed to lead to soul-saving and “penitence” but in fact led to insanity.

Other prisons permitted the people to work together but not talk or look at each other. In some places all prisoners had to wear masks. In early Massachusetts prisons, the convicts had their numbers tattooed onto their arms, like inmates of the Nazi concentration camps.

From that day to this, prisoners have been treated as children, or

machines, or animals, but never as individual people.

The history of prisons is also tied up with the spread of capitalist imperialism. As the capitalist countries took over and divided the earth, they used their new territories as vast prisons.

In the 19th Century, France built vast prisons on three islands off French Guiana in South America, one of which was the famous Devil's Island (its first prisoner was Captain Dreyfus). There the convicts were worked to death under conditions not to be equaled until the rise of modern death camps, in Hitler's Germany and elsewhere.

The British used the American colonies as dumping grounds for “undesirables.” Maryland and Georgia were settled first by prisoners. In fact, America was settled to a large degree by convicts, criminals, and “dissolute persons”—the kind of people who are in Attica prison today.

After the Revolution, prisoners were shipped to Australia's Botany Bay. Just as in America, the Australian criminals and their children became honest, upstanding, hardworking citizens—with their own prisons.

It was after England could no longer use either Australia or America as human garbage heaps that the capitalist governments began the large-scale building of modern penitentiaries.

Prisons fit—belong to—the capitalist way of looking at things. Convicts are treated like the workers in a factory, only more so. In fact, they are treated like the products in a factory.

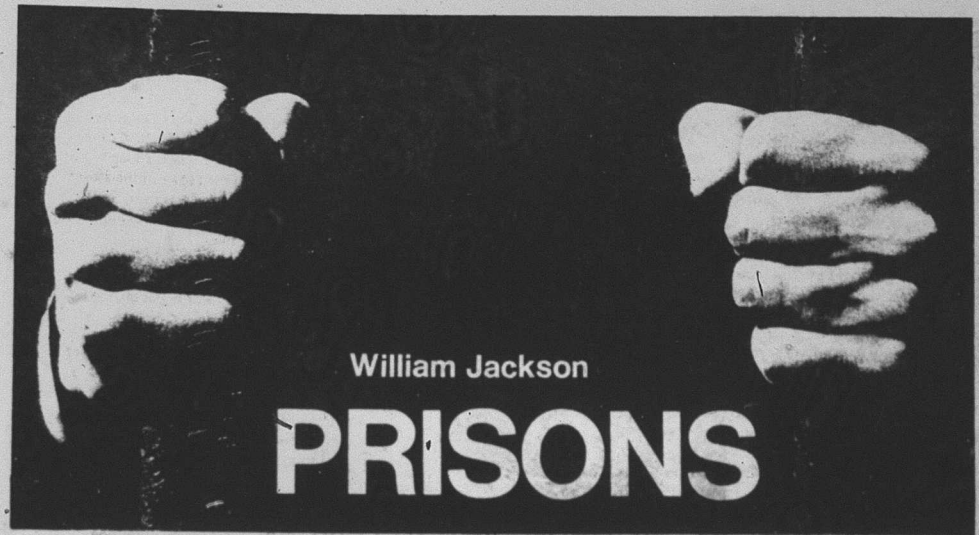
In the words of a psychoanalyst who was in the Nazi prisons:

Both the concentration camps and the death camps, and what happened in them, were an application beyond reason of the concept of labor as a commodity. In the camps not only human labor but the total person became a commodity....

(Bruno Bettelheim, *The Informed Heart*.)

Just as socialism will replace capitalism, so it will replace prisons. Crime is a social product. As poverty and oppression are brought to an end, as we abolish an economic system built on stealing and cheating (the so-called “profit motive”), so we will end the need for prisons.

As prisons came in with capitalism, so they will go out with it.



William Jackson

PRISONS

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Republic of New Africa, the Black Panther Party, the Michigan Guardians (a black policemen's organization), and the recently formed Black Workers' Congress.

The target of the September 23 march was the Wayne County Jail, where following the uprising at Attica Prison, prisoners were beaten and otherwise abused by armed thugs from the Tactical Mobile Unit while guards conducted a cell-by-cell and strip search of the jail. As the route of the march neared the jail, hundreds of voices reached down through the barred windows to the streets below, with shouts and cheers of solidarity.

The march ended at Kennedy Square with speeches by Committee representatives. Kenneth Cockrell, one of the leaders of the Black Workers' Congress, linked the repression of blacks to the general oppression and exploitation faced by all workers and unemployed in this society, and posed the question of a future alliance of these oppressed groups.



OCTOBER 23, 1956:

Hungarian Workers Revolt Against Stalinism

James Coleman

A Tuesday evening in late October, 1956, in Budapest, Hungary. Ten thousand people, mainly students, had been gathered since mid-afternoon in a demonstration for liberalization of the government. Hungary's Communist regime, nervous after months of criticism, had first banned the demonstration, then given permission to hold it.

Toward dusk, the demonstrators began a march toward Budapest's Parliament building. On the way, workers off the day shifts joined in. At Parliament, the demonstrators stood until an official cut power to all the lights in the building and the square.

Flames flickered: torches made from newspapers lit the crowd. They moved off again, toward the radio station, to ask to broadcast the demands of the demonstration. On the way, one group split off to a park where an immense statue of the Russian dictator Stalin stood.

The crowd tried to pull the statue down with ropes. It still stood. Then a workman must have come forward, for an acetylene torch was applied to the statue's knees. It fell with a great clang.

At the radio station the crowd met a line of AVO — the political police. Negotiations — a small group would be allowed in to read the demands. An hour passed with no word from inside; then two hours. Shouts rose: "Let them out!" "Free our delegates!"

The crowd pressed up against the line of police. Shots came from the windows of the building, then machine-gun fire. Then shots from the crowd toward the machine guns. The demonstrators broke into the building and occupied it, although they controlled only the lower floors. Then a momentary lull.

Toward midnight seven Hungarian army tanks rolled into the street. Some demonstrators ran. Then the soldiers climbed out of their tanks, cheering the demonstrators. Someone shouted, "Come on, the army is with us!" The crowd surged back into the radio building.

So began, exactly fifteen years ago, the Hungarian revolution against Stalinism. It was crushed in less than three weeks, yet it shook the power of Stalinist Russia. It smashed the political claim of Stalinism to stand for human freedom. And although this may seem paradoxical — for it was directed against people, who called themselves Communists — the Hungarian revolution proved again the truth of the fundamental ideas of revolutionary socialism expressed by Marx and Lenin.

This revolution against a "Communist" dictatorship started, like many previous revolutions in history, among the intellectual groups in society — students and writers. But it gained its power when the overwhelming mass of the Hungarian working class joined it.

As in other revolutions, the workers fought for ideas of political freedom and national independence so popular that even the armed agents of the rulers — the police and the army, except for the AVO



or political police — joined the revolt. At the same time the workers created their own organizations of self-government — the nationwide system of Workers' Councils.

1. Russian Power

The fundamental fact of Hungarian life after World War II was Russian power. The control of Hungary by Russian troops at the end of the war made Hungary a Russian possession. Although Hungary's Communist Party received only 17 percent of the votes in the first post-war election, Russian pressure forced the majority party to accept a coalition government in which control of the army, the police, and the AVO

(political police) was given to the Communist Party (CP).

Similar coalition governments were established in all the states the Russian army controlled. All were willing servants of the USSR, but they included the capitalists and landlords, gambling on surviving through a pro-Russian policy. This lasted only as long as the alliance between the United States and the USSR — between world capitalism and Stalinism. When the alliance broke apart, and capitalism and Stalinism divided into enemy camps, the USSR drove for total control by the local Communists.

In Hungary the CP, in a series of parliamentary maneuvers, combined with the arrests of opposition political leaders, drove all opposition groups out of existence between 1947 and 1949. In 1949, it was the only legal party.

Immediately afterward, the CP itself was purged; thousands of party members who were or were thought to be even slightly independent of Moscow were jailed, and some were executed.

This entire process was carried out from above, mainly through police action. Never did the CP encourage the working class to struggle for its rights. Exactly the opposite: although the post-war government carried out several popular reforms — such as breaking up Hungary's huge landed estates and distributing the land to the farmers, and nationalizing the major industries — the CP was constructing a machine designed to squeeze blood from both farmers and workers.

As the CP achieved total power, the working class lost all rights. Strikes were illegal. Industrial production shot up, defenders of the regime claimed proudly. But this was accomplished by forced methods such as the universal use of piece-work, the imposition of "voluntary production competitions" as often as a dozen times a year, bonuses for the "best" workers, and ever-increasing production goals. Wages fell and were lowered even more by "voluntary" patriotic contributions amounting to as much as one-eighth of the worker's wage.

In the countryside, the farmers who had only recently received land of their own were forced to join "collective farms." Although the aim was to increase production by controlling the farmers; the angry farmers responded by producing as little as they could get away with.

2. "De-Stalinization"

Policies like these were followed in every Eastern European country. By 1953, economic difficulties and the total dictatorship had produced explosive situations. In March, 1953, Stalin died in Moscow, and the lid began to rise.

Workers' demonstrations occurred in Czechoslovakia; then, a construction wor-



Polish strike helped touch off Hungarian uprising.

kers' strike in East Berlin became a three-day insurrection covering most of East Germany. In both cases, troops were used to crush the workers.

No disturbances took place in Hungary, but the regime in power in Moscow, headed by Georgi Malenkov, decided that a "new course" might avoid trouble. Malenkov also hoped more lenient policies toward farmers might increase farm production, both in Eastern Europe and in Russia.

On Moscow's "advice," Imre Nagy (pronounced *Nodge*) was picked as new head of Hungary's CP. Nagy indeed followed somewhat more lenient policies. Farmers were allowed to dissolve collective farms by majority vote; but the conditions of workers changed very little.

The new policies did not solve the agricultural problem, but they led to one result not intended by Nagy or Malenkov — sharper and sharper criticisms of the situation in Hungary, mainly by writers. Poets, novelists, and playwrights had always taken part in Hungary's political struggles. Now, although no one was yet bold enough to denounce the government directly, the literary magazines were suddenly full of poems and articles exposing the conditions of fear and poverty in Hungary.

In early 1955, Malenkov fell from power in Moscow, and two months later, Nagy in Hungary followed him. The old leaders returned and tried to suppress the growing criticisms. For a while it was touch and go.

Again, conditions in Russia determined those of Hungary — in this case, Khrushchev's speech in early 1956 exposing the crimes of Stalin. To the unrepentant but prudent Stalinists heading Hungary's CP, it clearly said: "Keep the lid on, but don't go too far." But to the intellectuals, it seemed to say: "We have a friend in the Kremlin."

A discussion group called the Petofi Circle (named after a poet of the revolution of 1848) began holding philosophical, then political meetings; the meetings grew until on June 27, 1956, at a meeting lasting until 3:30 AM, more than 2,000 people heard speakers demanding free speech, a free press, changes in policy, and even a change of government.

No further sessions were allowed. Later that summer, the government thought to appease the writers by allow-

ing a group of 300 to visit Vienna by Danube River steamer. The effect was the opposite: the writers returned to Budapest in a mood of desperation, determined to demand more changes.

Hungarian workers took no boat trips on the Danube. Their mood of bitterness grew because of their own conditions. Sabotage and theft were widespread in the shops.

In a story published around this time, the dissident Communist novelist Tibor Dery described a CP loyalist in a factory, who tells his wife of berating and threatening a worker caught stealing. The wife replies: "God forgive us. He stole because he wasn't earning enough."

In addition to their conditions, workers as well as students were influenced — paradoxically — by the propaganda of the regime. The basic ideas of socialism — ideas of workers' control of production and the state — were used as rhetoric by the regime to justify its own dictatorship, but these ideas had a life of their own: those who heard them remembered them, and later used them against the regime.

Finally, there was an international aspect to the growing unrest. Just as the uprisings in Czechoslovakia and East Germany had influenced the turn to the "new course" in 1953, now events in Poland had an echo in Budapest.

3. Reform to Revolution

In June, workers in Poznan, Poland, had gone on strike and a full-scale political strike involving most workers in the city had developed. Troops were used to crush it. Public outrage led to a growing demand to bring in a more "liberal" Communist boss (Gomulka, who in 1970 was himself forced to resign by massive strikes). The Budapest demonstration of October 23, which touched off Hungary's revolt, was called to support the reform movement in Poland, as well as to demand reforms in Hungary.

The slogans of this demonstration called for reforms — for "an independent national policy" and equality in relations with Russia; for changes in the collective farms; for management of factories by "workers and specialists"

for a government headed by Imre Nagy. The mood was more far-reaching — for a complete change in government, for complete withdrawal of Russian troops. But it was the outbreak of fighting, itself, which turned the movement from one of reform to one of revolution.

As soon as the fighting started, Hungarian army units sided with the rebels. The Stalinist government called in Russian troops. The rebels fought back; in several days of street fighting, they were able to hold their own, until the government was forced to draw back the Russian troops to try to calm the situation.

During these several days, the situation changed completely: the workers in Budapest occupied the factories and elected Workers' Councils. The Councils immediately became the workers' political representatives, debating demands and then presenting them to the government.

Roughly one day behind Budapest, the provincial cities revolted. In each case, there were skirmishes or battles with Russian troops, demonstrations, election of Workers' Councils, a takeover of the radio stations by the workers' councils, and the broadcasting of demands on the government. The Russian troops were withdrawn to their barracks. By the end of the week most of Hungary was actually under control of the Workers' Councils. The government had no real authority — it was merely running to keep ahead of the Councils' demands.

4. Law and Order

The establishment of the Workers' Councils was itself the most revolutionary act of the insurgents. As Lenin had written in 1917 of the workers' and soldiers' councils in Russia (the "Soviets"), the councils represented an alternative government, alongside the official one — "a power based not on laws made by a centralized state power, but on outright revolutionary seizure, on the direct initiative of the masses from below."

But the immediate danger to the government was not the existence of the Councils, but their demands, and how these affected the Russian power waiting in the wings. Twice Russia intervened directly — first, on October 24, to force the wavering Hungarian CP leaders to name Nagy Prime Minister; second, on October 31-November 1, to crush the revolt.

Before the Russians took this step, Nagy tried to save the situation by compromising again and again. As soon as he became head of the government, Nagy immediately ordered the rebels to lay down their arms, go back to work, and wait passively for changes. The response was more demands.

Nagy was forced to recognize the principle of control of the factories by workers' councils. New demands: for an end to the one-party state, for an end to Hungary's alliance with Russia, for free elections.

By October 31, Nagy had agreed to a multi-party state. This could not be accepted by Russia: Russian control of Hungary rested on the CP monopoly of power. A day later, Nagy announced the end of the Russian alliance, but the end of the one-party state was already enough to tip the balance.

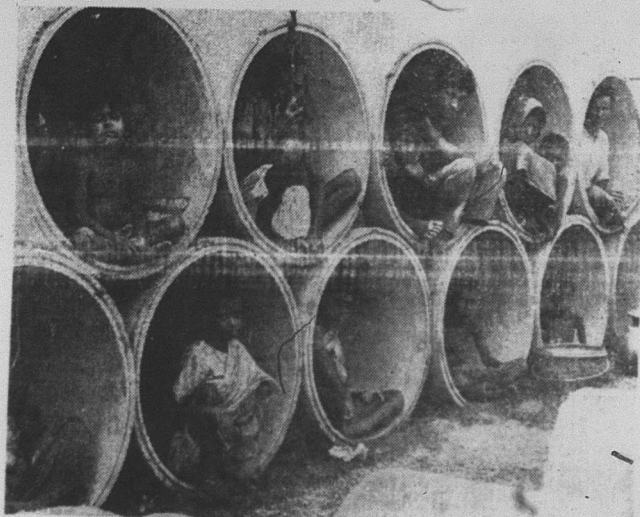
On October 31 Russian troops, which had been withdrawing from Hungary, began returning. On November 4 they struck. Simultaneously a new government, formed under Russian supervision, welcomed the invasion. Overwhelming force — more than 30,000 troops were used, mainly armored units — crushed the rebellion.

But even with overwhelming force, it was a week before the fighting ended; even then, a general strike closed three-quarters of Hungary's industry down for five weeks. These facts alone show how tremendous is the power of the people in revolutionary struggle. And most powerful of all among the people were the working class, who formed the backbone of the struggle, fought the hardest and longest, resisted into the dead of winter — and gave the revolt its basic political meaning. ■

[Next issue: the political meaning of the Hungarian revolution.]



Captured Russian tank in Budapest



Pakistan

Karen Kaye

The West Pakistani army is continuing to kill, loot, and burn in East Pakistan, as the genocidal campaign of the West Pakistani military government to crush the independence movement in the East proceeds. Tens of thousands have been murdered since last March when the repression began.

The Liberation Army of Bangla Desh (East Pakistan) is carrying on guerrilla activity against the invasion of the West Pakistani army. Recently-arrived refugees report that the West Pakistani army has carried out massive reprisals against civilians after every guerrilla raid.

The Pakistani troops are being aided by the Razakars, civilians who inform on those who aid the guerrillas. The army and the Razakars are burning entire villages, shooting into crowds, and making random arrests. According to resi-

dents, those arrested never come back.

The independence movement began early this year as the culmination of widespread discontent in Pakistan.

The province of the Punjab in the West dominates both the rest of the West, and the entire country. The East has a majority of the population, but is impoverished. Over the last few years, a movement has arisen in the West against the military government and West Pakistani capitalism, led by the Pakistan People's Party of Z.A. Bhutto.

In 1969, oppressed national groups in the West, and the Bengalis in the East, revolted against Punjabi domination. These two movements caused the collapse of the military regime of Ayub Khan, which was replaced by a new military government headed by General Yah-

ya Khan. The new regime could survive only by promising the first general elections with universal suffrage in Pakistan's history and a speedy transfer of power to civilians.

When the elections took place last December, the Awami League of the East, led by Mujib-ur-Rahman, won an absolute majority in the Assembly with 167 seats. Bhutto, in the West, won 83 seats. Both of these parties stood for extensive nationalization, and the Awami League demanded virtual autonomy for East Pakistan.

In March, President Yahya Khan postponed convening the Assembly, hoping to get Mujib to water down his program. Mujib agreed to consult with Bhutto and Yahya, but the people of East Pakistan who had elected him exploded, demanding an independent East Pakistan, and a socialist state of peasants and workers.

While Mujib consulted with Yahya and Bhutto, Yahya sent the West Pakistani army to the east to crush the rebellion. Bhutto, the "leftist," supported him. Since then, Mujib has been jailed and is now undergoing a secret military trial, for "waging war against Pakistan" and other unspecified crimes.

Bhutto recently denounced the terror in East Pakistan and called for the military government to give up power to a popularly elected National Assembly. At the same time, however, he praised the army's action in suppressing the Awami League last March. Clearly, he favors elections only if he thinks he can win them.

As a result of the devastation in the East, nine million East Pakistanis have fled across the border into India. About 30,000 enter India every day. Although they are safe there from the assaults of the army, conditions in the refugee camps are critically poor.

The worst effects are felt by the children, many of whom are malnourished when they arrive. A spokesman for Oxfam, a British-based relief group, says that thousands of children are dying every day. Disease is rampant.

India's initial support of Bangla Desh has dwindled through the summer, partly through a fear of war with Pakistan, partly out of the fear of an independent Bangla Desh next door to India's pro-

vince of West Bengal (whose population, like that of East Pakistan, is Bengali).

Britain and the US, while decrying the destruction and death in East Pakistan, continued their programs of financial aid to the Pakistani government. Belatedly, the US has now cut off "developmental aid" to Yahya Khan's government and is sending only "humanitarian aid" until a "normal situation" is restored.

China has consistently supported the government of West Pakistan with regular shipments of weapons.

All of these nations (like Bhutto and Mujib themselves) fear the victory of an independent republic of East Pakistan, which would threaten their rule of their own populations and their domination of other parts of the world.

In the meantime, the number of refugees mounts, starvation continues, and the massive killing goes on in the East. Aid has been slow in reaching the refugees, because of wrangling among the nations involved.

India has just approved a program to feed the starving children in the camps, although it may take a couple of months to put it into effect. The US Congress finally has before it proposals to increase aid to the refugees.

But what these countries really want to do is get the refugees back to Pakistan, and back to work. Until recently, the US sent the bulk of its aid for relief in East Pakistan to the Pakistani government, hoping this would encourage the refugees to return.

India and the USSR recently joined in urging the West Pakistani government to permit the return of the refugees with a guarantee that they will not be persecuted. Pakistan responded the next day when their delegate to the United Nations charged that India is unwilling to negotiate the return. Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the British Foreign Secretary, talked about the possibility of war between India and Pakistan.

But the refugees don't want any of the "solutions" that the imperialist powers are proposing for them. A refugee quoted in *The New York Times* of September 23 said, "We fled to save our lives. They are still killing us. We will not go back until there is complete independence." ■

Bussing

CONTINUED FROM
PAGE 3

very much present — not only in Pontiac but in nearly every city and town in this country. Throughout the nation, black people are in motion in a variety of ways to put an end to the miserably inadequate schools that exist in the inner city.

The solution to this deep crisis hardly ends at racial integration. It is to a large extent a matter of money; the fact that most urban areas are starved for funds to provide social services makes quality education impossible at this point. The money to rebuild the country's schools must be found, and quickly.

This is a political question; so long as the Federal government pours billions down the drain of a worthless war in Vietnam, as well as numerous other "de-

fense" programs for the enrichment of the nation's corporations, schools will remain in a state of disrepair and neglect. Moreover, the basic system by which schools are supported must be changed; the property tax is a viciously unjust method of financing education, condemning poorer school districts to a perpetual lack of funds.

A tax structure aimed at the great concentration of wealth in this country — the large corporations — is crucial if the money to renovate our educational system is to be found.

Integration is hardly a magic wand which will produce instant quality education. Yet the demand for integrated public schools — achieved, when necessary, through bussing — deserves support.

No single institution plays as great a role in determining social and cultural attitudes in this country as do the schools. To permit our schools to remain racially segregated at this point can have only one effect: to perpetuate another generation of racism in America.

It is of course absurd to expect that mere physical integration will automatically produce racial tolerance. But if there is any chance to cure the crippling

hatreds which continually divide people, a spinge of their collective self-interest, a beginning must be made.

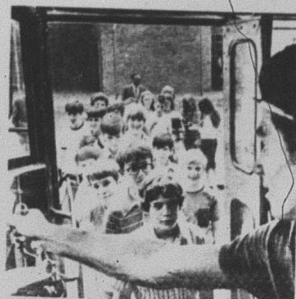
The bussing issue itself is a straw man; school children have ridden busses for years in suburban areas and no one objected. The whites who oppose bussing oppose it because at the end of the bus ride there are black children in that school.

This fact underlines the most important aspect of the whole situation: working-class and lower-middle class white people in this country are running scared. They are faced with tremendous economic pressures — inflation, rising taxes, unemployment, and now frozen wages — which are more and more eating away at their already modest standard of living. They are pressed further by uncontrollable social pressures — urban decay, drug abuse, pollution, personal violence — which seem to threaten every-thing of value in their lives.

They react, not surprisingly, by lashing out in anger. But this perfectly legitimate anger is directed not at the source of their grievances, but at the handiest target. And that too often proves to be black people, as well as

other minority groups.

This is the real tragedy of the events in Pontiac and elsewhere — the tragedy of two groups of people, both the victims of social inequity, with everything to gain from a common fight for better schools, to say nothing of broader social issues, turned at each other's throats — while the rich executive in his suburb continues to send his kids off to a private school in the East, and reacts to the crisis by clucking his tongue and murmuring soothing platitudes about brotherhood. ■



UPPER CLYDE SHIPBUILDERS CLYDEBANK DIVISION



[Two months ago, Scottish workers began an occupation of the Clydeside shipyards, which had been scheduled to be shut down, throwing 8,000 men out of work by next March. The following is a first-hand account of one of the most important of these occupations, that of the John Brown shipyard in Glasgow.]

The news of the planned "liquidation" — permanent layoff — hit the John Brown shipyard like a bombshell. On the morning of Friday, July 31, the shop stewards (who, in Britain, have some degree of independence from the union structure) called a meeting of the 3,000 workers at John Brown's.

At this meeting they announced amid great cheers that the workers had taken over the yards and told the guards that from then on their orders would come from the stewards. The occupation began while workers from other yards were on vacation. For two weeks management was completely absent, and John Brown workers got a small taste of what "workers' control" is all about.

The men expected that supplies for

the yard would be cut off within a few days. After that they would occupy the yards and a confrontation with the government would follow. Spirit was high — "You might as well fight, if you're going to be on the dole" (welfare).

Instead, the occupation was guided into a completely different tactic — a "work-in." This was a result of the influence of the British Communist Party (CP), which has members in the crucial positions of stewards and convenors (senior shop stewards).

Like the American Communist Party, the British CP plays a very conservative role in the labor movement. The conscious strategy of the CP in Glasgow is to avoid confrontation, putting forward a radical-sounding "work-in" tactic designed in fact to soak up the workers' militancy.

At the end of the first week, the Co-ordinating Committee, dominated by CP shop stewards, held a mass meeting to make the distinction between a real occupation and the "work-in." They explained that the men would continue working as before, to demonstrate their

Scottish Workers Seize Shipyards

Laurie Landy
Brian Stafford

"good intentions."

This really means that the men are simply doing the job for the "liquidator" — the official in charge of closing out the yard's operation — by finishing the uncompleted ship orders. Moreover, the wages for the men scheduled for layoff come not from the company but from support funds collected by the rest of the labor movement.

Knowing he had a good thing going, the liquidator announced publicly that he was in complete agreement with the work-in — so long as the men continued work and did not damage the machinery.

Slowly the "white hats" — management — slunk back, first in ones and twos, but in force by the third week, reasserting their authority and even giving orders. "You'd never know there was anything different if you didn't know there were stewards at the gates." The CP stewards said only that this showed the support of middle-level management for the work-in...in other words, workers and management are all in this together!

Mass meetings are rarely called, and the Co-ordinating Committee acts like

bureaucrats everywhere, saying "we'll study it" whenever dissent is voiced. As the worthlessness of the "work-in" tactic becomes clearer, the workers are beginning to realize that it can, at best, result in a compromise which will save a few jobs or win a slower layoff schedule.

This puts pressure on the men to give up the struggle and apply to the liquidator for unemployment. As the liquidator has reduced the supply of steel to the yards, reducing the wages (which are tied to production levels, and which determine the amount of unemployment pay), many workers are beginning to volunteer for unemployment. In the end this will save face for the Co-ordinating Committee, which will claim that the men sold them out!

The Committee may finally pass the buck to the official Trades Union Congress (the British equivalent of the AFL-CIO). This will turn the entire struggle into a talking game in which the unions will try to get the layoffs spread over a longer period. The CP could then play the role of left-wing "critic" rather than its present uncomfortable leadership role.

Shop bulletins distributed by the International Socialists (IS) of Britain point out that only a real occupation of the yards and a full work stoppage can win the struggle. The IS has raised the demand that the Trades Union Congress call a national work stoppage to support the workers at Clydeside, and that any other yards threatened with layoffs and closures be immediately occupied — to bring down the Tory government and to nationalize all shipyards under workers' control.

The future direction of the struggle is in doubt. Under strong pressure from the ranks, the Co-ordinating Committee might be forced to lead a real occupation. Not as long as there is no organized alternative and the workers' discontent is fragmented, the CP will continue to "manage" the struggle — with a strategy as bankrupt as the shipyards themselves.

[Laurie Landy is a member of the US International Socialists recently returned from a year in Europe and England.]

Brian Stafford is an engineer at John Brown's shipyard and a member of the British International Socialists.]

Police Terror In Northern Ireland

Robert St. Cyr

On August 9, British Army and Northern Ireland police (RUC) swept away the last pretenses of civil liberties in Northern Ireland [see Workers' Power no. 40] and began the arbitrary seizure of nearly 300 people. Most of these people remain indefinitely interned without charges.

The Provisional Council faction of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) has responded with intensification of its resistance — including an escalation of bombings directed at Protestant civilians. The "Official" IRA, which is a decided minority in the North but not in the rest of Ireland, condemned their rivals for this contemptible worsening of an already desperate situation of hostility between the two sectors of the Ulster working class.

The constructive political direction of the "Officials" has, of course, not saved them from the wrath of the British and RUC. They too have continued resistance against the occupying army.

As the British press has refused (like the American press on Vietnam, before My Lai) to acknowledge the terror which their troops have wreaked on Catholic workers' districts — British occupation

practices have been the best recruiting agents for the "Provo" IRA — so, likewise, have they refused to broadcast the brutality which accompanied their internment policy.

However, Seamus O Tuathail, editor of the "Official" IRA's newspaper, who was visiting Belfast the night of the internment and was caught in the roundup, managed to smuggle a note out of the Crumlin Road Prison a few days later. Published in the *Irish Times*, August 19, it reported beatings, verbal abuse, threats of being shot, guards forcing prisoners to run barefoot across thorns, glass, and upended bricks, and other forms of torture.

The London papers do realize that internment has been a flop, in military terms. The dragnet caught writers and orators, not active terrorists. Since they knew they couldn't get the bombers, the authorities decided to grab a long list of well-known political activists as a sop to right-wing pressures.

The socialist group People's Democracy, though hardly pacifists, are well known as an open activist group, not as guerrillas — still, 58 of them were detained.





feedback

Free Los Tres de San Diego

Fellow Workers, Sisters and Brothers, We are now engaged in a struggle of utmost importance to oppressed people everywhere. The Ruling Class has brought forth a very dangerous weapon from its arsenal of repressive laws. We appeal to you for help.

On October 18, Los Tres de San Diego will go on trial for violation of the Criminal Syndicalism laws. The three Brothers who are victims of the C.S. laws are Chicano activists here in San Diego — Ricardo Gonsalves, David Rico, Carlos Calderon.

The three worked together on a local Chicano Movement paper named *El Barrio*. It was because of this work that they were indicted.

We feel that the Ruling Class picked Los Tres to test the Criminal Syndicalism laws because they tried to improve the lives of Chicanos by fighting for their freedom, and because of a Brown-White coalition around *El Barrio* and the now-defunct *San Diego Street Journal*. If San Diego is safe enough for the Republican Convention, they feel that San Diego is safe enough to test the Criminal Syndicalism laws here.

C.S. laws were brought into being 50 years ago in an attempt to smash the Industrial Workers of the World, though they didn't succeed in their aim. The C.S. laws have been brought back to try to smash the Movement of oppressed people in this country. WE MUST STOP THEM NOW!

One of Los Tres is a member of the IWW. Also, the old *Street Journal* staff had been organized by the union.

The Criminal Syndicalism laws apply to anyone who "advocates, teaches, aids or abets the commission of, or membership in an organization or an association to write, print, or display posters that advocate violence for accomplishing change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change." There are obviously tens of thousands of people in this country who could be prosecuted under these statutes.

We desperately need your help with publicity, fund raising, and mobilizing support where you live. Stopping C.S. laws is everybody's fight. Time is running out, we need your support NOW. An Injury to One is an Injury to All.

Arthur J Miller

[Arthur J. Miller in San Diego Branch Secretary of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Send donations or correspondence to: Arthur J. Miller, P.O. Box 1332, San Diego, CA 92112. Make checks payable to: Los Tres de San Diego Defense Committee.]

Letter From Prison

Friends at Workers' Power:

Got your news and was glad to receive it. I find it most informative and tells it like it is. I appreciate the kindness extended in sending it as free news, for the head is a necessity here in this oppression factory.

Even here there is slave labor, as we are paid 14¢ an hour to make furniture for the state, 14¢ an hour to make mattresses for institutions, and 12¢ an hour to print materials for the state and private enterprises that pay the state while our cheap labor nets the state plenty.

At the moment I am unassigned and trying to get into one of their paying jobs. I want to thank you for the hard work put into your news and letting me enjoy what is happening to workers all over.

I'll recycle the paper and pass it around to others to enjoy. Many thanks. Peace — Power!

(Name withheld)

Referendum?

The Editorial in Workers' Power no. 41 states:

"Moreover, since Meany and the other bureaucrats will attempt to settle this question with no consultation of the ranks, we demand A VOTE OF LABOR'S RANKS ON COMPLIANCE WITH THE WAGE-PRICE POLICY."

The problem with this demand is that it poses the question of democracy abstractly. For example, the demand as written implies a mail vote of all unionized workers. At the moment, it is quite likely that most workers would vote for it, seeing no other alternative to the obvious problems of inflation, unemployment, etc.

If, as I suspect, the vote went in favor of the freeze and controls, what would our position then be? Clearly, we would still oppose the freeze and continue our education and agitation against it. Far too many times the labor bureaucracy has pushed through reactionary proposals by a mail vote by denying the rank and file the right to argue and discuss all proposals as a body.

As socialists, we understand the role the working class can and must play, as a class. Individual workers, isolated from each other, are no more likely to oppose the freeze than anyone else. It is only when workers are organized together that their consciousness can rise above an otherwise conservative level.

Therefore, in calling for a "vote of labor's ranks," we must make clear the need for full rank and file discussion of the issues, at democratic membership meetings where all can participate.

Free discussion and the presentation of different positions on all questions must be re-started and increased inside!

the labor movement. Open up the pages of labor's press to the rank and file is another essential demand to open up the discussion of the question of wage controls among workers.

A mail referendum of labor's ranks, although democratic in name, would prohibit any real democracy in the form of organizing around positions against the freeze and the policies of the bureaucrats.

Underlying this question though is a more basic point: that of the nature of the labor bureaucracy today. Meany and the other bureaucrats can get away with their present positions precisely because of the way rank and file control of and participation in the unions has for the most part ceased.

This has developed for over 20 years, resulting from the relative conservatism of the workers and the role played by the bureaucracy. Meany knows why he is not for membership votes or any democratic vote of the unions. Fortunately, so do we.

William Hastings

Rejoinder

The Workers' Power Editorial Board replies: We do not agree that "the demand as written implies a mail vote." It implies simply — a vote.

We do agree with comrade Hastings' comments on the undemocratic nature of mail ballots — and on the supplementary demands needed to flesh out the program of "a vote of labor's ranks." Such demands could not be included in the Editorial, which summarized a whole program for fighting the wage-price policy. In later articles, we hope to examine each point in the program in detail.

We also agree with Hastings on the nature of the labor bureaucracy, something Workers' Power has hammered at in each and every issue since it began publication. Because Meany, as Hastings notes, "is not for membership votes," the demand for "a vote of labor's ranks on compliance with the wage-price policy" can be one important way to rouse the ranks to fight.

Prostitution

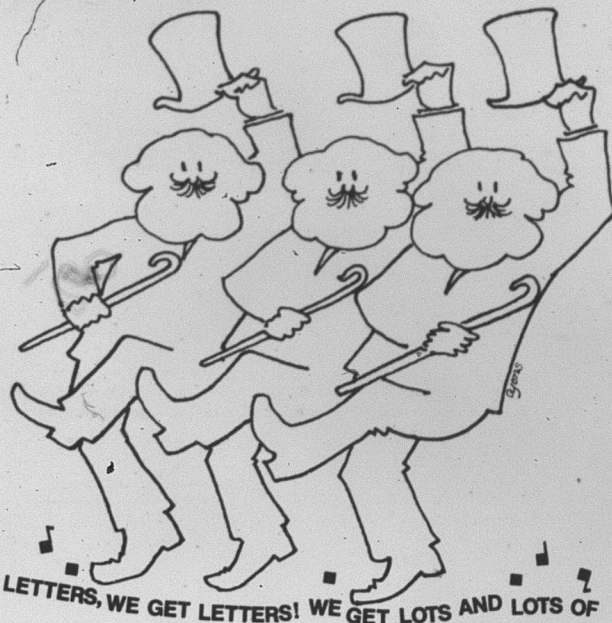
Just a note that might be of interest to readers of Workers' Power. I recently came across the following:

In Poland prostitution is LEGAL, and "approximately 10,000 prostitutes have voluntarily registered with the militia, and submit to regular medical checkups." There are also "innumerable prostitutes controlled by nobody" and a "still bigger number of 'free-lance broads' soliciting as a supplementary job in addition to their official work."

[Source: Wladyslaw Kopalinski, "Difficult Problems" (in Polish) Zycie Warszawy, April 25-6, 1971.]

Unquestionably, bureaucratic collectivism — the social system in the "Communist" countries — pushes women into selling (or renting) their bodies — as in capitalism. The state, rather than providing better opportunities to women, has become a sort of official pimp!

Nelson P. Valdes



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Nat'l Office	1,120	215	18
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As the International Socialists' fund drive nears the end of its third week (October 6), it is still running slightly ahead of schedule, with 31 percent of the \$10,000 goal in. Several branches that were behind have caught up or moved ahead of schedule. *Champaign*, appearing on the chart for the first time, takes the lead in this category, with 167 percent of its quota filled. Others are *Eureka, Madison, and Rochester.*

New York continues to contribute steadily, keeping well ahead of schedule. *Detroit* has already sent in \$1,275, and has received pledges which will bring its total to 200 percent of its quota.

A few branches have fallen behind for the first time this week; others remain there from previous weeks. Again, unless the branches that are behind and the Members-At-Large begin to send in their payments, the drive may fall behind next week.

We ask readers of *Workers' Power* to participate in this drive too. Demonstrate your support for our goals and activities by sending your check to:

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Prisons and Capitalism / 9

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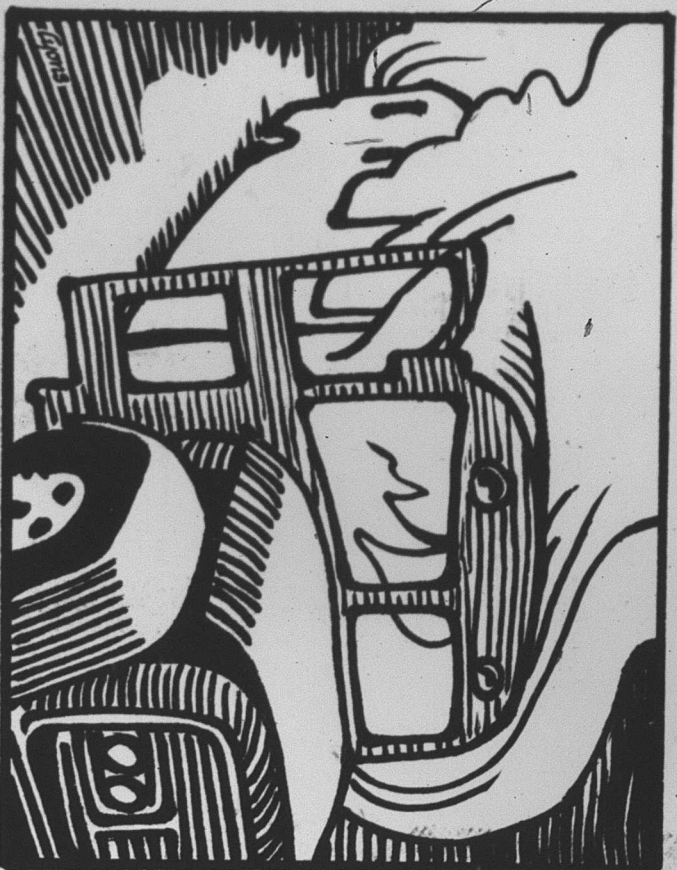
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Racism and the Bussing Crisis