

# Workers' Power

No.76

APRIL 13-26, 1973

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## Prices Soar Upward; Phase 3 Going Under

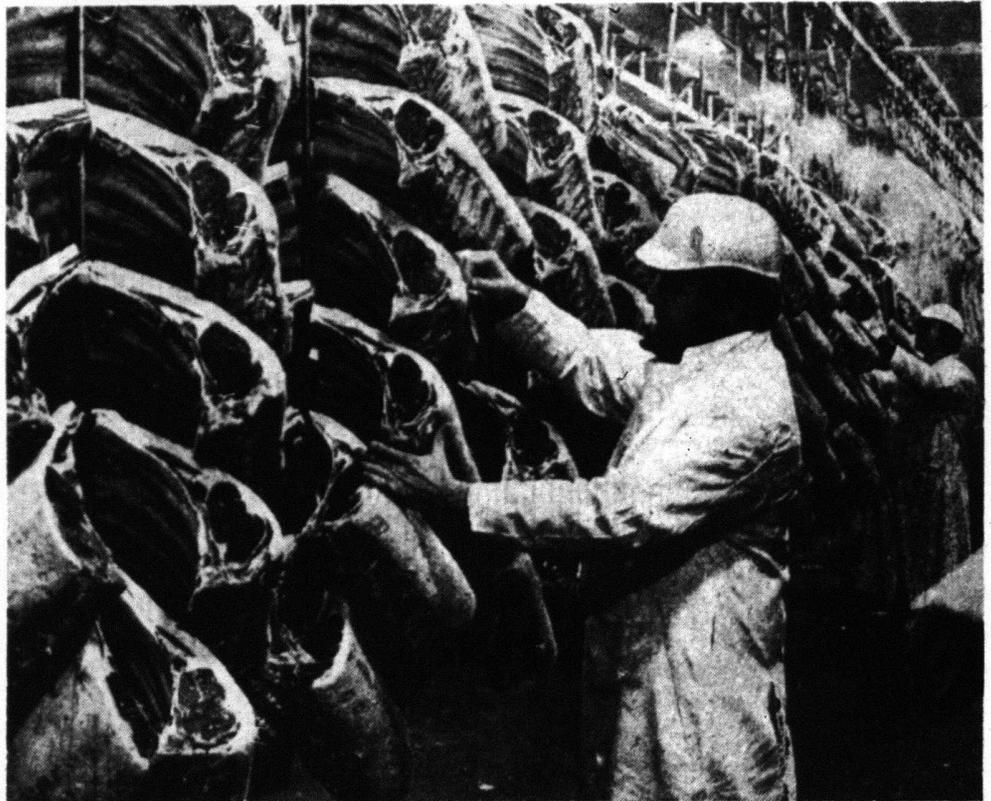
### EDITORIAL

American workers are being treated to a superb diet of explanations as the ruling class looks for solutions to the food price crisis. President Nixon preaches on the virtues of abstinence. Various Democratic Party ecologists devise plans for recycling Phase 2. The soybean burger has assumed its rightful place in history. But the truth remains that workers in the most "advanced" capitalist country in the world are now being forced to learn that they cannot afford to have meat on the table.

The week of April 1-7 began with the launching of a mass consumer meat boycott protesting the outrageous prices of beef. The same week ended with the publication of the new price figures showing that over-all inflation in the U.S. is running at an annual rate somewhere between 21% and 26%.

While working class and middle class housewives demonstrated their indignation over meat prices, other food prices — especially the prices of meat substitutes — continued to soar. The

*[Continued from page 4]*



## Nixon's "Peace" Fraud



The unprecedented bombing of Cambodia during the last month, and President Nixon's ominous warnings of renewed action in Vietnam, indicate that the United States is as "involved" in Vietnam — and all Indochina — today as it has ever been. The cease-fire has done nothing except get U.S. ground troops out and provide the excuse for Nixon's attempts to whip up patriotic hysteria, on the basis of sympathy for POW's and his own claims to have been right all along.

In the last few weeks Com-

munist military operations in South Vietnam have increased, especially near Saigon. The press, playing the Administration's game, has no more than hinted delicately at the equally intense operations by the Saigon regime. The Vietnam cease-fire is as flimsy as cheesecloth. In this context, President Thieu's visit to the U.S. and Nixon's promises of "firmness" point to the likelihood of further U.S. military operations, most likely by air, if a Communist offensive should materialize.

Nixon has not "made peace"

or "ended U.S. involvement." He remains determined to back up the Saigon regime.

In Cambodia, the political situation is unclear. The Lon Nol regime has used the pretext of several violent incidents, some thought to have been staged by the government itself, to suspend all civil liberties and round up opponents. This only reveals the shakiness of the regime, in which apparently the dominant faction does not have the complete backing of the U.S.

The military situation in Cam-  
*[Continued from page 4]*



# Anne Draper 1917 - 1973

Mike Parker

Yvonne Valery

Bob White



The first "Caravan to Delano" from the San Francisco Bay Area was organized by Anne Draper, shown here delivering part of the three tons of food to Cesar Chavez, leader of the United Farmworkers Union. Some ten cars, carrying the badly-needed food and \$800 collected by trade unionists, Berkeley students and strike supporters, drove the 300 miles to the strike front in the first demonstration of strike support shortly after the grape strike began.

Anne Draper, a lifelong revolutionary socialist and trade union activist, died March 25 after a long struggle against cancer. So great has been her impact on the California trade union movement that she was eulogized by Cesar Chavez, state AFL-CIO executive officer John Henning, and the state AFL-CIO News.

Unfortunately, some of these eulogies attempt to remake Anne in the image of their authors. Henning, for example, described her as "a great idealist, a great liberal, a great trade unionist."

Anne Draper was not a liberal, like

the labor leadership. She was a revolutionary socialist. It was her commitment to socialism that maintained her consistent activity for 40 years: through World War II when the liberals succumbed to patriotism; through the 1950's when the liberals succumbed to the Cold War; through the 1960's when the liberals gave up on the working class.

Anne's commitment to socialism, and to building a genuine mass workers' movement, moved her to tirelessly organize support for the farmworkers when the trade union leadership provided no help.

When the trade union bureaucracy almost solidly supported the Vietnam war, Anne Draper organized within

the unions against them. Anne fought the ties of the unions to the Democratic Party, arguing for labor to form its own party and to rely on itself rather than on the liberals trying to "reform" the Democrats.

This is what Anne really fought for all her life. It was because she was fighting for a mass working class movement, and a socialist society, that she was a more consistent fighter for workers' rights than the trade union leaders who pay her no respect by trying to remake her into a "liberal."

Anne was an organizer all her life. In the 30's she helped organize steelworkers into the CIO. During World War II she worked in the Los

Angeles shipyards as a welder, where as a member of the Workers Party she pushed for labor militancy at a time when almost all labor officials, including the Communist Party "progressives," were doing all they could to stifle the class struggle.

From 1946-67 she was an international organizer for the millinery workers' union. Then she became union label organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of San Francisco.

Those were her official jobs. All that time, she remained a socialist in our tradition and carried out an enormous effort of volunteer organizing and consciousness raising. Her energy and dedication were legendary.

The middle-aged woman in the pillbox hat was a strong and articulate force in the drives to organize the farmworkers, women workers, the Peace and Freedom Party, and most recently the Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality (Union W.A.G.E.), the unique women's organization she helped to found.

Union W.A.G.E. has fought hard for the extension of protective legislation to all workers, rather than dropping it as proponents of the Equal Rights Amendment, in their blind disregard for women workers, are inclined to do.

Anne was the most effective fighter for the liberation of working women in the United States. Many an employer and legislator has cringed under her relentless attacks.

Anne was one of the founders of the Independent Socialist Clubs in 1964, which later became the International Socialists. She and some other comrades left our organization in 1971 over differences on our policy toward the trade union movement, and their view that an editorial committee rather than a revolutionary socialist membership organization was the appropriate organizational vehicle for this period.

Our differences were and remain important, but they are small compared to the world view and large areas of politics we held in common. So much dedication, coupled with so much experience, is a rare thing. All of us in the fight for human freedom have suffered a great loss. We have lost a comrade. ■

On March 25 Anne Draper died after a nine-month battle against cancer. There will be no funeral or funeral services; and her many friends have been asked not to send flowers, cards, etc.

If you are moved by affection and respect to honor her memory, an opportunity has been provided to do so. . . . The

## UNION WOMEN'S ALLIANCE TO GAIN EQUALITY

is sponsoring a memorial fund, to which all of Anne's well-wishers are invited to contribute.

The Anne Draper Memorial Fund will be used entirely to make possible the publication, promotion, and distribution of a memorial volume of essays and materials. . . on the subject of Women's Liberation and the working-class movement - struggles to which Anne's life energies were devoted - approached from the viewpoint she stood for.

Individual friends as well as union and movement organizations may send in contributions for this purpose, made out to the

### ANNE DRAPER MEMORIAL FUND

and mailed to

UNION W.A.G.E.  
2137 Oregon Street  
Berkeley, Cal. 94705

## Workers' Power 76

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# ARBITRATION SCHEME HITS STEEL WORKERS

Brian Mackenzie

On March 29, the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) gave up the strike as a potential weapon for its 1974 bargaining with the 10 leading steel companies. The 600-member Basic Steel Industry Conference, composed of local union officers, ratified an agreement made by Steelworkers' President I. W. Abel with representatives of the top steel corporations. This agreement promises that the union will not strike in 1974 over national contract issues, and that all unresolved issues will be put up for binding arbitration.

In return for this unprecedented surrender, the workers are to receive a minimum of 3% annual wage increase for any new agreement and a \$150 bonus.

One big shot stock broker called this "a fantastic way to buy off a strike." In reality the agreement is expected to mean a three-year extension of the existing contract with a right to negotiate wage and benefits changes in 1974, but with no reopeners for the rest of the contract term — that is, until 1977!

While agreeing that this plan was "unprecedented," both Abel and company big shots insisted that it would not undermine or eliminate "real collective bargaining."

This only shows that Abel, and his cronies on the USW Executive Board, believe that "collective bargaining" is nothing but "negotiations" in which the union accepts basically what the company is willing to give after putting forth a few ritualistic arguments.

When the CIO was being built in the 1930's this version of bargaining was called *company unionism*, or at best "sweetheart" unionism.

The truth is that without the right to strike, and the ability to threaten and if necessary carry through a strike, there is no bargaining — just begging.

## Productivity Drive

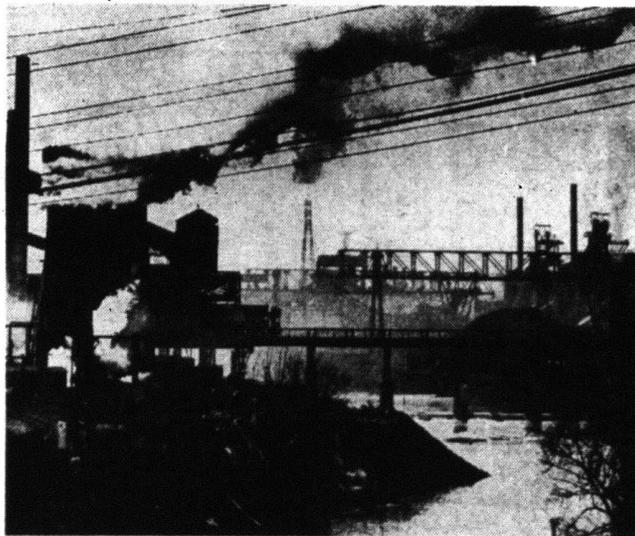
Abel knows well what the rank and file is demanding: an end to the speed-up that is a result of the employers' productivity drive, and job security in the face of the massive lay-offs that were taking place until last year.

Abel is also aware of the demands of the employers: a ruthless productivity drive that will allow American steel to hold its own against foreign competition.

Abel has chosen the side of the employers. Under his no-strike plan there can be no meaningful wage or benefits increases; and the doors will be open even further to speed-up.

While local strikes over local grievances and working conditions are allowed, Abel's real plan is contained in his announcement that the International union will not back up the locals.

In short, there will be no national



fight against speed-up in steel. In fact, one top USW leader admitted to the *Wall Street Journal* that this plan would dump the problem in the local's lap, forcing local leaders to be more "selective" in what grievances they handled and more "responsible" in how they handled them.

Abel had promised to submit any such plan to a membership vote. Obviously, he knew that the membership would reject this agreement, so he simply went back on his word.

Instead, he shoved it down the throats of the local officers, by uniting with the companies in using the threat of mass lay-offs.

Abel, like the employer spokesmen, pushed hard on the lay-offs that result from stockpiling by major steel users whenever the USW threatens to strike.

Abel presented this threat as though this particular form of lay-off was a law of nature. It is not.

A pre-strike slow-down could put a major dent in the companies' ability to meet these stock-piling orders.

A clause in the contract establishing the 30-hour work week, at 40-hours pay, would cushion the post-strike effects of stockpiling. Abel knows all of this, but he has already chosen his side of the line.

The real concern of the steel bosses is not stockpiling — since they are more than willing to lay off by the thousands. They are worried about foreign competition on the world market.

The long standing productivity push in steel has resulted from a loss of markets, and therefore profits, by the big steel companies.

Mr. R. H. Larry, vice chairman of U.S. Steel, said of the March 29 no-strike agreement that it "ought to allow us to regain some significant portion of our markets that we have lost to others."

I.W. Abel is simply doing Mr.

Larry's job for him. It is their common belief that the workers must pay, in sweat and jobs, for the situation that the capitalists in steel have gotten themselves into.

If Mr. Abel were really concerned about the loss of jobs due to international competition he would not be so willing to give away those same jobs by allowing — no, encouraging — speed-up.

Instead he would demand 30 for 40, control of steel prices (not wages) — and if necessary the nationalization of basic steel under the democratic control of the workers. In fact, I.W. Abel's record on productivity, speed-up and lay-offs shows that he will not wage such a fight.

Abel was elected USW President in 1965 on a wave of discontent over David MacDonald's surrender on speed-up and MacDonald's refusal to fight even for significant wage gains.

Abel was no rank and file candidate, however. Before he even declared his

candidacy he made sure he had the backing of the majority of the USW Executive Board and District leaders.

Upon taking power Abel implemented a couple of reforms. He replaced the Wage Policy Committee with industry conferences, but still did not give the ranks the right to vote on contracts.

He abolished the notorious Human Relations Committee which had been set up under MacDonald — to push productivity.

But Abel soon demonstrated that he did not differ from MacDonald in any significant way. His opinion on union democracy, of which the USW has precious little, was:

"I'd like to see democracy exercised to the fullest in our union or any other union, but democracy in the labor movement, as in various segments of life, can be carried to extremes."

Abel was referring to the right of rank and file unionists to reject contracts and generally make things difficult for "responsible labor statesmen" like himself.

## Total Surrender

After a couple of years in office, and after organizing a machine MacDonald would have envied, Abel jumped into the productivity business with enthusiasm.

In 1967, he proposed a plan similar to the one just now passed. So much did it reek of MacDonald's way of selling out that in fact Abel's own Executive Board said no.

He did, however, settle in 1968 without a strike, going back on his promise not to settle until local issues — that is, speed-up and working conditions — were settled.

In 1971, Abel went beyond anything MacDonald had ever done in opening the floodgates of speed-up. In that contract, which is the current one, the union agreed to set up joint productivity committees at the local level.

To their credit many locals have refused to implement this, but the pressure from the companies and the International is strong.

At the same time, the union agreed

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## Ranks Hit Abel: "Traitor, Scab"

In the first special local union meeting held since I.W. Abel pushed his sell-out no-strike deal past the USWA's local presidents, Los Angeles Local No. 2058 (American Bridge Division, U.S. Steel) overwhelmingly passed by a 4-1 margin a resolution condemning the plan and specifically condemning Abel for his cynical attempt to "bribe" the workers out of their rights for \$150.

Longtime LA steel rank-and-file leader Carl Kessler denounced Abel as a "sellout, a strikebreaker, and a scab."

[The next issue of Workers' Power will include a full report on the methods used by Abel and the top USW to ram the agreement down the throats of the Local Presidents.]



## Editorial

# Inflation Continuing

[Continued from page 1]

The price of fish, deliberately not included in Nixon's hastily improvised "ceiling" on beef, pork, and lamb, shot upward by 10% almost instantaneously and as the week ended, the universally favorable press and media coverage given to the boycott was giving way to speculation that a counter-boycott by beef and hog farming interests might create shortages and even higher prices in the coming weeks.

These two events, occurring together — a politically unfocused but massive consumer boycott, and the disastrous inflation figures for the month of March and the first quarter of 1973 — have served notice on Nixon, and on leading organs of ruling class opinion, that the improvised "restraints" of Phase 3 are already a hopeless failure. Nixon's attempt to create a "new prosperity" for American capitalism, by holding down wage gains while allowing prices and profits to soar uncontrolled, is already a flop. The capitalists themselves have sabotaged it with their unrestrained scramble to regain all the profits they feel they "lost" while the feeble Phase 2 price controls were in effect.

What Nixon, and the leading circles of business, now have reason to fear is that the workers will launch a drive to break through the wage controls, simply in order to keep up with this inflation which poses the threat of such a disastrous cut in their living standards. Indeed, working people have no choice except to mount a militant new wage offensive. At best, our wage gains barely enable us to catch up with inflation that has already occurred. While the capitalists make up all their "lost" profits through price increases and manipulations, the wages taken away by the freeze and the "controls" are lost to us forever.

In response to this threat, Nixon is turning once again to the labor bureaucracy — the trade union officialdom of Meany, Woodcock, Abel, etc. — with the demand that they hold their unions' members firmly in line, that no "excessive" wage demands be allowed to come to the bargaining tables this year. Nixon can remain confidently assured of these "leaders'" support, knowing that a complete sellout is, for them, a lesser evil than the threat to their own power that would result from any militant struggle against the corporations' offensive and the government's wage control regulations.

In fact, the only response of the labor bureaucracy to this crisis (aside from the feeble and muted support given by some to the meat boycott) has been to ask that Phase 2 price controls be, in effect, revived. George Meany wants "all food prices controlled stringently, and at once." Meany knows, of course, that genuine food price controls are an impossibility — that Nixon has absolutely no intention of attempting to impose such controls and enforce them against the will of his own class.

What Meany, Woodcock and the rest want is token "controls" — like those of Phase 2 — to provide them the window dressing they need to hold back the justified demands of the rank and file. The response of rank and file militants — the only response which can meet the workers' needs and counter the threat of deep demoralization inside the unions — must be to fight for an all-out co-ordinated drive by the entire labor movement to break the wage guidelines and thereby destroy the lynchpin of Nixon's anti-labor drive.

[Continued on page 15]

# U.S. Bombing, War Rage On in Cambodia

[Continued from page 1]

bodia is clearer. The government troops are fighting a rebellion of Cambodians, rather than North Vietnamese troops. (Some reports indicate three different groups of rebels, pro-Russian, pro-Chinese, and pro-North Vietnamese respectively. How true this is cannot be determined right now.) The government troops are completely without leadership or morale.

Most observers say the Cambodian government would fall in a few weeks without U.S. bombing to back up the feeble efforts of its troops. Similarly, only U.S. bombing can keep open the supply routes to Phnom Penh.

To complete the picture, Laos, where a cease-fire was negotiated in February recognizing the increased Communist control of territory, is quiet for the moment.

Despite his ostentatious "decisiveness," Nixon's strategy is deeply confused. Essentially Nixon is attempting to maintain imperialist control of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, but with inadequate power. Hence he is caught between sticking to cease-fire agreements which are unstable, and taking military action which undermines the agreements further.

Through the cease-fire agreements in February, Nixon essentially attempted to back up his own inadequate military power (and inadequate political backing at home) by gaining Russian, Chinese, and North Vietnamese backing for a "freeze" — a cease-fire on the basis of the existing balance of forces.

Like Nixon's economic "freezes" at home, this one attempted to stabilize an inherently unstable situation, and could not last for long.

The attempt to stabilize the situation also failed in Cambodia, where the rebels were not fully controlled by Hanoi. In addition, Phnom Penh is harder to supply than Saigon, and the Cambodian army and the totalitarian apparatus of the government are both less efficient than in South Vietnam.

The present crisis was touched off not only by rebel military operations, but by a long teachers' strike. Although the strike was called only on economic issues, it became a vehicle for political discontent among teachers, students, and other elements of the educated petty-bourgeoisie.

The likelihood then is for continued war both in Cambodia and, perhaps developing more slowly, in South Vietnam. The direct U.S. involvement in Cambodia, the continued U.S. political involvement in South Vietnam as Thieu's "ally" (in reality, Thieu's master), and the threat of new U.S. military involvement there, pose the issues clearly.

Politically, the regimes in South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos are only extensions of United States imperialism. They have their own ambitions, of course: occasionally the tails attempt to wag the dog. But what is decisive is

that militarily they can only survive on the basis of U.S. military and economic aid, and political backing; and politically this aid is offered for the sole reason that they are pro-U.S. regimes.

It follows that every socialist must be for the military victory of the Communist forces against what is an imperialist intervention pure and simple. We demand: U.S. Out of Indochina Now! No Military or Economic Aid! No Support to the Vjetnam "Peace Commission" and the Imperialist Cease-Fire!

Socially, these regimes are capitalist — but a capitalism that is already dead and stinking in the tropical sun. The regimes are based on a swollen bureaucracy, an army maintained by the United States, a tiny capitalist class completely dependent on U.S. capital, a landlord class largely cut off from its land. These regimes can survive only as U.S. economic colonies, if they survive at all.

The Communist insurgents, on the other hand, do not fundamentally represent the workers and peasants whom they claim to favor. These forces basically represent a class force which, if it can drive out the imperialists, can seize control of the inadequate economies of these countries from the moribund capitalist and landlord classes, and develop them (within the very narrow limits possible to these isolated and impoverished economies) on the basis of state ownership of the means of production and through the regimentation and exploitation of the workers and peasants.

In doing so they may bring some benefits in material terms but they perpetuate the class suppression of the workers and peasants. Imperialist pressure — from the United States and their own Communist "allies" — may force them to compromise and postpone, but this is not fundamental.

Despite their adaptations to imperialist pressure and despite the bourgeois "programs" which are window-dressing disguising their real aims, indigenous Communist forces have no long-term policy of "selling out" their class aims, either to the bourgeoisie or to the workers.

It is in the class interests of the workers to fight alongside the Communists to expel the imperialists. But equally, they must politically oppose the Communists and their claim to power, which promises a new exploitation of the masses.

This task of political opposition can be accomplished only through creating a revolutionary socialist working-class leadership to combine the struggle against imperialism, the defense of the democratic rights of the workers and peasants, and the struggle for their class rights — for workers' control of production, the seizure of the land by the peasants, and for a workers' and peasants' government.

The task of creating such a revolutionary leadership is enormously difficult but offers the only way to win the aims of the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia. ■

Abortion has been the legal right of women for about twelve weeks. In Detroit recently, a black woman, mother of four children, discovered she was pregnant. Not wanting the burden of another child, she decided on an abortion.

By the time she got to the right place at the right time, she was 14 weeks pregnant. No hospital or clinic in the Detroit area is presently equipped or willing to abort a pregnancy beyond the 12-week cut-off point.

The woman sought counseling through a local women's liberation newspaper, and was advised to go to New York.

Unable to afford the trip, the woman traveled to Chicago, went to a butcher-abortionist, and died.

This brief, tragic story is certainly not new. The horror of many thousands of similar stories created one of the forces that led to the Supreme Court ruling which gave women legal control over their reproductive processes.

What is new is that this woman died after abortion supposedly had become a woman's legal right. We can expect many similar murders to continue until abortion becomes a real potential choice for all American women.

### Reactionary Campaign

In many states we can expect the Supreme Court ruling to be challenged and held up in the courts. Many State legislatures will make it an incredible legal snafu to wade through all of the red-tape necessary to obtain an abortion, especially after the 12-week cut-off period.

The reactionary "right-to-life" organizations will probably launch several successful community support campaigns to hold up the implementation of the new ruling. Rulings preventing clinic abortions will severely curtail the facilities available for safe, cheap abortions.

Certainly the recent Senate ruling that any doctor or hospital has the right to refuse to perform abortions gives many of the more conservative states and religiously affiliated hospitals an easy way out.

Blue Cross/Blue Shield recently struck a tremendous blow against the effectiveness of the reform in Michigan by ruling that it would only cover the medical and surgical expenses of an abortion on family contracts (excluding thereby unwed women) where the doctor certifies that the abortion was medically (as opposed to socially or psychologically) necessary.

This ruling effectively eliminates abortion as a method of birth control, which is what the Supreme Court ruling is all about. It only eliminates abortion, of course, for those who

cannot independently afford to cover the costs.

*This includes most women who work, traditionally in low-paying jobs, black and other minority women, and young girls, who are often forced into marriages they don't want or are unprepared to handle.*

In the meantime, women like the Detroit victim will continue to die at the hands of incompetent butchers.

Those Black groups and leaders who proclaim birth control as "genocide being pushed on the Black community" should take note. The majority of women who die, and will probably continue to die, at the hands of abortionists, are black.

This is no accident, but a logical outgrowth of a racist society that systematically and brutally oppresses black people at every level, not just in matters of birth control and medical care.

This, if anything, is a more accurate description of genocide than the availability of birth control facilities for black women.

All women, however, will continue to get messed over while the courts and the State legislatures take their time deciding when and how women will be able to avail themselves of their legal right.

A healthy women's movement, if it existed, could conceivably create enough pressure on the bureaucracies to force more rapid implementation of the new law. That movement, however, simply doesn't exist.

The National Organization for Women (NOW), the largest women's rights organization, has always been content with a legalistic through-the-courts lobbying strategy.

Its political wing, the National Womens Political Caucus (NWPC), can certainly be counted on to wage a court fight over the issue in certain areas. Tied thoroughly to the Democratic Party, however, it is not about to build a mass women's movement that can put pressure on the government to make abortion a reality now.

The United Auto Workers, like other organizations which have a paper position in favor of abortion could exert an enormous amount of pressure on the government if its politics on this and other questions weren't also thoroughly bankrupt.

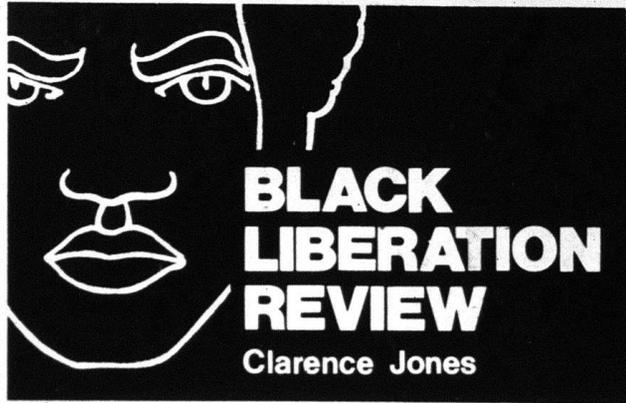
Like NOW and the NWPC, the labor bureaucrats prefer to keep their ties to the capitalist political parties rather than waging any real struggles to benefit their members or for basic human rights.

Merely the threat of a work stoppage in factories across the nation would provide a powerful stimulus to get the ball rolling, as they say, and could in effect save the lives of many women like the woman who recently died in Chicago.

*(Continued on page 15)*

# New Tragedy Shows That Abortion Fight Must Continue

Kay Stacy



*[Introduction: Black Liberation Review is a new Workers' Power column. Our purpose is to present a revolutionary socialist analysis of the various currents and viewpoints that contend for influence within the Black freedom struggle.]*

*In the 1960's, from the first sit-ins to the heroic uprisings in the cities, the anger of the Black masses pushed its way onto the stage of American politics. Politically, too, the movement progressed — from a civil rights struggle "knocking at the door of America," through the development of Black Pride and Black Power, to the appearance of revolutionary currents which saw the root of Black oppression in the capitalist social system.*

*Today the Black Movement falters. The moderates are ever more timed. The revolutionary groups, battered by judicial frameups and police assassinations and lacking clear political strategies, have failed to forge the anger of the Black masses into a weapon that can launch a fight for power.*

*Yet behind this hesitation, the movement continues, and a weapon for change is being forged — through the struggles of Black workers. The revolutionary socialist program for Black Liberation is based on these struggles — an approach completely different from the liberal and reformist political leaders, black or white, who whatever their rhetorical promises are forced in the last analysis to subordinate the Black struggle to the needs of this racist capitalist system.*

*Since all of the concepts and opinions in the Black movement are reflected to one degree or another within the Black press, much of this column will often be a review of the Black press.*

*Many Black publications — both such widely read publications as the Johnson magazines (Ebony and Jet), Muhammad Speaks, The Black Panther, etc., and less widely read magazines such as The Black Scholar, Black Collegian, and African World — deserve attention, as all of them to one degree or another shape and reflect the consciousness and direction of the Black struggle. Any socialist tendency that wishes to become part of this struggle must come to grips with all its trends, opinions, and influences.]*

The Institute of the Black World has published an article on "Racism and the Black Depression" in the *Black Collegian* (Jan./Feb. issue). This article makes several important analytical points on the current stage of American politics and the Black struggle.

The article begins by correctly pointing out that the "Independent

*black organizations across the country are facing a severe economic crisis today. Their plight reflects a general economic downturn which black people are experiencing throughout the country. . . Cutbacks are epidemic and [Black] gains of the Sixties seem now everywhere repealed."*

Within the community, "There is a kind of foreboding, a feeling of troubling shifts in one's life taking place without one's fullest understanding and over which one has little control."

The article fails to explain the roots of this foreboding and hard times, however. Its simplistic analysis focuses on "Black vs. white."

"So white folks are on the offensive and we are on the run." Nixon's budget cuts and his clear attacks on the fight for equality are seen as a pledge to "white voters" to "maintain the white ruling hand."

On the surface this is indeed true. Under the surface, though, it is the capitalist to whom Nixon has pledged a ruling hand.

Nixon's racist policies are part-and-parcel of the same program as his anti-labor policies of wage freezes, price increases, unemployment and support for corporate productivity drives.

Though he woos white workers and attacks Blacks, Nixon's real bed partners are his businessmen constituency (as indicated by the recent profit and price increases).

So Black and white workers are finding themselves in the same boat, essentially. The task today is to strip away illusions, to designate friend and foe.

In fact, the *Black Collegian's* focus is a middle-class point of view that fosters and thrives on illusions. It states in its discussion of Nixon's landslide: "What has been established once again is that America is for white folks." If America is for white folks — for all white folks — why can few families of working people, Black or white, afford to eat beef anymore? White workers have a better standard of living but an eroding one. Nor can their living conditions be compared to the white or Black capitalist.

The fact that the fates of Black and white workers are bound together is obscured by an ideology of "Black vs. white."

Such an approach is used to justify opportunism of Black middle-class leaders in the same way it is used by white racist politicians. The result is the same too. America remains for some white people (the wealthy) while everyone else suffers.

Recognizing the rightward opportunist drift of the Democrats the article "sort of" calls for independent political action to defeat Nixon.

"They [the Democrats] must reorganize and compete for the white

*(Continued on page 11)*

# Int'l Harvester Menaces Health & Safety Rights

Andy Bonifacio

Workers in UAW Local 6 at International Harvester's Melrose Park Works (just west of Chicago) face many of the same safety and health hazards found in auto plants around the country today.

Even Area V federal compliance officers of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) had to admit that working conditions at Harvester are hazardous and unhealthy.

The OSHA inspectors issued citations for 63 violations at the Melrose Park tractor works last year.

In this case, OSHA assessed penalties at a level somewhat above the ridiculously low national average.

[See "Workers Exposed to Danger and Disease," *Workers' Power* No. 70.]

Upon receipt of notification of the

citations and proposed penalties, however, Harvester filed a Notice of Contest with the OSHA Director for Area V.

The Area Director, in turn, forwarded Harvester's Notice of Contest with the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission, an independent federal agency.

As a result some of the original items were withdrawn, and the amounts of the fines were modified.

By filing the Notice of Contest, Harvester not only delayed the eventual payment of certain penalties, but also legally delayed the beginning of the period for correcting the hazardous conditions in its factory.

In *Hodgson v. International Harvester Company* (Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission Docket No. 389), citations for 59 violations were reaffirmed. The average penalty-

per-citation was \$40.68. Total penalties assessed were a miserable \$2,400. \$160, the highest single penalty, was assessed for "failure to maintain good housekeeping in all places of employment". A typical sample of the other violations (and their corresponding penalties) follows below:

- \* "Failure to provide standard railing on floor near paint crib" (\$40).
- \* "Failure to provide safety platforms and ladders in work area" (\$32).
- \* "Failure to provide unobstructed egress under truck repair" (None).
- \* "Failure to keep shot off the floor around blasting machine" (\$20).
- \* "Failure to reduce excessive noise" (\$150).
- \* "Failure to properly store combustibles" (\$64).
- \* "Failure to ensure use of respiratory protection" (\$24).
- \* "Failure to paint dangerous parts of machines orange" (\$96).
- \* "Failure to indicate contents of containers of chemicals" (\$80).
- \* "Failure to provide eye wash fountains" (\$60).
- \* "Failure to mark cranes with rated load" (\$30).
- \* "Failure to provide adequate and proper wire rope as load-lifting gear" (\$40).
- \* "Failure to properly guard machines" (\$24).
- \* "Failure to separate oxygen cylinder from fuel gas cylinder" (\$48).
- \* "Failure to provide shields to protect workers from flying sparks and welding rays" (\$56).
- \* "Failure to properly ground portable electrical tools" (\$120).

These hazards to health and safety are only a few of the dangers to which

Harvester workers are daily exposed. The minimal fines assessed by OSHA are clearly no more than a minor irritant to the multinational International Harvester Company.

More significantly, these tokenistic fines bear no relationship to Harvester's assault on the safety and health of the members of UAW Local 6.

The Harvester case was handled with kid gloves by OSHA and the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission.

This kind of treatment was predicted almost two years ago by Undersecretary Laurence H. Silberman of the U.S. Department of Labor.

Speaking on the June 10, 1971, National Association of Manufacturers' closed-circuit color teleconference, Silberman reassured the 27,000 businessmen-viewers that President Nixon was concerned about "due process" for capitalists.

Since Silberman's speech, tens of thousands of workers have been killed on the job. Since then, there have been tens of millions of serious industrial accidents.

The casual attitude of the capitalist class toward the occupational safety and health of workers is also understandable in the light of the ongoing "productivity" drive. [See "Productivity: The Employers' Attack and How to Fight It," *Workers' Power*, No. 70, pp. 12-13.]

In a nutshell, safer and healthier workplaces will require investment in special safety equipment to a degree that the capitalist class will eventually be unwilling to make the expenditures

[Continued on page 15]

# Health Care Crisis Hits Chicago Hospital

Andy Bonifacio

Cook County Hospital is located in a sprawling complex of medical centers near the juncture of Chicago's West Side and South Side Black ghettos. County is Chicago's only general public hospital.

Two other aspects of Chicago's racist and health care system make the City's poor and "near-poor" Black and Latin communities especially dependent on Cook County Hospital.

First, Chicago has the highest rate of residential racial segregation among Northern cities with a population of 50,000 or more. (The degree of segregation is usually measured by a displacement or disparity index.)

Many under-utilized hospitals in Chicago are situated long distances from the neighborhoods with the highest percentages of Blacks and/or Latins.

What makes the burden at County Hospital even greater is that many Chicago hospitals have rules severely restricting the number of "green card"

(or welfare) persons admitted to inpatient services.

A number of these hospitals have received federal tax dollars (Hill-Burton funds) for hospital construction.

Welfare recipients generally receive the worst possible medical care, or in many cases none at all. Hospitals receiving Hill-Burton funds have been required to meet only the most tokenistic guidelines regarding the number of welfare patients they must accept.

These guidelines are set by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Under Nixon, even the pretense of tokenism was removed in the spring of 1972.

According to the Illinois Regional Medical Program, Public Aid and Medicare were the source of payment for about 70 per cent of the patients at Cook County Hospital in 1970.

Two-thirds of County's patients come from the twenty community areas in Hospital District 1. The median proportion of Blacks, Latins, and other minorities in these communities was 93.1 per cent, according to the 1970 Census of Population.

It is no secret that decent medical

care at Cook County Hospital is harder to get now than it has been in a long time.

Lack of funds prevents the expansion and innovation of health care services. A severe funding crisis keeps alive the threat of imminent layoffs at County.

Layoffs would mean unemployment for some hospital workers and speed-up for the workers who retain their jobs. At the same time, layoffs would further contribute to the deterioration of medical care for the Black and Latin patients who must go to County.

Some patients may be turned away; others will have to wait in line longer for treatment.

The general crisis of under-funded social services in the U.S. is reflected in the proposed \$127,337,631 budget of the Cook County Health and Hospitals Governing Commission. The largest part of the budget for fiscal 1973 is intended for the operating expenses of Cook County Hospital.

Almost half (\$61,000,000) of the Governing Commission's revenues for the next year are expected to come from Public Assistance (welfare) funds and from Medicare.

These two sources are funded from highly regressive local and federal taxes, which hit middle-income and "near-poor" working people harder than any other class in the society.

Slightly more than one-third (\$46,000,000) of the revenues are expected to come from the Property Tax Levy. This tax imposes special burdens on workers paying off the mortgage on their "own" homes.

The tax hits hardest at workers renting apartments. It is estimated that twenty-five percent of the average rent in Chicago goes toward the Property Tax Levy.

In short, the entire burden of financing Cook-County Hospital is

carried by working people, through a tax system which leaves corporate profits almost untouched.

Underfunded and deteriorating social services are an important part of the current crisis of capitalism. Shoddy or inadequate medical care has its roots in an irrational economic system based on the capitalists' need for profits with no regard for human needs.

Only under a workers' government will it be possible to begin meeting the real needs of oppressed minorities and of all working people in the U.S.

As a step in this direction, Black and Latin hospital workers should begin building a campaign (1) to prevent layoffs and (2) to tax the corporations to pay for universal free medical care.

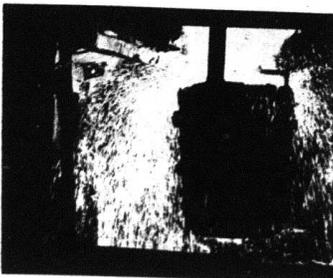
Such demands make it clear that workers are not expected to bear the brunt of the mess created by this racist, capitalist system.

Illinois Governor Dan Walker, a Democrat, has been mislabeled "a friend of labor." His refusal to raise taxes on corporations, as well as his own new "austerity program" and hiring freeze in Illinois state employment, exposes this myth.

The Democrats, as well as the Republicans, do not intend to undercut profits by raising taxes on Big Business.

Black and Latin workers, most heavily affected by the threats of layoffs and the worsening of already rotten medical care, should take the lead in the fight to break the entire working class from the twin capitalist political parties and to build a Labor Party in opposition to them.

Only an independent working class party, controlled by rank-and-file leadership in the unions and by organizations of oppressed minorities, will consistently fight for workers' needs and demands.



# Labor In Brief

Jim Woodward



## Hawaii: State-wide teachers strike attacks management "prerogatives"

For the first time in the United States, a state-wide teachers' strike is in progress. Members of the Hawaii State Teachers Association walked off their jobs throughout that state on April 2, primarily over the issues of work-loads and preparation periods.

The Hawaii Department of Education maintains that these issues are the sole prerogative of management and has refused to discuss them. After sixteen months of fruitless negotiations, the union decided to strike.

As in Pennsylvania, public employee strikes are officially legal in Hawaii, but usually prevented by injunctions. The teachers face a fine of \$100,000 plus \$10,000 per day for striking.

The Hawaii walkout should be an example for teachers who have had difficulty winning strikes against individual school districts. A state-wide strike focuses teachers' demands against the state, rather than simply against individual school districts which in many cases are actually unable to pay for higher salaries, smaller classes, and other educational improvements.

If the courts actually impose fines and/or jail terms against the striking Hawaiian teachers, it is in the interest of all Hawaiian workers to come to their defense.

As an island, Hawaii is particularly vulnerable to economic action. With a bit of solidarity, a few strategically placed workers could bring the economy of the island to a standstill and the teachers to victory.

## Nixon administration moves to deny welfare to strikers

The Nixon administration is preparing to issue new regulations which will have the effect of denying federally funded welfare benefits to families of strikers. The program involved is ADC-U (Aid to Families with Dependent Children - Unemployed Parent).

Families of workers who were on strike have in the past been able to collect meagre benefits from this program. Now a drive is under way, led by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, to starve striking workers into submission by preventing them from collecting these welfare benefits.

They are also attempting to get a bill through Congress which would bar strikers from receiving food stamps.

The welfare cut-off will come in the form of new regulations to be issued soon by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

These regulations will either dictate an outright ban on such welfare payments, or allow the individual states to do the same thing.

While HEW officials favor the former, they might adopt the latter

as a way of allowing the labor bureaucracy to save face while continuing its collaboration with the Nixon government.

Opposition to this plan so far has been posed on one hand in liberal terms - of whether the children of strikers should be allowed to starve while their parents are on strike.

Businessmen for their part say that the luxurious welfare payments have taken the sacrifice out of strikes and are thus "destroying collective bargaining."

Anyone who has been on welfare knows that it's no picnic, and any striker can tell the Chamber of Commerce that workers do not go out on strike at the drop of a hat just so they can collect welfare or some small strike benefits.

In fact, in many cases striking workers - who have been taught that welfare recipients are "chisellers", bums, or socially inferior - have been unwilling to take advantage of whatever miserable benefits they can receive from it. This helps to explain the reasons for the continual press and government campaign against welfare victims.

The real issue is who has the upper hand in the continuing struggle between workers and their bosses. The employers were against collective bargaining until they were forced to accept it because of the strength of the unions.

Their crying about collective bargaining being destroyed is pure hypocrisy - they fight tooth and nail to destroy it themselves whenever they think they can come out on top.

## New Orleans: OCAW strikers demonstrate against Shell Oil

Between 150 and 200 Shell workers of Local 4-750 of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic workers and their supporters picketed the Shell Building here in downtown New Orleans March 12.

The demonstration was held to publicize the fact that the workers have been out on strike since January 26 and to encourage the public to support the strike by boycotting nationally all Shell products.

The strike is nationwide with workers off the job not only at Norco, La., but all major Shell refineries in Houston, Texas, Anacortes, Wash., Martinez, Ca., and Denver, Colo.

Shell owns 13% of the Capline Pipeline which runs from Louisiana through Arkansas, Kentucky and the Midwest and which connects to the Great Lakes.

At a recent AFL-CIO convention in Miami, a resolution was passed in support of the OCAW and all affiliates were notified.

In addition the OCAW has received moral and financial support from the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers.

Locally, the OCAW has recently formed The Shell Boycott Coalition, which is comprised of environmentalists and radicals of many tendencies.

At Norco, La., police harassment of the workers appears to be intensifying. Most recently, four union members were arrested for refusing to pick up some tacks which sheriffs alleged they had thrown on the ground outside the Norco plant.

The entire police force of St. Charles Parish (county) is probably not in excess of 25 people - at least six of whom have been assigned full-time to the Shell strike.

## Cost of Living Council hits airline mechanics

The Cost of Living Council has challenged an 8.9% pay raise won by airline mechanics of North Central Airlines. The challenge is, strictly speaking, the first one under Phase 3 rules.

The Council had earlier disallowed raises won by Local 1199, Drug & Hospital Workers Union, and by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

In these earlier cases, the COLC claimed it was acting under the "carry-over" authority of Phase 2 to review contracts originally negotiated under Phase 2.

Airline mechanics have previously been in the lead against "wage guidelines." In 1966, they conducted a five-week strike, rejecting two contracts negotiated by their leadership in the process of smashing President Johnson's "voluntary guideline" of 3.2%.

If the mechanics are to successfully take on Nixon's guidelines, however, they will have to bring to bear the full power of their union, the International Association of Machinists, rather than leaving just the 600 North Central mechanics to fight alone.

Contracts for many IAM airline mechanics expire throughout 1973. If the IAM leadership is not willing to wage a nationwide fight against Phase 3 now, the rank and file must take it up. Otherwise, the Cost of Living Council will be able to pick them off one by one.

## Rank and File Notes

It appears from an article in the Detroit Free Press that Irving Bluestone, a UAW Vice-President, has gone to work for General Motors. Bluestone was quoted in a letter to local union members as saying that GM workers should make a better effort to improve quality on the cars they build, and implying that workers bear part of the blame for inferior products.

If management wants quality, let them slow down the line so workers have time to do a good job. If Bluestone wants quality, he should tell it to GM, not the workers. And if he wants to work for General Motors, let him do it openly, rather than from the UAW payroll!

Hospital workers at the Clinch Valley Clinic in Virginia have won a strike with a little help from 400 or so rank and file coal miners.

It was Virginia's first hospital strike and the state obviously didn't want a precedent set. 134 of the 185 striking workers were arrested for picketing the first day.

Strong support, however, came from the miners who closed 18 mines in a wildcat strike. Arnold Miller, newly elected president of the Mine Workers, joined the picket line at the hospital. Assistance also came from community residents.

After three weeks on strike, the workers won a 50¢/hour wage increase, improved fringe benefits, and a grievance procedure.

Accidents in the construction industry were up 20% last year, despite a federal construction safety law, passed in 1969. One official in Illinois says the workers are to blame. Another officials says there have always been so many accidents; formerly the employers used to report to report them.

Summer jobs for youth will be scarce this summer, according to officials in major cities throughout the country. Many who had jobs last summer will be out of luck this year. A major part of the reason is Nixon's budget cutting.

The Mississippi Poultry Workers Union has won representation elections at two more chicken packing plants in Forest, Mississippi. The latest victory - at Southeastern Poultry Company - covers 400 workers and is the biggest plant organized by the MPWU so far.

Another state is taking aim at the United Farm Workers union. A bill in the Florida legislature would outlaw the union hiring hall, a key feature of UFW contracts. So far, the UFW has organized only 1% of the 150,000 farm workers in Florida.

Another study - this one by the U.S. Census Bureau - has confirmed that women workers receive only slightly more than half the pay of male workers at the same educational level. The report was based on the 1970 census.

Wage controls or not, Lynn Townsend, Chairman of Chrysler Corporation, received 220% more in salary and bonuses last year than in 1971. Townsend's total compensation came to \$638,600 - or \$307 an hour.

Workers' take-home pay in January was down - not increasing slower - but actually less than in December. One of the main reasons was the sharp rise in the social security tax which was effective January 1.

# PRODUCTIVITY CRISIS



"Labor & management try to repair damage from years of restrictive work rules."

Business Week (February 12, 1972) leads the orgy of celebration over increased rubber productivity through "voluntary" speedup

As the deadline approaches in the tire-making industry, the leadership of the United Rubber Workers (URW) is in full retreat. In the face of a massive attack on the jobs, wages, and working conditions of rubber workers, the only advice the union leadership has to offer is "give up."

1972 and 1973 have been years of great prosperity for the Big Four of the tire companies — Goodyear, Firestone, Uniroyal, and Goodrich.

Profits are soaring. Goodyear, the largest, saw its profits rise 13.5% last year. Others announced similar results.

But these "good times" have been limited to company executives and stockholders.

Over the last twenty years, rubber jobs in Akron, Ohio — the heart of the industry — have been declining at the rate of about 1,000 per year.

The drop is no accident. It reflects the policy of the employers, which is to secure a cheaper, more disciplined work force by relocating their plants — even if this leaves thousands of workers unemployed.

This trend is now reaching a peak. The rubber companies, knowing that they have the Akron workers in a defensive position, are pressing for more and more concessions on wages and working conditions.

If their demands are not met, say the employers, they'll move out — leaving everyone without a job.

The only serious response to such an attack by the employers would be an all-out fight against the companies to save jobs and working conditions and to raise wages to keep up with the cost of living.

The employers know they have the union on the run. Even though their profits are booming, they will take advantage of their strategic position to demand more and more concessions, unless the rubber workers are able to turn around their leadership's policy of sitting on its hands.

Indeed, the only action either the local leaderships or the URW International have taken in this crisis is appeasement: a disastrous course

against employers who smell blood, as the tire-making companies do.

The International leadership, for its part, seems not to be too concerned about the loss of jobs. From its point of view, it isn't losing much.

When an employer pulls jobs out of Akron and builds another plant in the South, the U.R.W. signs up those employees as dues-paying members of the union. So the International bureaucrats don't lose all that much.

The only difference is that the employers are now paying \$2.90 per hour in Danville, Virginia for the same work that an Akron rubber worker would get \$4.70.

## Locals Join Sellout

The leaderships of the Akron local unions, while feeling much more sharply the pressure from the ranks to save their jobs, have no more of an answer to the problem than the International does. They've been negotiating productivity deals as fast as you can say "appeasement."

Local 5, for instance, represents workers at the huge B.F. Goodrich plant in Akron. Last April, Local 5 President George Cunningham signed an agreement with Goodrich which, in the corporation's words, "resulted in significant improvements in cost and productivity in our Akron manufacturing operations."

The agreement allowed the company to set new, sharply higher, productivity standards on its operations, and eliminated some craft and seniority rules.

The agreement was billed as a "job-saving" pact. Goodrich says that because of the agreement, employment at the plant has declined at "a much slower rate... than had been forecast."

NOW GOODRICH WANTS MORE. In a letter to the Local, the corporation demanded as its price for staying

in business in Akron there be no wage increase in 1973, that productivity continue to improve, and that there be small, if any, wage increases in 1974 and 1975.

In a letter to the Local 5 membership entitled "Where Does It End?", Cunningham finally seems to grasp the implications of the deals he had made with management: "What did the setting up of these job-saving committees and all the meetings accomplish? In my opinion, the only things accomplished were to the benefit of the rubber companies... We believed that making these necessary changes would save our jobs. What has it really done? It has led the B.F. Goodrich Company to ask for further concessions at our expense."

But while understanding what management is doing, Cunningham has no plan for fighting it. He says the union must continue to make concessions, but wants the company to make sacrifices also.

A year ago, the leadership of Local 7, Firestone employees, also agreed to a productivity deal which cost the workers the six-hour day which they had had since the 1930s. [For further background on the history of unionism and productivity bargaining in rubber, see "The Employer" Attack and How to Fight It," Part 4, by Lori Larkin, in *Workers' Power* No. 73.]

Now the other large Akron local, Local 2 representing Goodyear workers, has joined the ranks of the productivity dealers.

The leadership of Local 2 has made what President John Nardella called "major concessions" — involving changes in work rules — in signing a supplemental, local plant agreement before the master nationwide contract is negotiated.

Such a procedure is highly unusual but is done only to "show the company that [we] are willing to effect change if it means saving jobs in Akron," says Nardella.

Local 2 was apparently able to avoid some of the more drastic proposals agreed to by some of the other locals, such as eliminating the six-hour day, but only because of pressure from the rank and file.

A Local 2 official told *Workers' Power* that rank and file workers are hurting their jobs by resisting productivity changes. "If they'd let us put more of these changes through, we could protect their jobs," he said. "But if we go over there and try to tell them that, they call us company stool pigeons."

An apt description, indeed! Although job security is the most important single issue in the tire-making industry at this time, it cannot be separated from the question of wages. Here again, the International has already sold out.

The International is asking for only an 8% increase in wages and fringe benefits. This amounts to just slightly more than the old 5.5% guidelines, and not enough to keep up with the cost of living.

U.R.W. President Peter Bommarito's earlier, militant-sounding statements about challenging Phase 3 wage controls have gone out the window already.

When asked whether he thought

## International Unions Map Solidarity Action

One significant aspect of the current negotiations in the tire-making industry is the involvement of an international union, the International Federation of Chemical Workers' and General Workers' Unions (ICF). The United Rubber Workers is a member of the ICF.

A representative of the ICF is sitting in on contract negotiations, and is prepared to ask ICF-affiliated unions abroad to cooperate if a strike occurs against one of the tire companies in the United States.

For example, if Goodyear is struck, Goodyear workers overseas might be asked to refuse overtime. The U.R.W. is participating in the formation of "world councils" of the major rubber companies to facilitate such international action.

Such international cooperation that exists is on a puny scale, compared to what is needed to fight the giant multi-national corporations. But action that ICF members took last year against a Dutch oil company suggests what the United Rubber Workers might do in their current dilemma.

When that oil company announced plans to close plants in four European nations, workers in the Dutch plant occupied their factory.

Within a few hours, the German workers involved went out on strike, and workers at other plants of the company throughout Europe refused overtime. Pretty quickly, the oil company reversed itself and decided to keep its plants open after all.

# HITS RUBBER UNION

Jim Woodward

rank and file rubber workers would accept such a small wage increase, U.R.W. Public Relations Director Tom Fitt told *Workers' Power* they would, "because it is more than they have gotten before."

Local and International leaderships alike pass off their sell-out deals with management as "job-saving" programs. In reality, as at least the International knows well, these programs will do exactly the opposite.

Fitt told *Workers' Power* that last year's agreements with Firestone and Goodrich haven't eliminated many jobs yet because business is good and the companies are expanding.

He had no answer when asked what will happen if business slumps as expected next year, and companies move to close out less profitable operations.

## Fight Speedup, Save Jobs

What would a real program to save jobs involve? First, there must be a uniform, nationwide wage scale for all workers in the tire-making industry — at or above the level Akron workers now receive.

The cheap labor incentive to move away that the companies now have must be eliminated. Second, there must be no dealing whatever to link wages or jobs to productivity.

If four workers begin to do the work of five, the fifth will be out of a job. Third, to fight already existing unemployment, a return must be won to the six-hour day, on a five-day-a-week basis, at no loss in pay.

The International bureaucracy of the United Rubber Workers is not stupid. It knows that its current policies are costing jobs and hurting the union.

The International leadership, fully aware of what is happening, has already agreed to submit because it is absolutely unwilling to engage in the fight to beat back the rubber companies.

The bureaucracy is unwilling to sacrifice the relatively comfortable relationship it has with management, and is well aware that its present sell-out leadership would not last long if the rank and file were given the chance and began using its own muscle.

Changes in the union leadership would go hand-in-hand with changes in the factories.

The United Rubber Workers was once a fighting union. It was built through repeated strikes, plant occupations, and confrontations with the employers and the police.

Through such actions, the rubber workers were able to defend their six-hour-day in the 1930s, win union recognition, and gain the upper hand in the struggle with the employers.

Now much of this is being lost, and a renewed fight must be made even to win back what was gained in struggle in the past. It is clear that the current leadership is not willing to lead this struggle; it is willing to lead only to new defeats.

The initiative must and will come from the rank and file. One of the first orders of the day will be to discard the retreads who are rolling the U.R.W. to disaster. ■



## STEEL

[Continued from page 3]

to an "experimental" arbitration set-up. This plan would allow the local to skip a crucial step in local grievance processing and send a grievance straight to a special regional arbitration board.

While the "settlements" are much quicker under this scheme, it is simply another step in giving up union control over the fight for decent working conditions.

Related to this was a change in the grievance procedure which further eliminated the power of the steward. Taken together, these changes weaken even more the power of the ranks to resist through their union deteriorating working conditions on the shop floor.

If Abel's scheme goes through as

planned, the steelworkers can expect growing speed-up and lay-offs, and little in wages or benefits to "compensate."

But Abel's surrender will hurt more than the steelworkers. The rubber workers, electrical workers, teamsters and auto workers — all of whose contracts expire this year — will be undermined by this sweetheart plan.

All these workers face similar issues of speed-up, threatening lay-offs due to productivity drives, pressures to keep wages down.

Of course, the government stands firmly behind the employers with Phase 3 controls. The sell-out in advance by one of the largest industrial unions will seriously undermine the bargaining position of all the other unions.

Faced with rigid employer-government opposition, unions can make a breakthrough only through common strategy and action. First of all, this means breaking completely with the bureaucrats' acceptance of Phase 3.

It also requires mutual support and a worked-out strategy of strikes for the entire 1973-74 bargaining round. Clearly, the bureaucrats of

these unions are a million miles from any such conception.

They accept the employer's position on productivity and are cooperating in the government's administration of wage controls and productivity dealing.

The initiative has fallen of necessity to the ranks, not only of the USW but of all the unions involved in this round.

The steelworkers have a golden opportunity to demonstrate their opposition to Abel's treason in the upcoming local elections. Any local officer who voted for Abel's plan should be voted out of office.

If these elections remain nothing but contests between the "ins" and the "outs", however, little will be accomplished. Militants should organize caucuses to run slates on a program that meets the ranks' pressing needs — a program that clearly rejects the whole productivity scheme, that opposes arbitration of the contract, that demands the right to ratify and strike over any contract, that demands a 30-hour work week at 40-hours pay (and that at a substantially higher rate), and that also demands the immediate withdrawal of Abel from the Phase 3 "advisory board." ■

# SUPERFLY VS. SOUNDER?

In 1915 D.W. Griffith made a motion picture entitled *The Clansman*. The novel for which the movie was named painted the Ku Klux Klan of the 1870's as a band of knights. Griffith's movie told a story with a theme that called for a United States where "colored" people would be separated from white people — with white people as rulers.

President Wilson welcomed *The Clansman* (which had been retitled *The Birth of a Nation*) to the White House. After seeing the movie he said, "It is like writing history with lightning."

Wilson did not oppose the wave of lynchings then sweeping the country. The Ku Klux Klan was expanding and by 1924 had a membership of over five million.

In 1922 in *One Exciting Night*, Griffith again used his craft to say something about Black people. He created the funny, scared 'nigger.'

This comic-relief "Negro's" hair turned white whenever he came across the dark, ghosts, storms, guns, death, animals, the police — or white folks.

This scared and infantile Negro had a long career in American movies, alongside Black maids, butlers and stablemen.

The valiant Sidney Poitier, who during the Black movement of the sixties helped out nuns, romanced a blind white girl and married the daughter of a capitalist was an exception to the usual subordination of Blacks on the screen.

However, Poitier's roles were perfectly in tune with the liberal sentiments of the sixties. Acceptable individuals like Poitier could get a nice job, move into a white neighborhood, or marry a white woman.

## "Blaxploitation"

In 1970, *Cotton Comes to Harlem* was made. It had a whole lot of Blacks in it and their hair didn't turn white when they saw cops. Instead, the white cop turned red as he lost his pants in front of the Blacks of the movie and the huge Black audiences.

Since then *Sweet Sweetback*, *Shaft*, *Priest* in *Superfly* and dozens of others have kicked the Man's balls.

Why have they had this opportunity? Well, in the late sixties Hollywood was going down the drain. And the cheap white westerns and other garbage weren't selling too well to the downtown audiences, which were made up of fewer whites and more Blacks in the big cities.

Black audiences were hungry to see Blacks on screen and willing to pay.

Having lived all their lives in the ghetto, Black audiences grabbed at the first movies that showed them some view of the ghetto. Black good guys, Black bad guys, and Black winners offered new and thorough enjoyment for young Black audiences.

Every Black person who — for his own lifetime and 300 years previous to it — has been deprived of seeing Black skin accepted, can see *Shaft*. And *Shaft* the detective will have

psychological meanings that go way beyond what a James Bond expresses for whites.

*Shaft*, which cost a million to produce, is credited with saving MGM. *Superfly*, which cost half a million dollars, grossed between 15 and 20 million.

These movies make a lot of money, so they get made — about 50 Black movies per year. And, whereas *Birth of a Nation* caused race riots in some cities, the new Black movies cause no racial tension.

**Blacks enjoy crushing or "escaping" whiteness, and whites know that they**

**angry oppressed Black people. The filmmakers and their middle-class critics alike betray the needs of the Black masses for self-expression and exploration.**

Junius Griffin of the Beverly Hills NAACP, one of the Black leaders who had been raising a stink about "blaxploitation," called *Superfly* "an insidious film which portrays the Black community at its worst. It glorifies the use of cocaine and casts Blacks in the roles which glorify dope-pushers, pimps, and grand theft."

The Black maids, butlers and stablemen have turned into prostitutes,



Cicely Tyson in "Sounder"

aren't supposed to go to these movies. The movies are escapism fantasies that encourage Black audiences to expel their anger toward whites within the confines of the movie theater.

Blacks involved in making these films, and various Black middle-class critics of them, are engaged in an ongoing "family quarrel" over the movies.

However, since both sides in the feud have essentially the same concerns — the success of Blacks within the confines of this society on capitalist terms — the quarrel turns up no basic conflicts.

*The films exploit the needs of*

pimps and pushers. Cicely Tyson, who plays the mother in *Sounder*, says that these characters are degrading to Black women and present bad images to children.

Jesse Jackson claims that movies like *Superfly* are advertisements for drugs. Ms. Tyson counterposes the "good" images in *Sounder* to those in *Shaft* and *Superfly*.

Jackson counterposes the "voice of the people" and Black music in *Watts-Stax* to pro-drug themes.

But both *Sounder* and *Watts-Stax* fail as real alternatives to *Superfly*. Part of the reason for this is that the

Tyson-Jackson criticisms of movies like *Superfly* are limited and bourgeois.

Rather than calling for movies that show the social and economic roots and effects of drug traffic and prostitution, Jackson and Tyson favor movies that ignore these "immoralities."

Roy Innis of CORE says, "We're talking about the right of the Black community to protect its image, to fight against exploitation." And the answer of CORE, of the NAACP and of PUSH to this is a Coalition against Blaxploitation (CAB).

CAB wants distinguished Black leaders to review all Black movie scripts "before these bad movies are made, to upgrade them or discourage them in their infancy."

Richard Rountree (who played *Shaft*) says, "What we want in our movies from now on is to show Black people winning because they use their heads not because they do violence with their hands."

(Does he consider *Shaft*, the super-stud sleuth, an example of that?)

Cicely Tyson, who wants doctors, lawyers and inventors to be shown in Black movies would agree with Rountree, I'm sure. Like the Black middle-class leaders, they want Blacks to be respectable — smart but not too violent.

## Cynicism

Innis and Jackson criticize *Superfly* for glorifying crime and drugs. Ron O'Neal, the cocaine pusher in *Superfly*, says that people like Jackson and Innis make him sick and that their Coalition Against Blaxploitation is elitist.

O'Neal claims that *Superfly* is realistic and that every kid in Harlem knows that crime pays anyway. So why not make a movie where the pusher gets away with half a million?

But then he says that he himself doesn't subscribe to any of the values in the movie and that he wants to encourage people "to do." Do what?

*Superfly* is the story of Priest, a light-skinned, straight-haired, handsome, hip, cool coke dealer who wants to get out of the racket and lead "the good life" (for which he needs about a half million dollars, he figures.)

He's real cool, so he gets out — all by himself. Well, not exactly. Two very dark-skinned, unattractive Black men are sacrificed to Priest's escape.

Fat Freddie is offed while out on the street collecting for Priest. The film then cuts immediately to Priest strolling through Central Park with his pretty, white-featured Black girl friend who's covered in mink. His white suit and her minks are unstained by Freddie's blood.

Scatterman, Priest's friend and supplier, has gotten out of the business. Priest convinces him to do him a final favor. Scatter dies for it, but small matter.

A couple of Black nationalist politicians approach Priest for money and he tells them to fuck off — that

# BEHIND THE BLACK CINEMA DEBATE

Candace Watson



Richard Roundtree in "Shaft's Big Score"

they haven't anything to say to him since they aren't on the barricades today. "When you get ready to Kill Whitey, then call me up."

The movie thus implies that the time when Blacks will be engaged in an active and violent political struggle is far off and not connected to the present.

At this time, the time when we are seeing *Superfly*, we are told that Priest is what's happening. He's the man to be.

Obviously, however, Priest — the man who defeats the entire New York Police force alone — does not exist anywhere in society. Black youth who want to "live like him" wind up sticking up a tavern and going to jail, or working sixty hours a week for General Motors and dressing like Priest on Sunday.

So, what has Ron O'Neal encouraged people "to do"? Cynicism rules in *Superfly*. Politics is "sissified." Getting clear with the bread at anybody's expense is where it's at.

### One-Dimensional Saints

Priest's girlfriends play roles written for non-persons. Cicely Tyson, on the other hand, objects to the roles that Black women are getting in today's Black movies.

She refused roles as a prostitute, or mere sex object. Instead, she found herself the role as the silent mother saint in the "good" Black film, *Sounder*.

*Sounder* takes the Black audience from the broken glass and cool clothes and pimps and pushers of *Superfly*'s Harlem to the green Alabama countryside of the 1930's.

A trip into a symbolic utopian past, and the story of a boy and his dog, replace the vicarious pleasure the audience gets from kicking the shit out of "The Man."

Where *Shaft* and *Priest* are one-dimensional he-man heroes, neither hurt nor destroyed by racism, the members of the family of Rebecca and Nathan Morgan are one-dimensional saints.

They never quarrel or hurt each other. They trudge steadily forward with the patience of Job.

In *Superfly*, and the other movies of that type, we are given life in the 70's as an individualistic fantasy of escape. In *Sounder*, Cicely Tyson says, "we find a part of our history, a testimony to the strength of human kind. . . the Black woman has never been shown on the screen this way before. She has always been a prostitute, a drug user or someone who slept around."

Ms. Tyson agrees, apparently, with both the Black and white middle class — that prostitution, addiction, and sleeping around are the immoral marks of a bad person. She wants to show Black audiences "good" Black people.

Her moral judgements preclude the portrayal of actual Black people — people who are shaped, hurt, destroyed, and strengthened through resistance and struggle by their experiences in a racist and capitalist society.

To assert the dignity of Blacks, the bourgeois makers of *Sounder* felt it necessary to leave the ghetto and the present. To express anger and resentment, equally bourgeois creators of *Melinda*, *Shaft*, *Sweetback*, *Charleston Blue* and *Superfly* found it necessary to ignore the capabilities of the masses of ordinary Black people.

The problems and possibilities of American people, Black and white, have always been excluded from the mainstream of the mass media.

Movies are made for profit, and constructed with ideological messages and escapism that serve the general social interest of the entire capitalist class.

The struggles of the CIO and the depression of the 30's didn't appear on the silver screen.

We will probably wait a long time for a movie that examines the present depression in the Black community — the depression that comes from fewer and fewer jobs, less federal money for social programs, rising drug addiction, and the lack of any organized militant Black movement.

Jesse Jackson had a hand in making *Watts-Stax*, a movie about the "people on the street," but none of this came up. The film consisted of mechanical cuts back and forth between an L.A. Watts-Stax concert, witty monologs from Richard Pryor, and short dialogs with men on the street.

No attempt was made to give this film any thematic continuity, or to go below the surface of Black pop music or street life.

The solution of people like Jackson to the current situation in Black films is not to create a genuine, realistic Black art, but simply to get "a piece of the action." Find Black producers, get a little of the profits for Black scholarships and job training, and the "Black" organizations like PUSH and CORE.

A "piece of the action", like Black businesses or handouts from white capitalists or their government, is never a sufficient answer to the social and economic problems of the Black masses.

Nor are they any answer to a film industry geared to turning out dozens of lousy Black movies.

A break with the Hollywood values that have exploited the fantasies of both Blacks and whites is necessary. Movies that center on fairy-tale Black cowboys, detectives or drug-dealing aristocrats say nothing about the most important experiences of Black people.

At a time when the Black movement is being beaten down and individual acts of terrorism and desperation are common, these movies give

tactic support to passivity, and to the other side of the coin — suicidal terrorism.

Remember the shootings in New Orleans, and the robbery and chase in Chicago involving three Black youths who had just seen *Shaft's Last Score*, of whom two were shot (one killed) by police.

*Birth of a Nation* certainly reflected and supported the racism in American society of the Wilson administration in 1915. *Superfly* and *Sounder* reflect and contribute to a disoriented and attacked Black community during the Nixon administration in 1973.

Gordon Parks, who directed *Shaft* and whose son directed *Superfly*, explains the function of the films this way:

"I knew a Black preacher in Chicago and I remember people who wanted to kill their white bosses coming to the prayer meeting and being calmed down by the preacher. These movies are serving the same therapeutic function."

If art is to have any worth at all in society, in some way it has to support life. Art must heighten and explore feelings and not fritter them away.

Black anger is a component of Black power and action. For Black films to calm people down, as religion attempts to do, is not in the interests of Black life. The continuance of the Black community's life depends on its ability to fight for liberation.

The artistic and social values of Black films depends on their ability to realistically show the oppressiveness and strengths of Black life in this society.

Once into doing that, movies will necessarily pose honest questions about the trail out of oppression for the characters in the movies, and for the masses of Blacks who themselves will "write history with lightning."

## Black Liberation Review

[Continued from page 5]

masses who have defected to Nixon and Wallace, or see their party fade into irrelevance."

The conclusion is "... white political power, given the national mood, cannot address black needs — even if it were so inclined. Thus we are thrown back upon our own resources."

The article sees the barriers to organizing such action as "Individualism undermining the race," i.e., people scrambling "to get over."

Therefore, the strategy for political action is to maintain the organizations of the Movement, i.e., "contribute to the organization of your choice."

Such a hollow answer flows logically from the simplistic "Black vs. white" analysis. The rightist politics of both the Democrats and Nixon is matched by the rightward drift of dominant Black organizations.

Blacks and their issues were virtually frozen out of the last election. But all our leaders and organizations, PUSH,

SCLC, etc., shamelessly pursued one of the candidates. Given this, what have we to gain by financing their careers?

For example, Jesse Jackson stated last year in reference to Chicago's Mayor Daley and the McGovern campaign that "Electing a President in November more important than burying a mayor."

Daley, a representative of the Democratic right wing, has repeatedly shown his hostility to Black interest.

In the '72 elections, Daley supported Hanrahan for state attorney, the murderer of Fred Hampton, the chief charlatan behind the De Mau Mau frame-up and a man who has earned the massive indignation of the Chicago Black community.

Jackson's backhand support of Daley was, also, backhand support of Hanrahan. All of which was done in his tailism of McGovern.

Even though the authors point out the need for Blacks to regain their "lost sense of purpose" it is clear that they offer little real purpose, and only reflect the confusion of the Movement in general.

In reply to the critics of Elijah Muhammad, Muhammad Speaks recently ran an article stating that, "The condition of all those who follow him improves. He is not like those Black men who call themselves leaders, with big cars and fine homes for self only. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad's followers have fine cars from coast to coast. Those who did not have a car before

they started following him, soon have one."

As the lean years approach such statements will sound appealing to many people. In fact, the Muslim attraction is, in part, a get-rich-quick pipe dream, based on middle-class respectability. Their conception of an insulated "Nation of Islam" gives psychological support to such dreaming.

Even though they have organized an \$70 million business network, it is inconceivable that this will alleviate the plight of Black people. Black people are, on the whole, an integral part of the American economic system, primarily as workers.

Their poor condition stems from this, i.e., locked in bad jobs, lay-offs, etc. In order to uplift the Black masses the system of which they are a part must be attacked.

This is a traditional tenet of the Black struggle. But behind the mystical identity and self-help that the Muslims foster you'll find a political conservatism that rules out an attack on the whole racist system.

Instead they, like all religious sects, offer superficial props to the oppressed Black personality: strict morals, puritan dress, dietary rules, and a frugal successful business outlook that lifts you out of your real condition. But like the Bible, the Holy Koran is indigestible in a situation of hunger and poverty.

We have not, and probably will not, find the Muslims at the head of any movement fighting for jobs or decent housing for the masses of Blacks.

In fact, a Muslim entry into the political battles of the real world would destroy the mysticism upon which the organization is based.

# RESISTANCE & REVOLUTION: WOMEN'S HISTORY OF STRUGGLE

Celia Emerson



[REVIEW: *Women, Resistance and Revolution*, by Sheila Rowbotham. New York, Pantheon Books, 1972.]

Sheila Rowbotham, an activist in the English women's liberation movement, has written a book dealing with women's liberation and revolution. *Women: Resistance and Revolution* is the first Marxist book produced by the women's liberation movement in many years. Such a book has been long overdue in both the feminist and Marxist movement.

The most valuable and exciting aspect of this book has been the re-writing of women, in particular working-class women, back into history. For too long, women have been obscured in the "universal brotherhood" and the "emancipation of Man."

While today, with the rise of the women's liberation movement, part of our history has been rediscovered, the history of the working-class feminist movement remains to be written. Sheila has just begun this task.

Rowbotham is not just intent on correcting history. Rather, she hopes her book will become "part of a continuing effort to connect feminism and socialist revolution."

She wishes to explore the alternatives women sought in their struggle for liberation, and also how the liberation of women out of necessity calls for the liberation of all people.

## Women and Capitalism

The book begins discussing the position of women before capitalism. Here she tells of the individual "impudent lasses" who questioned women's role in medieval and feudal societies; these ranged from Ann and Mildred who tried to form a feminist church in the 14th century to Mary Tattlewell and Joan Hit-em-home, who wrote pamphlets protesting against the injustice of the double standard.

With the advent of industrialism and capitalism, women began to connect the idea that their oppression resulted from capitalism.

In this era women's protest came from middle-class women such as Ann

Hutchinson, who refused to accept male standards of behavior, and from laboring women who protested their poverty and loss of rights that came with capitalism, through their participation in the numerous food riots in 18th-century England.

The impact of three revolutions — England in the 17th century, the United States in 1776, and France in 1789 — provided the fertile soil for the first feminist movements.

Most of the ideas and solutions raised by these early feminists were utopian. They ranged from Mary Wolstonecraft, who argued in her brilliant and passionate *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* that education would best equip women for dealing with capitalist society, to Fanny Wright, who tried to build a utopian settlement in Nashoba, Tennessee.

In the period before the 1850's, came the first *revolutionary feminists*: that is, feminists who linked the emancipation of women with some kind of 'socialist' revolution.

William Thompson, an Irish revolutionary, Margaret Fuller, an American writer, and Flora Tristan examined women's position in society and attempted to come up with solutions.

Fuller's efforts were more confined to writing her *Women in the Nineteenth Century*. Tristan, on the other hand, organized laboring women into the workers' union and into Karl Marx's International Workingmen's Association.

Neither Thompson, Fuller, nor Tristan, however, were able to produce a coherent theory that explained women's position in society and the conditions for women's emancipation.

It was not until Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote about how capitalist society worked, how it oppressed women, and most important that capitalist society could only be overthrown by the working class, that a serious theory of women's liberation was created.

Marx and Engels showed how the emancipation of women was inextricably tied with the emancipation of the working class. Marx and Engels were the first to point out the inter-relationship between feminism and socialist revolution.

This was a monumental theoretical discovery, and Rowbotham spends an entire chapter (I think one of her best) on Marx and Engels writings on women's liberation.

However, as Rowbotham points out, neither Marx nor Engels was able to provide a political guide for women fighting for their liberation. That was left to another generation of feminists.

In the late 19th century, a massive working class feminist movement existed in most European countries. Women who fought in the French and German revolutions in 1848, the Paris Commune of 1871, and in the American, German, and Russian working class and socialist movements, formed their own women's organizations that fought for the liberation of women and the working class.

It was in this context that ideas concerning the relationship between women's liberation and socialism, as well as the importance of the independent women's movement, were expounded by people such as Eleanor Marx, August Bebel, and Alexandra Kollontai.

It was not until the Russian revolution of 1917, which destroyed capitalist economic relations and state power, that the social and political basis for the emancipation of women was laid. Rowbotham goes into detail and with great enthusiasm describes the magnificent achievements of the Bolshevik revolution.

Immediately after the Bolsheviks seized power, measures were taken for the liberation of women. Women were no longer subject to men before the law. Social measures, such as free and legal abortions were passed.

Divorces were made easier to get, and children were given legal and economic rights. The Bolsheviks, under the direction of Alexandra Kollontai, then Minister of Welfare, set up communal kitchens, laundries, housing, restaurants — all measures to free women from the drudgery of housework.

There was also, as Kollontai put it, a revolution in people's attitudes. Frederick Engels had pointed out that "it is a curious fact that with every great revolutionary movement the subject of 'free love' comes into the foreground." In Russia, during the revolution, all questions on human sexuality were openly and freely discussed.

The Russian revolution failed, and Rowbotham details how, after 1926, all the gains won by women were destroyed.

However, while Rowbotham details

how women's liberation was lost, she doesn't explain how and why the Russian revolution was destroyed. Somehow, Joseph Stalin mysteriously comes to power.

Rowbotham is at a loss to explain Russian society today. She only says it is not an egalitarian society nor will it fight for women's rights.

Rowbotham fails to see that today Russia is a class society, that it is run by a bureaucratic collectivist ruling class which bases its power, in part, on the exploitation and oppression of women.

It was the destruction of the Russian revolution and the rise of this class to power that destroyed the hopes for women's liberation that the Revolution had generated.

From this point, Rowbotham dismisses the West and looks to the Third World. In this way, one assumes, she turns her back on the possibility of a women's liberation movement in the west re-emerging.

She says nothing about what happened to women during the Spanish revolution of 1936, or about the role of women during the rise of the CIO. Surprisingly she has nothing to say about the rise of the women's liberation movement in the western capitalist nations.

## Schizophrenia

From here the book has major failings. In her chapter on China she traces the development of the women's liberation movement in the 1920's and how it was crushed.

She then gives a great deal of praise to Mao's Stalinist regime for "unbinding women's feet." However, she fails to understand that in order for backward China to industrialize (in order to compete with Russia and the USA) Mao's regime had to mobilize masses of women into production.

Hard work, without freedom, does not equal liberation. Women in China have no control over their work or living situations, comprising less than 6% of the ruling Communist Party Central Committee.

Sheila also doesn't tell us that Chinese women do not have their own women's organizations. Only the totalitarian Communist Party is allowed to exist.

Rowbotham also briefly touches upon Cuba, Algeria and Vietnam. Here too, she argues that because women were involved in fighting against imperialism, they somehow were liberated.

She argues that Cuba and Vietnam are 'socialist' but somehow Algeria isn't, even though her criteria for calling Cuba and Vietnam socialist apply to Algeria.

Cuba and Vietnam — in fact, all of the so-called "Communist" countries — have nothing in common with socialism and women's emancipation. Like Russia they are bureaucratic collectivist regimes.

The major failure of what could have been an exciting book appears to be Rowbotham's 'schizophrenia' when dealing with the criteria for women's liberation.

When dealing with women in the West, she stresses the importance of a working-class movement, and the need for the independent struggle for women's liberation. When she looks to China or Cuba, somehow the same criteria aren't that important.

The greatest problem — one that Rowbotham admits — is that she was not able to make the connection between feminism and socialism.

Her failure to do so, however, doesn't detract from the fact that her book provides us with a wealth of important information, and with provocative ideas that all Marxists and feminists must deal with.

# TURKEY: CAPITALISM MEANS REPRESSION

*[Editor's Introduction: This article was prepared for Workers' Power by an activist with first-hand experience in the Turkish student movement and the now-suppressed Turkish Labor Party. The author exposes not only the brutal suppression of the radical movement by the U.S.-backed strongarm regime, but also the social weakness of that movement which contributed to its defeat.]*

In 23 months of martial law, the Turkish government has packed prisons with leftists and sharply limited political activity. More than 3,500 people have been tried or are awaiting trial in martial law courts. At least 1,000 others are sought by the police.

In addition, there are several thousands of people whose civil rights have been severely restricted because of their affiliations with the once legal, but now banned, Marxist Turkish Labor Party.

The government has also passed a law dissolving all existing student organizations and forbidding any society to be founded on the basis of "class, religion or extremist ideology." Several leftist publications have been closed by martial law authorities.

The government can now take over any campus in an "emergency" and control faculty appointments in order to prevent the teaching of Marxist-Leninist tenets.

The secret police apply a number of sophisticated and unsophisticated devices of torture from bastinado and burning to electro-shock and sexually oriented tortments.

Of the more than 3,500 people under arrest or being tried, the vocations of about 2,200 are known. A breaking down of this number sheds some light upon the social roots of the recent socialist movement in Turkey.

The list (see box) leaves no doubt that the movement was dominated by intellectuals and bureaucrats. Traditionally, the Turkish universities have been institutions that trained civil servants.

## State Domination

The state has always played a pre-dominant role in the history of Turkish society. The so-called "modernization" or "Westernization" efforts of the late Ottoman and early Turkish Republican era (approximately 1850-1950) further emphasized the role of central authority.

The principal objective behind the foundation of modern educational institutions during this era was retraining the government personnel in order to cope with challenges to the state from both within and without.

The reforms resulted in imposing an efficient bureaucratic network on the little changed structure of Turkish society.

Significant changes in Turkish

society came after the 1950's as a result of the improved economic infrastructure of the country. These developments, which were capitalistic in nature, altered the political scene in Turkey.

Consequently, the universities were hard pressed to change their educational policy and train students for the capitalistic private sector rather than for the *étatist* (a form of state capitalist) public sector.

This the universities did not willingly do, and many faculty members adopted socialist rhetoric in criticism of the capitalistic development of the country. However, only a few of this faculty were ready to see that a truly socialist order — that is, working class power — be installed in Turkey.

The influence of the faculty on students is clear. In view of the historical role of the Turkish universities and of the bureaucratic family background of most of them, the students could be considered as future functionaries in the now threatened state bureaucracy.

By the same token, the professionals, especially the lawyers and journalists, are the products of the same universities and traditionally have been among the most outspoken supporters of pro-Western, centralist, and bureaucratic tenets in recent Turkish history.

To put it in other terms, the recent arrests in Turkey represent conflict within the powerful state bureaucracy. The military which is in charge of the political decision-making today is the

same force that had led the bureaucratic reforms of the era of modernization in the past.

How do we explain the contradiction? Two reasons can be suggested. First, the qualitative changes in the commitments of the armed forces over the last decade; second, the cooperation of the bureaucratic resistance movement with the Turkish labor movement.

Due to various developments since 1960, the military has become a major financial circle with vested interests in the capitalistic development of Turkey.

The savings of officers are pooled into a corporation which invests capital in vast projects, often in partnership with foreign companies. The returns of these investments are distributed hierarchically within the military according to rank.

It is not a coincidence that the overwhelming majority of the officers involved in the recent "socialist" movement were cadets, lieutenants and retired officers.

With the exception of the top ranking bureaucrats, the civilian officials do not benefit from such enterprises. In fact, many a small bureaucrat was hard hit by the steep inflation that accompanied the recent capitalistic development.

These small bureaucrats, such as the high school but especially the primary school teachers, constituted the rank and file of the bureaucratic resistance alongside the students.

Up until recently, the primary

school teachers enjoyed great prestige and their income enabled them to live a decent life and to put their own children through higher education.

Recently, however, the primary school teachers found themselves forced to take second jobs. They tilled the land in the countryside, and in cities they owned small shops or drove taxicabs, or went into weaving or picked up auxiliary jobs.

It was only natural that the teachers joined the resistance against capitalism, albeit to fail. The crucial strategic error of the bureaucratic resistance was to disregard the new engagements of the military and its major tactical error was its involvement in and encouragement of non-working-class, terrorist forms of struggle.

Nevertheless, we do not believe that the government would be this harsh on the students, teachers, and other government employees had the bureaucratic resistance movement not cooperated with a genuinely socialist labor movement in Turkey.

This is evident in various government declarations, which consider the students and teachers as misled by "communist propaganda."

Also, it should be noted that the government occasionally grants releases and acquittals to bureaucrats, but not to the adherents of the labor movement — although the latter had taken a clear cut attitude against anarchist tactics.

The adherents of the labor movement were workers, technicians, peasants, petite bourgeois, and some intellectuals and peasants.

As indicated in the list of arrestees accompanying this article, there were significant number of workers among the recently arrested people. One must add to their number the technicians and engineers who, with increased industrialization, become less differentiated from highly skilled workers.

The petit bourgeois can be considered as allied to the labor movement. The private sector in Turkey is increasingly coming under the control of a few powerful corporations.

The smaller entrepreneurs are negatively affected by this development as they find themselves at the mercy of economic factors beyond their control.

The smallest entrepreneurs — such as dealers, small shop owners, cab drivers and artisans who themselves are the only employees of their business — suffer most.

The labor movement which progressed in line with the capitalistic development of Turkey had intimate ties with the Turkish Labor Party (TLP), especially from 1965 onward.

[Editor's note: The Turkish Labor Party, which is the Communist Party of Turkey, is the only mass political organization in the Turkish working class. The details of its origin and policies will be discussed in a future article.]

Almost all leaders of the TLP are now in prison. The vocations of the 38 of them are unspecified in the list above. Like the other TLP leaders

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## VOCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF ARRESTED SOCIALISTS IN TURKEY

(based on information supplied in man hunts in Turkey put out by the Organization of Democratic Resistance of Turkey in October 1972)

number	vocation
1,152	students
558	government employees [322 primary and high school teachers + 77 university professors, lecturers, assistants + 102 officers, cadets + 13 sergeants + 44 others]
144	professionals [lawyers, journalists, artists, etc.]
91	workers [including trade-union leaders and the unemployed]
76	peasants
59	technicians and engineers
56	petite bourgeois [small tradesmen, drivers, tailors, book dealers, etc. + 9 county mayors]
17	employees of private companies
13	army privates
2,166	
38	vocations unspecified but all TLP leaders
2,204	

# international report



## Britain: Union "leaders" sabotage labor offensive against wage freeze

The British labor movement's first offensive against the Heath government's wage freeze has ended in failure. The gas workers have returned to work, while walkouts by hospital workers and civil servants are dying down.

Key to this defeat was the fact that Britain's strongest unions failed to join in support of the relatively weak unions which led the February strike wave, but were unable to sustain it.

The blame for this failure lies in the hands of the bureaucrats who lead these unions.

Negotiators for British Ford Motor Company workers repeatedly warned the workers of the dangers of "going it alone" in an "illegal strike." They agreed to issue no propaganda during the negotiations.

The shop stewards' committees, which were generally in favor of a strike, made the mistake of going along with this decision. (In some cases this was not simply a mistake. Communist Party stewards did not want to "embarrass" their allies in the union bureaucracy.)

As a result there was no attempt to mobilize the ranks before the strike vote. Nor were any attempts made to form alliances with other striking workers.

Faced with the possibility of "going it alone" in a strike against the government, most Ford workers voted against a serious fight against the freeze, choosing instead to authorize only short token walk-outs.

The miners' union, which last year led the offensive against the government, voted by a two-to-one margin against striking against the government's new wage law.

Joe Gormley, President of the miners' union, stated, "I was terribly surprised by the decision." In fact, he contributed greatly to bringing it about.

Gormley announced last month that any union which struck alone against the freeze was "committing suicide." The only other alternative, he stated, was forcing new elections through a general strike.

Gormley forgot to mention that the Labor Party itself had attempted to institute similar legislation during its last terms of office. He also happens to be on the national executive of the Labour Party.

The labor bureaucracy as a whole did nothing to build the strike wave which broke out last month. Their vote for a token one-day general strike was in fact a minimal response to the anger of the rank and file. Now that the movement has subsided, they are getting in line behind the Heath government.

Hugh Scanlon, "leftist" head of the powerful engineering workers' union now foresees "a new period of union and government cooperation" if only Heath will "modify" Britain's anti-union Industrial Relations Act.

Previously Scanlon and most other

labor bureaucrats had urged repeal of the Act. Scanlon is now aping the most reactionary of Britain's trade union "leaders" in saying "The trade union movement has to deal with things as they are and not necessarily as they would like them to be."

The "way things are" is that the Labour Party, which has close ties to the bureaucracy, offers no real alternative to the Heath government, and Scanlon knows it.

Moreover, if the Labour Party attempted to wage a serious fight against Heath, it could unleash a wave of militancy which neither the Labour Party nor the bureaucrats could keep under control.

Given this danger, Scanlon and the bureaucracy in general will prefer making the best deal they can with the Heath government.

## Chile: Allende shuffles cabinet, but reassures bourgeoisie, army

President Allende has shuffled his Cabinet following the recent Chilean elections. The most notable change is the resignation of the three high-ranking military officers who joined the cabinet during the political crisis last fall.

The capitalist presence inside the cabinet remains secure. Eight of the fifteen cabinet posts went to the splinter bourgeois parties which are part of Allende's Popular Unity coalition. This despite the fact that these parties have virtually no popular support.

Nor will the military disappear from the political scene. Allende said that the armed forces will continue to play "an important role" in efforts to alleviate the nation's economic crisis.

The Chilean working class united to defeat the bourgeoisie's strategy in the last elections. In return Allende continues to provide guarantees to the ruling class that his government will not threaten their power or their property. Chilean workers must now recognize Allende's fundamental support of capitalism in Chile and create a truly revolutionary party.

## France: Immigrant workers wildcat against auto giant

French immigrant workers have wildcatted against the giant Renault auto company. Four hundred walked off the job at the state-run company's Billancourt plant, near Paris.

Half of Renault's 96,000 workers are immigrants. In France as a whole, nearly one worker in five is an immigrant, mostly from Algeria, Spain, Portugal and Italy — all countries with major unemployment problems — with increasing numbers from black Africa. The immigrant workers are generally confined to the most menial unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. The Renault strikers want not only

higher pay but the right to learn skills. At Billancourt, out of 400 workers, only sixteen have been given the "qualified" status that would enable them to move upward.

Renault has offered the strikers a wage raise (of one cent an hour) but refused to give in on the skills issue. The Communist Party and the trade union bureaucracy decided to treat this as a victory. The strikers refused the offer.

The implications of the Renault strike reach out to the entire French labor movement. The militancy of workers in general has been increasing. Wildcat strikes and rejection of negotiated contracts have been on the rise.

Workers have been held in check for the past few months by the union bureaucracy. They were told that their strikes would endanger the fortunes of the Communist Party — Socialist Party coalition in the recent national legislative elections (see *Workers' Power* No. 73).

The death of the coalition may well lead to a strike wave in the near future, comparable to the massive struggles which have taken place recently in Great Britain, Italy, and Denmark. Already, sympathy strikes in support of the Renault workers are spreading rapidly.

At the same time, student strikes against the draft and educational system have closed down the secondary schools system and emptied the universities.

The combination of student protest and working-class militancy, which erupted in 1968 into the greatest general strike in history, is once again on the move in France.

## Rhodesia: Racist regime seeks black cover for white supremacy

Rhodesia's racist government has taken the first steps toward establishing "Bantustans" in the pattern of South Africa's apartheid regime.

The Rhodesian government, which calls its policy "decentralization", has set up "semi-autonomous tribal regions" in each of Rhodesia's two largest provinces.

The authorities who will supposedly run these regions will be selected by the provincial assemblies of tribal chiefs, who will nominate one chief from each administrative district.

These chiefs have no authority, no power, no legitimacy and no purpose other than to serve as covers for the continued subjugation of the black majority in Rhodesia by the white ruling class. Just in case they run into trouble they will be "guided" in their work by the government's provincial commissioners.

The government's attempt to shackle the black population reflects its fear of the rapidly growing Black resistance movement.

In February the government declared martial law over the whole

of Chiweshe Reserve, a three hundred mile square area north of Salisbury, Rhodesia's capital.

Collective fines have been levied against villagers who support and service the Black guerrilla movement. Under the guise of anti-guerrilla actions, the Rhodesian army has been terrorizing the peasantry for months.

So far, the working class in the towns has not been involved in the resistance movement, except in a servicing role. Just how crucial such support could be has been shown by the recent strikes by black workers in South Africa.

## Denmark: Mass strike hits inflation, employer offensive

Over a quarter million Danish workers, about one-third of the total organized work force, have carried out the biggest work stoppage in Denmark since 1936.

Two-thirds of the strikers walked out after employers turned down government-proposed wage guideline. Employers locked out the rest.

Manufacturing, shipping, bus transportation and utility repairs were crippled. Most newspapers were closed by a lockout of printshop workers.

The conflict grows out of the growing inflation crisis which has hit Denmark along with other European countries. The employers demand that the government pledge that no employer contributions will be required for any new social legislation in the next two years.

As elsewhere, the capitalists demand that the workers pay the entire cost of social welfare and sickness benefits.

## Monetary maneuvers fail to solve world financial chaos

The erosion of capitalist confidence in the latest monetary maneuverings are expressed by a recent *Wall Street Journal* "News Roundup" feature.

"With key world currencies afloat against the U.S. dollar, and likely to continue floating for some time, the international monetary system has dissolved into a formless suspension of regional blocs and isolated outsiders," says the *Journal*.

The article leaves it vague as to whether the U.S., whose currency has now lost its unchallenged post-war supremacy, is considered as part of a "regional bloc" or as an "isolated outsider."

It is expected that governments will intervene on currency markets to keep the floating currencies within desired bounds. Exactly how to accomplish this without provoking the threat of a full-fledged new crisis has not yet been determined.

# Inflation

[Continued from page 4]

At the same time, socialists and militants should welcome the unexpectedly widespread participation and popular sympathy for the meat boycott, as an indication of the depth of outrage against the price spiral, and as an indication of the potential willingness of masses of housewives and working people to join a political struggle — if one can be built — against ravaging inflation. Nonetheless, our main responsibility is to point out that the boycott itself opens no way out of the crisis. Unable to sustain itself beyond a brief period, and failing to give rise to any ongoing movement based on working

class organizations or political demands, the boycott will not succeed in forcing down prices or in preventing the further erosion of our living standards.

If a working class anti-inflation struggle cannot be built, the enthusiasm spontaneously generated in the first few days of the boycott will change rapidly to confusion and demoralization as its long-term failure becomes clear. Union militants and working class housewives must take the lead — the union bureaucracies have already shown they will do nothing — in fighting to link up the demands for lower prices to broader demands that can solve the crises of food shortages and high prices.

The Phase 3 wage guidelines must be decisively broken, and full cost-of-living must be won in all new contracts. Cost-of-living protection must also be won for welfare recipients, unemployed, and retired workers. Full employment must be established, with a thirty-hour week at forty-hours' pay. Government subsidies to giant capitalist agriculture interests must be abolished, and the food industry's books opened for

# THE DEEP ROOTS OF INFLATION

By ART FOX

Essays on the Capitalist Crisis, 1958-1972. From IS Book Service. \$1.

*These essays, written over the past 15 years by a veteran revolutionary and UAW oppositionist, attack Keynesian theories of the capitalist economy and the concessions to Keynesianism by many contemporary socialist writers. Fox shows that the capitalist crisis is a crisis of production rooted in the falling rate of profit. In showing the applicability of classical Marxism to today's economic problems, Fox also shows that these problems are not transitory, but the result of long-term tendencies to stagnation and crisis which can only be resolved by the revolutionary action of the working class.*

workers' inspection to expose hidden profits. If necessary, the entire food industry must be nationalized under workers' control in order to ensure ample food production for all at cheap prices.

Only such a movement — which could link the struggles of the unions to independent working class community and housewives' organizations — would give us a fighting chance against the ravages of Nixon's "New Prosperity".

# Turkey

[Continued from page 13]

they are intellectuals or trade unionists. The intellectuals who stuck with the Party to the last moment differ from other intellectuals. They are a different breed of people, these TLP intellectuals

who remained with the Party.

They often come from poor families with provincial origins and/or do not have the bureaucratic family tradition of other intellectuals.

In fact, some of the arrested university students must be differentiated from the rest along similar class lines. A student who has been the first of his family to get to an institution of higher learning tends to have different attitudes and feelings with his comrades, even when he is within the bureaucratic resistance movement.

The students from the provinces or shantytowns also have different

leanings from those who have educated parents or who come from better established families of the residential quarters of the three metropolitan areas of Turkey.

The high number of peasants who participated in the recent socialist movement in Turkey is a direct consequence of the extended market economy.

With the disintegration of the traditional subsistence economy, more peasants are becoming subject to the realities of a capitalist economy.

In short, there have been two class tendencies in the recent Turkish socialist movement: bureaucratic-

leftist and worker-socialist. So far, the former has dominated the scene as is evident in the number of people who adhered to that cause.

However, we believe, the future lies with the latter cause. Since December 1971 the real income of the workers has decreased 13%, in face of inflation and because the right of strike is now subject to the whim of the martial authorities.

Hopefully, the Turkish socialists have learned with recent experience that there is no easy way to socialism and that the only meaningful struggle is to be waged around a workers' party. ■

# Abortion

[Continued from page 5]

This issue dramatically and brutally points out the need for a working-class women's liberation movement, self-organized and independent of the Establishment's political parties — to fight for the special needs of all women, but especially black, other minority women, and working women.

We are the ones, not Nixon or Woodcock or Meany, who will die at

the hands of medical quacks or be forced to raise children that, given an alternative, we'd never bear.

We're the ones who will suffer when our protective legislation is stripped away, not McGovern or Kennedy or the rich bosses of the Democratic and Republican parties. We are the ones who are systematically prevented from getting better jobs, or any jobs for that matter, or better working conditions.

To expect our "liberal" union bureaucrats or the Democrats to fight those battles for us is to pull wool over our own eyes, and to continue to suffer the same old crap day after day. We have to organize ourselves to fight our battles and to take up the battles of all our oppressed sisters and brothers. No one is going to do it for us. ■

# Hazards

[Continued from page 6]

— even if the required capital is "available."

Not only will increased capital expenditures be required, but it will also be necessary to increase the size of most maintenance crews.

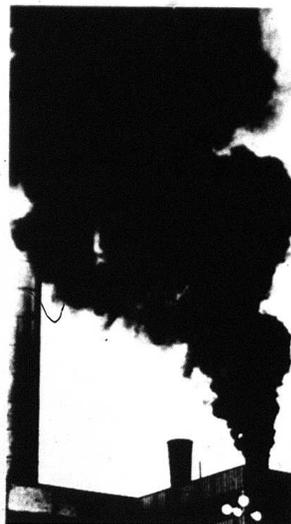
Moreover, a massive effort will have to be begun in research and development of techniques to counteract job-related illnesses and accidents.

Under capitalism, the employers will try to pass the cost of this investment back onto the working class through (1) speed-up; (2) price inflation; and (3) increased taxes.

To recognize the likely response of the capitalist class is not to throw cold water on the effort to get safe working conditions in the U.S.

On the contrary, some incomplete (but important) gains have already been won — in spite of the opposition of the capitalist class. The passage of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 is a good example.

But if the fight for job safety is to be thoroughgoing and consistent, it necessarily must carry over into a fight for workers' control of government and industry.



Workers must demand that the state cease protecting and subsidizing the corporations. We need a government that will protect the needs and interests of the workers.

This means that the working class needs its own party, a labor party. Otherwise, it will be impossible to make the corporations — and the corporations alone — pay the cost of making U.S. work places safe and healthy for American workers. ■

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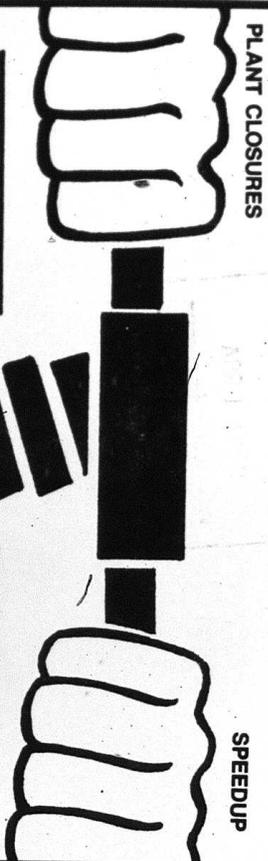
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