

# Workers' Power

international socialist biweekly

no. 48

## India, Pakistan at War

For the fourth time since 1947, war has come to the India-Pakistan subcontinent. This time, however, the situation is different, in that there are two wars going on simultaneously — two wars that are very different from each other.

The first war is being fought for the national independence of Bangla Desh (formerly East Pakistan) by the people of that nation. This war is the result of more than 20 years of discrimination and exploitation by the Punjabis of West Pakistan, culminating in the slaughter and repression of the last nine months.

Large numbers of Indian troops are fighting beside the Mukti Bahini (Bengali guerrillas), but they are fighting for another cause.

The second war is an attempt by India to cripple and humiliate Pakistan, to render it incapable of ever opposing its will to India's. Right now, India is making its main military effort in the East. Once the Pakistani forces there are defeated, India may well launch all its armies against the West.

The military situation is still fluid as this article goes to press, but the probable outcome is clear.

Pakistan will be defeated in the East for certain. This would be true even without Indian intervention. Pakistan has three divisions in Bangla Desh; too few to suppress a hostile population of 73 millions, and too many to be maintained indefinitely across a thousand miles of enemy territory.

The Mukti Bahini would eventually have defeated the West Pakistan troops by themselves — especially with the help

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Indian troop column passing Bengal refugees in East Bengal

### EDITORIAL

## Merry Christmas And Happy Unemployment

Despite all Nixon's ballyhoo about the instant prosperity that would be created by his New Economic Policy, unemployment worsened (as usual) during November as masses of young people and housewives found it impossible to get work for the Christmas season, which many depend on for the money needed to celebrate the holidays. In Michigan, to give one example, the unemployed figure jumped to 7.2 percent.

But these figures themselves don't reveal the whole, disastrous employment picture. Beyond the usual seasonal unemployment and layoffs is the situation facing particular groups — young people, blacks, women, and Vietnam veterans.

A study just published by the Twentieth Century Council demonstrates that black youth unemployment in the major

cities reaches levels up to 45 percent. This study suggests (in the forlorn hope of inducing reform programs) that these cities are "kegs of social dynamite" because of this situation.

In every city one can find large areas — not only black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano, but white as well — where unemployment or underemployment is the norm. For Vietnam veterans the picture may be even worse. For these people — mainly young and of course including many black and other minority people — jobs simply do not exist.

The same factors which led to the "de-escalation" which brought the veterans home from Vietnam have created a contraction of the war economy and related industries. Because these industries cannot profitably be reconverted

to useful production, the capitalist economy has no room for the soldiers thrown back into the economy (let alone for the millions already out of work).

The reverse side of the unemployment picture is overtime and speedup. In the Detroit auto plants, for example, while a virtually complete freeze on hiring has taken effect (and Ford is actually laying off), those who have work are forced to work nine or ten-hour shifts six days a week. The auto corporations maximize their profits by squeezing the most possible work from the fewest possible workers. Similar conditions exist in other industries.

The American working class needs to make 1972 a year of escalated resistance to the government's anti-labor offensive.

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# Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## WIZARD OF ID



BAD NEWS, SIRE...  
UNEMPLOYMENT IS  
UP 10%.



# Washington Teachers Oppose Wage Controls

On November 13, in Olympia, Washington, the Washington State Federation of Teachers met in its yearly convention to discuss resolutions and elect officers.

Members of the International Socialists proposed a series of demands opposing the wage freeze: *Labor Off the Pay Board; No Support to the AFL-CIO Leadership Which Has Supported the Freeze; and No Support to Candidates Who Accept the Principle of Limiting Wages.*

The first two demands were endorsed by the WSFT convention; the last lost by

eight votes. The convention also passed a resolution supporting the call for a national work stoppage against the freeze.

A meeting of the Seattle Federation of Teachers Local 200, after the convention, voted to have the State Federation send a telegram to George Meany demanding that he quit the Board, and to have copies of the WSFT resolutions on the wage freeze sent to other union locals in the Seattle area.

[S. Wolf is a member of Seattle Federation of Teachers Local 200 and of the Seattle International Socialists.]

# Workers' Power 48

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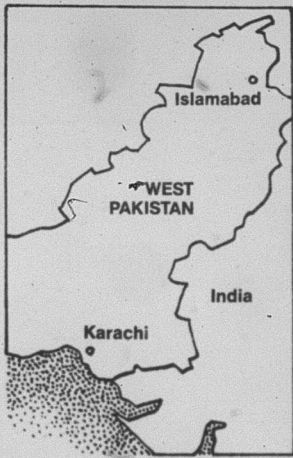
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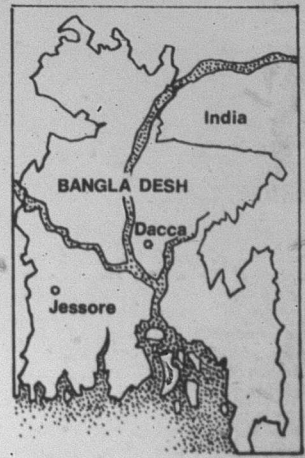
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# India, Pakistan: Subcontinent In Flames

R.F. Kampfer



[Continued from page 1]

of the Bengali climate. (The flooded deltas of the East are very different from the dry mountains of the West. More Pathan and Punjabi soldiers are probably dying from dysentery than from bullets.)

Pakistan will probably be defeated on the Western front as well, although India would find this a much tougher nut to crack. Pakistan may be able to defend its borders, perhaps even occupy part of the disputed state of Kashmir. It cannot hope, however, to defeat the Indian army on Indian territory.

Chinese aid might make the difference, but the mountain passes to China are blocked by the winter snows. India chose its moment well.

If the issue is not settled before the spring thaw, India expects Russian counter-pressure to neutralize the threat from China. Chinese aid, in the circumstances, will probably be limited to UN speeches denouncing India as an aggressor.

## IMPERIALISM

In the war between India and Pakistan, the ruling classes of both sides are motivated by undiluted national greed. Pakistan is fighting to keep its monopoly on the jute, rice, and other resources of Bangla Desh which flesh out its weak economy. Indian capitalism wants access to those resources itself; and India wants to solidify its hold on the disputed state of Kashmir.

Though now India justifies its intervention in Bangla Desh with expressions of concern for the right of nations to self-determination, the case of Kashmir gives the lie to these pretences. India has always denied Kashmir, with its Moslem majority, the privilege of voting on whether it wants to be part of India or Pakistan — a vote India would probably lose.

In Pakistan, dictator Yahya Khan has done an outstanding job of destroying his own country. Almost singlehandedly he managed to transform a reformist movement for East Bengali regional autonomy within Pakistan, into a revolutionary movement for national independence. His slaughter of a million Bengalis has made him a worldwide pariah, except in China, where Mao remains uncompromising in his opportunism.

Yahya's master stroke was driving ten million refugees into India. India simply cannot afford to feed ten million extra mouths. Nor could it tolerate the possibility of an independence movement spreading to its own West Bengal. Yahya Khan practically handed Indira Gandhi the opportunity to make war on him in her own interests and be praised as a philanthropist for doing so.

The war is the opportunity of a lifetime for India. India stands to gain several things. First, it relieves itself of 10 million Bengali refugees who are a severe drain on the economy. Second, it gets the Mukti Bahini out of the country before they can form links with the restless West Bengal of India. Third, it offers a chance to re-establish the traditional trade pattern between East Bengal and Calcutta. Finally, it deals a crippling blow to Pakistan, India's traditional enemy.

With the secession of the East, Pakistan loses 60 percent of its population and much of its natural resources. India is unlikely to try to occupy West Pakistan outright, probably feeling safe enough to let the remaining fragment survive as best it can. Pakistan may be weakened still further if Afghanistan chooses this moment to press its claims on Pakistan's Pathan territory.

But while fighting to fragment Pakistan, India is not fighting for a genuine liberation of East Bengal. For example, it has given little direct aid to the Mukti Bahini. News photographs show the Bengalis armed with obsolete SM Lee-Enfield rifles and Sten guns, while the Indians carry FN semi-automatics. All heavy weapons are in the hands of Indian regulars.

One Pakistani general has claimed

that the Indians are deliberately placing the guerrillas where the Pakistanis can slaughter them. This is probably a lie, but doubtless India doesn't want the Bengali army to get any stronger than it has to.

## CLIENT STATE

In order to solve its "Pakistan problem" once and for all, India's willing to sponsor the secession of East Bengal. But that is not the same as supporting the struggle for an independent Bangla Desh.

If an East Bengali state is established that is truly independent of both West Pakistan and India, a liberation movement will very likely develop in the Indian province of West Bengal — a movement for secession from India and the formation of a unified independent Bengal. In this sense, the East Bengali independence struggle is almost as great a threat to India as it is to Pakistan.

Thus, India's vision of an "independent" Bangla Desh is actually that of an Indian client state, a de facto colony. It seeks to absorb the Bengali independence movement and convert it into a tool of Indian imperialism.

Already, the more-or-less non-functional Awami Government-in Exile in Calcutta has become an Indian instrument, which the Indians hope to use to

extend Indian control over the Bangla Desh movement as a whole. But this "government" has so far won little real authority over the Mukti Bahini guerrillas.

The semi-autonomous nature and independent strength of the Mukti Bahini is the major barrier to India's ambitions.

Obviously the political consequences of the war will be great, both in Pakistan and in Bangla Desh. Yahya Khan, of course, will be lucky to escape with his life. So will the demagogue Zulfikar Bhutto, the leader of West Pakistan's "progressive" opposition.

Bhutto pressed Yahya Khan to take a hard line when his own Pakistani People's Party was defeated during the 1970 elections. Now he can try to explain away the results of that hard line.

The wreckage of the old Bengali political parties will be equally great. The Awami League leader Mujibur-Rahman (now held on charges of treason in Pakistan) let every chance slip through his fingers after his Awami League won the 1970 elections. He neither fought the West Pakistani generals politically for autonomy nor organized militarily for independence.

The National Awami Party, however, came off even worse. Under Maoist in-

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# Hands off Bangladesh

[The following are resolutions on the Indo-Pakistani war passed December 7 by the National Action Committee of the International Socialists.]

1. We support the struggle of the Bangla Desh people against the Pakistani occupation, which is a war of suppression against the Bengali people.

We support the Bangla Desh movement's right to get arms from any source, but we oppose the subordination of the Bangla Desh movement to India's imperialist aims.

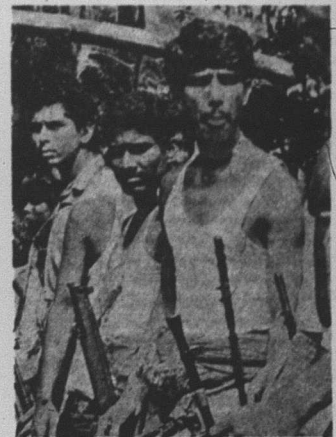
We are for a united, independent, socialist Bengal, and call for the arming of the workers and peasants of both East and West Bengal to fight for it.

2. We support neither India

nor Pakistan in the military conflict between them. We oppose territorial seizures by either side and any attempt by Indian capitalism to replace Pakistani rule in Bangla Desh with its own, or to establish a client state.

We demand the immediate withdrawal of all Indian and Pakistani troops from each other's territories and of all Indian and Pakistani troops from Bangla Desh.

3. We oppose and condemn all intervention in the Indian subcontinent by the United States, the Soviet Union, and China. The purpose of this intervention, whether in behalf of India or Pakistan, would not be in defense of democracy or self-determination, but rather for the imperialist interests of the great powers.





# Mississippi Woodcutters Win Strike

A three-month strike has won a pay increase for 2,500 woodcutters who supply wood to the big paper mills in Southern Mississippi. The strike also forced the Masonite hardboard plant in Laurel, Mississippi, to restore a pay cut put into effect on September 1.

Woodcutters said the pay cut had amounted to a 20-25 percent reduction in the price paid for logs. About 200 cutters had quit hauling wood to Masonite in protest against the cut, thus starting the strike that eventually spread to 3,900 cutters at woodyards across the Southern half of the state.

In the settlement, Masonite also agreed

to measure wood by a cord weighing 5,400 pounds, which had been one of the demands of the strikers. The men will have a choice of selling logs by the cord or by a unit weighing 7,100 pounds.

The Masonite strikers and others in Southern Mississippi won in the face of racist attacks and red-baiting by newspapers and broadcasters in the state. Half of the strikers are black and half are white, and their unity surprised the companies and the news media.

The pay increase won by the 2,500 cutters who supply the paper mills amounts to \$2 per unit of wood deliv-

ered. This raises their pay to the level of the Masonite suppliers before the September 1 pay cut. According to James Simmons, president of the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association to which most of the woodcutters belong:

*"What it amounts to is that the other woodcutters helped Masonite workers to get their pay cut back, and the Masonite workers helped the others to get their pay raised to the Masonite level."*

However, Simmons stressed that aid in the form of money and food is still needed from people across the country. This is because 1,200 cutters are still boycotting 15 wood dealers who have refused to pass on to the workers the \$2 raise given by the paper mills. The dealers sell logs to the companies after buying them from the woodcutters.

*"Even the cutters who have gone back to work are going to have a hard time this winter, because their bills have mounted up," Simmons said. "The holiday season is coming and many woodcutters' families won't have much Christmas unless we get help from good people everywhere."*

[Help should be sent to the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, P.O. Box 754, Laurel, Miss.; phone (601) 425-4890.]

On November 27, Local 1101 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) voted to continue the strike against the New York Telephone Co. The vote has been followed by a growth in rank and file activity and a sharper alignment of forces for and against the strike. Many 1101 members have returned to the picket lines, and the mass actions called by the Chief Stewards (see *Workers' Power* no. 47) have grown larger.

In the face of the militant determination of the telephone workers to hold out for a victory against the Bell System, big business has rushed to New York Tel's defense. Just before the November 27 meeting, the *Wall Street Journal* condemned the strike and advocated strike breaking.

Shortly after the union meeting, both the *New York Times* and the *Daily News* printed editorials calling on the workers to accept the July offer and return to work. When the *Times* and the *News*

print the same line, there is reason to believe the employers are pulling together.

On the other side, the New York Central Labor Council finally, after five months, declared its support of the strike and issued a letter calling on its affiliates to support it. Unfortunately, members of Local 3, IBEW (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers), and other Building Trades unions, are still crossing CWA lines, and using violence to do so when CWA members resist.

Local 1101 will have to exert pressure to make sure the CLC letter is enforced and honored. Clearly, labor solidarity is needed to beat New York Tel and its allies.

In 1968, the IBEW, which represents telephone craftsmen in Chicago, stayed out for over five months after CWA settled and returned to work with nothing to show for it. Joe Biene, the President of CWA — who has given no aid to New

York CWA locals in 1971 — gave no aid to IBEW in 1968. This shameful display by Biene (who is universally hated by New York CWA members) should not be copied by the IBEW.

Harry Van Arsdale, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 3 and President of the Central Labor Council, admits in his letter that the CWA strike is important for all of labor. All trade unionists should demand that his actions match his words.

On Monday, December 6, 500 or more members of 1101 held a militant demonstration at City Hall demanding that Mayor Lindsay enforce the New York City statute prohibiting the importation of scabs. A few days before, Judge Stone had refused to rule and threw the case back to the District Attorney. In short, the city will not enforce this law. At the rally, the leaders of the United Action caucus in 1101 declared that if the city would not enforce the law the strikers would.

[Continued on page 8]

## New Forces Line Up Against Phone Strike

# NIXON HALTS EAST COAST DOCK STRIKE

The Nixon Administration's attack on the wage levels of working people in this country proceeded apace in December. Nixon sent government lawyers into Federal Court to successfully seek a back-to-work injunction against striking longshoremen on East Coast and Gulf Coast ports.

The injunction forces the striking workers, who have been out since September, to return to work for 80 days. The injunction was based on a provision in the infamous anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act, which empowers the President to seek such an injunction in strikes "detrimental to the national interest."

Nixon had already sought and obtained such a back-to-work injunction against striking longshoremen on West Coast ports in October. But he had resisted such a move against Eastern and Gulf Coast workers at that time — not out of any warm feelings toward their

union, but because the shippers urged him to hold off.

The East and Gulf Coast shippers had forced the strike on the longshoremen; the Eastern companies are attempting to drop a contract provision which grants certain longshoremen a guaranteed annual wage regardless of seasonal layoffs. But the Taft-Hartley Act — usually employed, as in the case of the West Coast longshoremen, to break strikes for higher wages and better conditions — requires all provisions of workers' old contracts to remain in full force in the event of a back-to-work order.

Thus, Nixon went after the East and Gulf Coast strikers only after the strike began to threaten his plans for the economy — that is, when the interests of business as a whole had to take precedence over the specific interests of the Eastern shippers.

The result of all this is that all of the

nation's longshoremen have been forced to return to work, at least temporarily, despite the fact that they have no new contracts with their employers. Bargaining is continuing in these strikes, but no settlement is near.

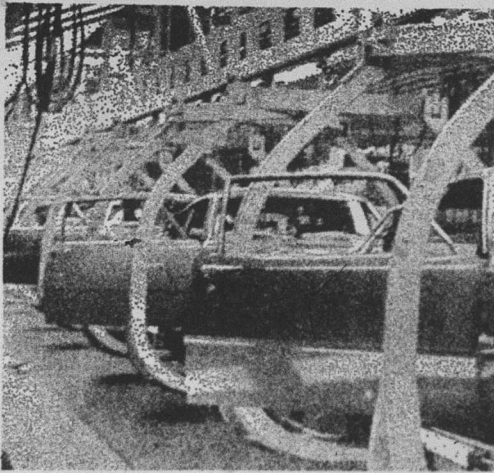
Neither strike will be easy to settle. On the West Coast, the longshoremen are fighting not only for higher wages and improved working conditions, but also to defend their jobs against the threat posed by containerization.

On the East Coast, higher-seniority workers have for some time been protected against the highly seasonal and erratic nature of longshoremen's work by a guaranteed annual wage plan. The employers propose to scrap this plan, calling it "inflationary." How hard the timid and corruption-ridden union leadership will fight against this open attack on workers' wage levels remains to be seen.



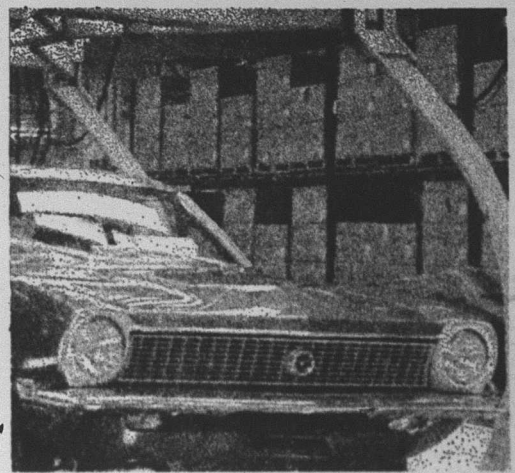
ILA pickets in New York





# The Four Day Week

John Weber



"I pledge to you and the people in the plants that today's dream of the four-day work week will be tomorrow's reality." With this pledge, Frank Runnels, President of Cadillac Local 22, United Auto Workers, announced the formation of a 4-Day Work Week Committee. The stated purpose of this committee is to press for the four-day work week as a major bargaining goal for the 1973 UAW auto negotiations.

As the committee gets rolling, we can expect that it will generate a great deal of support. Any hope of shortening the work week will be enthusiastically welcomed by large numbers of over-worked auto workers.

But it is important that we take a closer look at Runnels' plan. The last similar movement in the UAW, the 30-And-Out movement, ended as a failure.

Launched in similar fashion, this movement promised to fight for the right of every auto worker to retire with \$500 per month after 30 years' service. Though a watered-down version of 30-and-out was won in the 1970 contract talks, very few workers took advantage of the early retirement option, for reasons described in *Workers' Power* no. 44.

As a result, 30-and-out cost the auto corporations very little; in fact, it benefited them, since conceding to this demand on paper permitted them to get away with refusing other more substantial demands which had been placed on the 1970 negotiating table.

## MORE OVERTIME

Runnels' four-day work week proposal may be even worse. He describes it as follows:

"The four-day, 9-hours-per-day, 36-hour-week program is designed to reduce the work week from 40 hours to 36 hours with full pay for 40 hours. This would give us three days off every week with the family. This program calls for time and a half for the fifth day - double time on Saturday - and triple time on Sunday."

The plan has several major drawbacks. To begin with, the present 5-day, 40-hour week in auto barely exists off paper. Regular overtime is standard practice in many plants.

Since the companies do not have to pay fringe benefits on overtime hours worked, they find that time and a half without fringes is no more expensive than straight time plus insurance, pension, and so on. The biggest problem the companies have with overtime is that absenteeism goes way up when overtime is being worked.

Now the corporations are looking to

the "four-day week" as a means of increasing overtime and decreasing absenteeism. William F. Bavinger, Jr., Chrysler Corporation's director of industrial relations, praised a four-day work scheme by saying: "You could increase production if you need to because you could work more days."

In an article in *U.S. News and World Report* (May 19, 1971), another employer told what he liked about the four-day week: "More employees show up for overtime work on Friday - the 'off' day - than formerly appeared for Saturday overtime." In a management-oriented handbook on the four-day week by Riva Poor, this point is made even more directly: "An important advantage of the four-day schedule is that it provides an extra day for overtime."

Thus, the "four-day week" may not provide for a shorter work week at all, but only for a longer day.

It took many years for the labor movement to win the eight-hour day. Because unions like the UAW have been unwilling to oppose regular forced overtime, the standard of an eight-hour day, like the five-day week, exists in auto only on paper. If Runnels' plan is put into effect, we stand to lose even paper recognition of our right to the eight-hour day.

In short, all talk about shortening the work week is meaningless unless it is

tied to the demand of *No Forced Overtime*. And this is a demand that Runnels and his committee have shown themselves unwilling to raise.

In addition to a longer day, the "four-day week" will most likely also mean a faster work pace.

## SPEED-UP

There are many small companies which have already put their employees on the four-day week. And according to the Riva Poor management-oriented handbook mentioned earlier, in most instances the company came out ahead - most companies have used the four-day week as a trade-off for a speedup in working conditions.

Poor advises the companies:

"One requirement to keep in mind: demand a quid pro quo from your workers in exchange for the four-day week. This will in all probability mean the establishment of different work norms."

The following are some of the results cited:

"Some firms receive such large production boosts from converting to 4-day that they can afford to reduce their total workweek to 36 hours and still come out ahead.... Increases in total output and throughput were obtained in many cases at firms where the number of hours of labor had been reduced. It is sometimes

said that most firms operate at less than peak efficiency. The question is why? The results of 4-day firms indicate that total number of hours on the job is less critical to output than other factors such as distribution of hours and employees' willingness to produce."

We can be sure that the auto giants will try to get union cooperation to increase output - that is, to speed us up in return for a supposedly shorter week. This must be resisted.

There is one other gimmick that has often been used by companies who go to the 36-hour, 4-day week. Instead of increasing the hourly pay rate to make up for the four hours lost, they put four hours' pay each week in a special kitty called the "bonus." If the worker is absent or late any day of the week, he or she loses not only pay for the time out, but also the bonus for that week.

For example, if four nine-hour days are scheduled in a week, and you get sick one day, you lose not only the nine hours for the day you're out, but the four-hour bonus as well. This means that by missing one day, you lose 13 hours' pay. This, of course, is another way the companies hope to put pressure on to reduce absenteeism.

Auto workers do need a shorter work week. But Runnels' plan may mean instead a longer day and faster work.

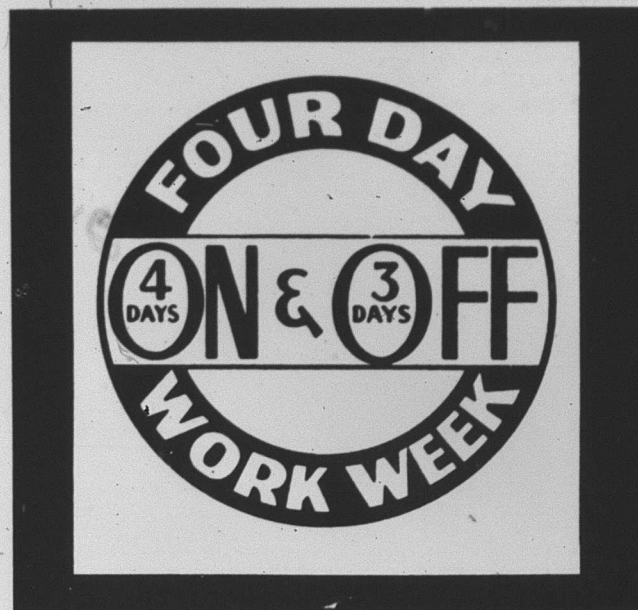
When the UAW was first organized in 1936, it demanded 30 hours' work at full 40 hours' pay. This should be our demand today. It would not only benefit employed workers, but would also create thousands of new jobs to fight the heavy unemployment that our country now faces.

It would also avoid moving backwards from the eight-hour day rather than going forward toward the shorter day. The 30-hour week could mean either five six-hour days, or four 7½-hour days.

But we must insist that the union fight at the same time to do away with all forced overtime. Without this, all talk of a shorter week is just a shuck. Finally, we must make sure that there is no trade-off to permit even harder working conditions in exchange for a shorter week.

The UAW has the power to fight for these things and to win. The auto companies would save billions of dollars on any plan which helped them eliminate absenteeism and speed up production. If Runnels' proposals were put into effect, this would be the case.

But we can win if we fight and hold out for: (1) 30 hours' work at 40 hours' pay; (2) no forced overtime; (3) straight pay - no "bonus" scheme; and (4) union defense of working conditions. ■



# Anti-War Coalition Sounds Retreat

David Finkel

The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) held its national convention December 3-5 at Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland. The convention resolved to "continue the fight for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam" with a nationwide protest march to be held in New York City (with a simultaneous demonstration on the West Coast) on April 22, 1972. Rather than pointing toward a real strategy for mass action and independent political action against the war in 1972, however, NPAC will maintain the same conservative, middle-class-based "single-issue" policy it has carried out in the past.

The convention itself was attended by 1,400 individuals, although most of the sessions drew little more than half that number. The small size and uninspired atmosphere reflected the most recent anti-war marches on November 6. These marches, advertised in advance as "April 24 in every major city in America," attracted very low turnouts, had virtually no social impact, and were regarded as failures by just about everyone.

The overwhelming majority of the people at the convention were representatives of various political organizations rather than independent anti-war activists or trade unionists—a composition reflecting the shrinkage of the mass anti-war movement. Of these organizations, only the Militant Action Caucus and the International Socialists presented a strategy for rebuilding the movement by linking it to the explosive social-economic issues in American politics.

## LABOR ABSENT

The conference took place during a time of growing labor unrest. The rank and file of the American working class has begun to fight the anti-labor offensive of the corporations and the state. The miners have broken through the wage increase guidelines. The Meatcutters have conducted a one-day strike for retroactive pay increases and demanded that the AFL-CIO bureaucracy endorse and organize a mass work stoppage against the wage controls.

But despite the fact that sentiment against the war is overwhelming in the working class (as in the rest of the population) few links have been established between the revolt against wage controls and the fight against the war.

Scores of labor leaders gave verbal support to the autumn marches—but labor (like almost everybody else) was



virtually absent on November 6. Similarly, the Meatcutters, whose leaders are on record against the war, did not raise any anti-war demand in their work stoppage.

The decline of the anti-war movement—its numerical shrinkage as its mass base collapses into the Democratic Party—and its failure to overcome its isolation from the labor revolt, pose a grave threat to the future of the struggle against the imperialist war. The MAC proposed that this crisis can be resolved by a new strategy to overcome the failure of the anti-war movement to mobilize the ranks of labor.

*The MAC action proposal called for, NPAC to endorse and actively help build an independent formation of anti-war unionists, rank and file caucuses, and militants—to fight simultaneously for immediate unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam, against all wage controls, and for independent political action against the Democratic and Republican parties in 1972.*

Such a program offers the possibility for rebuilding the anti-war movement and organizing larger, more powerful mass actions than ever before. At this conference, unfortunately, such a perspective had no chance of success.

The dominant political force at the convention was the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)/Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), which has long been the major force behind the semi-annual single-issue peace marches. Neither these groups nor the official NPAC "coordinators" put forward any strategy except a continuation of the same marches—on a smaller scale. But the reality of the

movement's decline did produce a tactical split between the SWP and the coordinators.

Before the convention, reports circulated that four of the coordinators—Jerry Gordon, James Lafferty, John T. Williams, and Ruth Gage Colby—had begun to argue for a more serious approach to the labor movement, including at least part of the perspective advocated by the MAC. In particular, it was understood that they might introduce a resolution to organize a conference of labor to lay plans for an offensive against both the war and the wage controls.

At the last moment, probably knowing they couldn't win and unwilling to make a real break with the SWP, they decided not to bring this issue to the floor.

Instead, the coordinators labored and brought forth a mouse—a proposal for a "winter of intensive organizing and educational work" to convince people that the war is not ending; an expanded paper "trade union division" of NPAC to produce more paper endorsements, and a "massive, peaceful, and orderly" demonstration in Washington, D.C. on April 22. Having introduced this imaginative proposal, the coordinators retired from the floor and let the SWP/YSA make all the political arguments.

SWP and YSA speakers admitted that the November 6 marches were small—which could hardly be denied—but argued that this was due solely to the illusions caused by Nixon's "withdrawal" fraud and the approaching elections. The way to fight these illusions, they claimed, is to "stay on the streets" in whatever numbers can be turned out.

The SWP's main argument against the

MAC proposal was that any anti-war action by trade unionists outside the NPAC apparatus will become a tool of the Democratic Party! Rather than attempt to counterpose the militancy of the ranks and the influence of the anti-war movement to the labor bureaucracy and lead a struggle for independent political action, the SWP concedes in advance that the anti-war movement will largely collapse into "dove" campaigns and turns for endorsements to the same bureaucrats who refuse to lift a finger against the war inside the unions.

The SWP presented a different idea for keeping the movement out of the "Dump Nixon" clutches of the Democratic Party. This bold strategy consisted of moving the April 22 demonstrations from Washington to New York, "the traditional base of the anti-war movement."

## ABSURD DEBATE

In the arguments over this trivial dispute, the bankruptcy of the single-issue approach became clear. The coordinators argued that the demonstration should be at the seat of government power, that a demonstration of 10,000 in Washington is more significant than one of 50,000 in New York. The SWP countered by asserting that it would be easier and less expensive to pull off a respectable demonstration in New York City and that it wouldn't look like a "Dump Nixon" march.

The final convention vote was the choice between the two sites. As the MAC and proponents of other resolutions abstained, the NPAC national coordinators rounded up fewer than a dozen votes—including their own—for Washington. Having failed to fight for an alternative strategy and lost their token fight over geography, they resigned their positions.

The SWP won the vote, but the debate was an exercise in absurdity. The vast political gulf between the two sites existed only in the imaginations of the SWP and the coordinators. Neither has any real hopes of preserving the independence and strength of the anti-war movement.

The SWP has opted to hold the NPAC apparatus together by carrying on with ritual marches—hoping something will develop after the elections. The coordinators made a fight about Washington as a pretext for a dignified exit from a sinking ship.

It is too early to predict whether the New York Mets will outdraw the anti-war march next April 22, or even whether the NPAC/SWP bureaucracy would be embarrassed by such a development. What is clear is that those forces who want an effective fight against the war must not abandon the political struggle for a militant, independent working-class strategy for the anti-war movement. ■

# Nixon, Mao Deal

Buried in President Nixon's recent announcement of increased troop withdrawals from Vietnam was an offer to China for concessions in return for Chinese influence in achieving a settlement of the war on terms acceptable to the US.

In a carefully phrased statement November 12, Nixon said that if a negotiated settlement of the war were reached, there would be "a total withdrawal of American forces in Vietnam" and also of "forces stationed in other places in Southeast Asia...that are directly related to the support of our forces in Vietnam."

In this formulation, "negotiated settlement" can only mean a settlement containing political conditions favorable to the US. The phrases about forces elsewhere in Southeast Asia were later said to refer to US troops in Thailand and Taiwan.

Aside from US bomber forces in Thailand, the US has large numbers of military "advisers" helping support the reactionary Thai government. These would not be affected by Nixon's offer. In Taiwan, however, the withdrawal of 9,000 out of 10,000 US troops (some 900 are advisers to Chiang's army) could only be

interpreted by China as a US scuttling of Chiang Kai-shek.

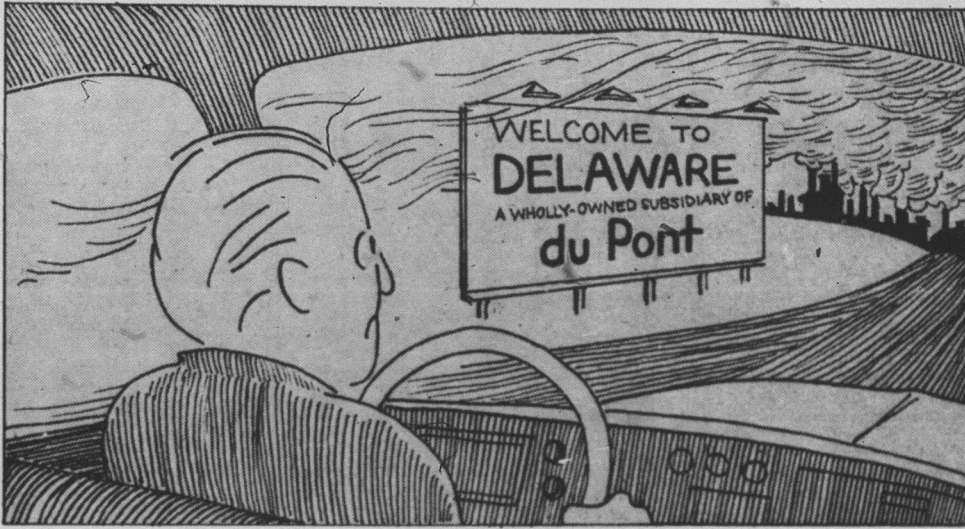
Nixon's offer was not only "leaked" in his news conference statement, but also carried to Peking in October by Nixon's hatchet man Henry Kissinger, who undoubtedly went into considerably greater detail. There has been no word on Peking's response.

China had demanded the removal of US troops from Taiwan as part of a settlement with the US. Essentially, Nixon is upping the ante, telling China it will have to pay for this concession...in Vietnamese currency. ■



# Private Property

Richard Greer



On November 29, Ralph Nader's "raiders" released a lengthy report charging E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Company with virtual ownership of the state of Delaware.

Du Pont, one of the largest corporations in America, is the largest employer in Delaware, with 25,000 workers — about 13 percent of the total work force in the state. Its payroll for 1970 was \$288 million, more than the total annual expenditures of the state. Du Pont director Samuel Lenher has stated publicly that the corporation has a \$600

million investment in Delaware.

Corporation executives and members of the large Du Pont family control two of the state's four largest banks. Half the directors of the Wilmington Trust Co., with 27 percent of the state's total bank assets, are from the Du Pont elite. (See *Workers' Power* no. 33, "The New Philanthropists and the Banks.")

Through Christiana Securities, the family's largest holding company, the Du Ponts own the state's two largest newspapers, maintaining a "virtual monopoly" over the news. A former editor

of both papers, who later worked for Nixon in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, told Nader's "raiders" that "the ownership wants them operated as house organs instead of as newspapers."

Du Pont also employs the five largest law firms in Delaware. Du Pont executives and family members serve as directors of at least 100 non-profit agencies within the state.

Du Pont is, of course, a major factor in Delaware politics. The major funding for the state Republican Party, as well as healthy contributions to the Democrat-

ic Party, comes from the Du Pont elite. Corporation executives and family members occupy about 20 percent of the seats in the state legislature.

Numerous state and local appointments also go to this select group. Former US Senator John J. Williams introduced and pushed through Congress a 1964 bill which allowed Irenée du Pont, Sr., a \$1.6 million personal income-tax write-off.

On and off the job, the Du Pont Company exercises stringent control over its employees. Blue collar workers have only a weak "company" union with which the corporation often "refuses to bargain over legally mandatory subjects of collective bargaining." White collar workers have no union or bargaining association and no contract at all.

The company pension plan prohibits all employees from doing "anything that might hurt the company" in order to remain eligible. Governor Russell Peterson of Delaware had to get a written exemption from this clause in order to take the oath of office.

Company supervisors are also charged in the Nader report with pressuring employees to support the United Fund — but then, in case the Raiders don't know, this happens in most major corporations.

The Nader report also charges Du Pont with evasion of corporate responsibility. The company has long fought pollution controls at its own and at suppliers' plants. It has killed various public welfare programs in Delaware through both political influence and lack of financial support. Du Pont has also fought to keep new industries — which might bring labor unions with them — out of the state.

Much to the relief of *Chemical Week* (December 1, 1971) and the Du Pont Company, however, Nader has not attacked the private enterprise system — although it is this system which allows and encourages the type of control that the Du Pont Company has over the state of Delaware. ■

## New American Movement

Over the Thanksgiving weekend, 300 chapter representatives, individual delegates, and observers attended the first national conference of the New American Movement (NAM) in Davenport, Iowa. In several ways, the conference marked a healthy step forward for the radical movement.

The very fact that the conference took place reflected the re-emergence of the understanding that a broad, nationally organized movement with a coherent political direction is necessary in order to wage effective struggles. Any attempt to organize such a movement must address the question of strategy — around what kind of program to organize and what social forces can carry the program out. The major proposals to the conference reflected the alternatives under consideration by radicals and socialists today.

The conference voted to focus NAM's activity on several priority projects, including a response to the wage freeze and the "New Economic Policy," and a campaign on industrial health and safety. NAM hopes to direct its main educational and agitational activity toward working people, and understands that the working class must be the basis of

any movement for fundamental social change. Major differences appeared, however, over how such an orientation can best be carried out.

One proposal, based on a call for "people's control of the economy," argued that the struggle against the NEP should take the form of establishing "counter-institutions" — in particular, "people's councils" to function as alternative institutions of power in society. Advocates of this proposal contend that the critical task is to break people away from existing institutions of power so that they can begin to exercise decision-making power in the new people's councils.

This conception assumes that the struggles of workers today, in unions, rank and file caucuses, and so on, are essentially integrated into the system and that new organizational forms must be constructed for workers, outside the labor movement.

As against this strategy, members of the International Socialists and others argued at the conference for building links to the emerging rank and file workers' revolt — visibly growing in the Teamsters (Teamsters United Rank and File — TURF), in the auto industry, among

teachers, and elsewhere. The IS contended that the proposal for "people's councils" was a utopian retreat from the real struggle for power.

The job of radicals and revolutionaries today is to participate in the on-going class struggle, to raise its political level through transitional demands, to help unite its often isolated components, and to fight for its political independence from both capitalist parties. The rank and file revolt, which has already shown its power to break through the wage guidelines set by the government, is the central focus of the class struggle today.

One of NAM's healthiest aspects is its understanding of the critical importance of democracy as a principle both in building the movement and in the construction of a socialist society. But this principle can only be realized through revolutionary struggle, and that is not yet fully understood within the organization.

Within NAM, revolutionary socialists must fight against other tendencies which favor supporting a left wing of the Democratic Party, and explain the necessity for uncompromising class struggle against both capitalism and the Stalinist regimes.

Unfortunately, NAM's first steps to

ward becoming a national organization were not confidently taken. The adoption of national programs, "people's control of the economy" for example, was largely a formality, since the conferees voted that chapters need not work on the priorities selected.

Related to this was a distinct bias against leadership — very few of those who played a leading role in organizing the conference were elected to the national leadership. While a reaction against the elitism of the last days of SDS is healthy, what is necessary is a strong, but democratically controlled leadership.

Finally, several unfortunate instances of organizational exclusion — in which members of the Progressive Labor Party, SDS, and a reporter from *The Militant* were kept out — revealed an unwillingness within NAM to define a political basis for membership.

NAM has great potential to unite the splintered radical movement. Whether it will be successful will depend largely on its local chapters. If some chapters are able to initiate successful activities, it will encourage others to follow their example and provide a much-needed basis for rebuilding a broad-based national movement. ■



# How Pa Bell Oppresses Women

Rose Veviaka

Mincing few words, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) has charged American Telephone and Telegraph, the nation's largest private employer, with also being "without doubt the largest oppressor of women in the United States." The EEOC, a Federal agency charged with investigating job discrimination, additionally accused AT&T of blatant discrimination against minorities, employing blacks in the lowest-paying jobs, and systematically excluding "Spanish surnamed" persons from employment.

In a 20,000-page complaint to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), which regulates interstate phone service and rates, the EEOC explained that, although women make up nearly one half of the work force in AT&T, they are relegated to the lowest-paid, most monotonous jobs, with no opportunities for promotion. The commission described the job of operator, which is one third of the Bell work force and is 99.9 percent female, as "horrendous," with working conditions that are "virtually intolerable."

Further, the commission explained that one third of all black workers in the Bell system are employed by the New York Telephone Co., where 80 percent of the black workers are women and are mainly employed as operators.

## A GOOD RECORD?

The EEOC's complaint is official documentation of what most Bell workers know all too well already — that there is almost total sexual and racial segregation in phone jobs (with black women generally stuck with the worst jobs of all); no right to transfers or upgrades; authoritarian and rigid work rules; lousy pay for all employees; and no paid sick days.

AT&T's answer to all of this is simply to lie, something that they do quite successfully. AT&T claims that it has a "good record" and employs women and minorities. But the EEOC has not charged AT&T with excluding women or blacks — the charge is that AT&T's patterns of channeling employees constitute blatant discrimination.

AT&T also claims that one out of every three management jobs is held by a woman. What they fail to add is that almost all of these female managers are employed in Traffic (operators) and that 94 percent of these are at the first level — the lowest in a many-tiered hierarchy.

The EEOC is attempting to stop the

FCC from granting a rate increase to AT&T because of its discriminatory hiring practices. The FCC plans to rule separately on these questions unless the EEOC can prove a connection between hiring practices and rates.

The EEOC argues that there is a close connection. First of all, it points out that the horror of most "women's" jobs at Bell means a high turnover rate (for operators, 60 percent) and consequently, increased training costs. (Bell has admitted that if they could lessen the turnover in Traffic by only one percent, they would save \$2 million per year.)

Second, the EEOC maintains that if Bell had not discriminated against women, the average wage rate for jobs now open only to men would be lower. In other words, the EEOC suggests that Bell, by hiring women, downgrades jobs and thereby cut costs (not profits) to stave off an additional rate increase.

The EEOC, institutional protector of "equal pay for equal work," is naturally embarrassed by this second line of argument, and quickly adds that of course, they are not calling for AT&T to downgrade its craft jobs when they hire women, but are just attempting to point out the connection between hiring practices and rates. But the Bell System can hardly fail to get the idea.

Indeed, in Michigan, where the craft job of "frameman" (or framewomen) is 100 percent female (due to the hiring of women as scabs, 20 years ago, while the men were out on strike), it pays far less than the same job in other states.

The National Organization of Women (NOW), which has joined the EEOC in bringing the question before the FCC, has campaigned against telephone discrimination by appealing to the CWA (Communications Workers of America) bureaucracy, then the AT&T management, and now the government — but never to the masses of women working for AT&T.

In turn, one of the problems faced by the EEOC is that it is only a suggestive agency with no enforcement powers, and must rely on the enforcement powers of the FCC. But the FCC, like other government "regulatory" agencies, has seldom if ever ruled against the basic interests of AT&T. AT&T is one of the most powerful corporations in the world, a power maintained by their virtual monopoly — supported by the government — over the communications industry.

Any strategy capable of opening the better jobs up to women and minorities

without downgrading the jobs of all Telephone workers must be based on the telephone workers themselves coupled with the liberation struggles of women and third world peoples. Only a movement for equal access to all jobs at equal pay, fought for by those who are excluded and supported by the telephone unions and militants, can win against AT&T.

The question of a racially and sexually integrated workforce is important not only to women and minorities, but to the white male workforce as well. AT&T (as well as the entire capitalist class) has a history of pitting one group of workers against another. If white male workers do not support the rights of women and minorities to all jobs at equal pay, they will find that AT&T will integrate these jobs in their own way, to the detriment of all workers.

In New York, rank and file groups such as United Action have already raised several important demands in this area, including: equal pay for equal work; equal access to all jobs; equal starting pay for all jobs; right to transfers and upgrades from traffic to plant.

These demands are an important step that must be picked up by the CWA as a whole if we are to avoid the possible debacle of a downgraded integrated workforce in the Bell system. ■



## Danger

Five years ago nobody had ever heard of a feminine hygiene deodorant. Then somebody decided that there was money in vaginas.

Ever since then, major drug/cosmetic companies have been making it in. Projected sales for 1971 will run to \$53 million, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

However, the deodorants are now under attack by some doctors. A recent issue of the *Medical Letter*, a drug evaluation newsletter for doctors, stated, "It is unlikely that commercial deodorant sprays are as effective as soap and water in promoting a hygienic and odor-free external genital surface."

*Today's Health*, a publication of the American Medical Association, warns women not to use the sprays directly before intercourse because such use had resulted in "a number of cases of genital irritation on both men and women."

Most of the sprays are made of an oily base containing a germ killer — usually hexachlorophene — perfume, and a gas propellant. Since recent studies have revealed a possible connection between hexachlorophene and brain damage in laboratory animals, the Federal Drug Administration wants to see the ingredients listed on the spray containers. At present no ingredients are listed.

## Fashionable

Pat Nixon is preparing to accompany the President on his trip to mainland China in February. According to a UPI release, Pat is "expected to symbolize the 'people-to-people' approach to the Chinese while the President carries on an historic dialogue with Communist leaders."

# Phone

CONTINUED FROM  
PAGE 4

Also at the rally, City Councilman Postel intervened to declare his support of the strike. But instead of offering to fight in the Council to get the city to enforce this law, he put forward only a meaningless resolution, with no binding power, calling on New York Tel to bargain in good faith.

While most of the demonstrators felt this was a real gesture of support, it actually showed how useless Democrats like Postel are to labor, and how desperately labor needs its own party and its own representatives. Strong independent labor representation in New York City could have forced the enforcement of

the anti-scabbing law and lent material aid to the strikers.

While all of this goes on, Rickie Carnivale, President of Local 1101, remains immobilized and continues to be a roadblock to the kind of militant mass action that is needed to win the strike (that is, to win a settlement above the July offer and to return with the union intact).

The ranks of 1101 must demand that the union fight for real support by the New York City labor movement and that the Chief Stewards be given a free hand and the necessary resources to call further mass actions. 1101's ranks will also have to build a movement to get rid of Carnivale and the other dead wood on the Executive Board.

The United Action Caucus, which has fought throughout the strike for action and victory, can be the beginning of such a movement. ■

[Brian Mackenzie works for N.Y. Tel in the Plant Department and is a member of CWA Local 1101 and the International Socialists.]



## bread & roses

The success of this approach is doubtful, however, for the story then continues, "Her wardrobe will be a colorful contrast to the drab slacks and jacket worn by the Chinese women. They all look alike," according to a member of national security affairs adviser Henry Kissinger's Peking travel party."

Anyhow, Pat evidently isn't up on all the latest fashions. Bloomingdale's, a large department store in New York City, recently ran a full-page ad in *The New York Times* which featured "the people's suit" straight from mainland China.



For a mere \$25, the customer gets the trousers and jacket in indigo blue cotton. (It makes you wonder what the wages were of the Chinese workers who make the suits.) The ad shows a very hip young couple looking out at the reader with calm sincerity as they model the suit.

"All the people...are waiting," states the ad, "to live together in peace and joy. Someday soon. Is this a symbol?" Looks to us more like a symbol of profits to be made off the new "friendship" between two of the world's great ruling classes.

## Linewoman

Sharon Roswell, an employee of the General Telephone Company of the Southwest, has recently begun work as a linewoman in Stuttgart, Arkansas. Her work involves climbing telephone poles, stringing lines, and repairing equipment.

Roswell had worked for the company for three years as a clerk and an operator before requesting the transfer. She said, "Eventually I'd like to be specialized in repairing switchboards and installing telephones for businesses. The linewoman's job, which pays more than my clerical one, looked like it would take me a big step toward my goal."

Her employers think she may be the first woman to fill this job category. AT&T has recently been charged with widespread, systematic discrimination against women, in a report by the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission [see accompanying article].

## Population Implosion?

According to a report in the November 4 *New York Times* on three recent studies of population, the nation's population growth is rapidly turning downward.

Two major trends were cited. Women in their late twenties who married in their early twenties now expect to have an average of 2.53 children — in contrast to the 1965 figure of 3.03 expected children. At the same time, there is a striking increase in the number of women who stay single. In 1960 about a third of women aged 21 were single; now almost half are single.

The fertility rate for July and August, as compiled by the Census Bureau, was 2.2, the lowest since mid-Depression years. 2.11 is the number of children for each woman that would, in 70 years, produce zero population growth.

As explanations for the downward shift in births, experts have cited the floundering economy, legalized abortion, oral contraception, more working women and concern over population pressure on the environment.



# The Abortion Campaign What Went Wrong?

Louise Mitchell

On November 20, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) held the first of its planned national marches, in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. By almost any standards, the marches were not a success; by the sponsors' own estimates, only some 3,000 people attended in Washington, and a similar number in San Francisco.

The International Socialists predicted this failure after WONAAC's founding conference in July; we are by no means pleased, however, at having been proved correct. We fully support the fight for free and legal abortions, and can only be sorry that an approach was adopted which could not build a successful demonstration or help unite the women's liberation movement.

Those who did the most to build the marches, the women of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, argue that the marches were small primarily because the National Organization of Women (NOW) did not support the action. In saying this they betray their strategy to its logical — and exactly wrong — conclusion.

WONAAC busied itself consciously adapting to the most conservative wing of the women's movement. It was most excited when famous "name" Democrats like Gloria Steinem finally signed their names to an endorsement sheet. In an effort to win support from NOW, they dropped, even ridiculed as "utopian," the slogan *free, quality abortion on demand*.

The demand for *free* abortions is basic to any attempt to expand the women's liberation movement among the mass of working women. The repeal of all abortion laws is an important and very necessary reform, but one that by itself does not meet the needs of working class and poor women.

If you can't afford it in any case, it is only small comfort to you that abor-

tions are legalized. Thus, WONAAC's orientation to NOW led away from drawing in working class women and third world women.

WONAAC was largely a bureaucratic shell from the beginning. The first WONAAC meeting in New York City drew a sizeable crowd. But the meeting included *no* democratic discussion. Instead, there were a series of bureaucratic "pep talks," which began to sound more and more like recorded announcements. As attendance dropped off at future meetings, the coordinators perpetuated the atmosphere of a pre-game rally, allowing less and less room for participation in anything but bureaucratic tasks, necessary, but hardly enough to make a group real.

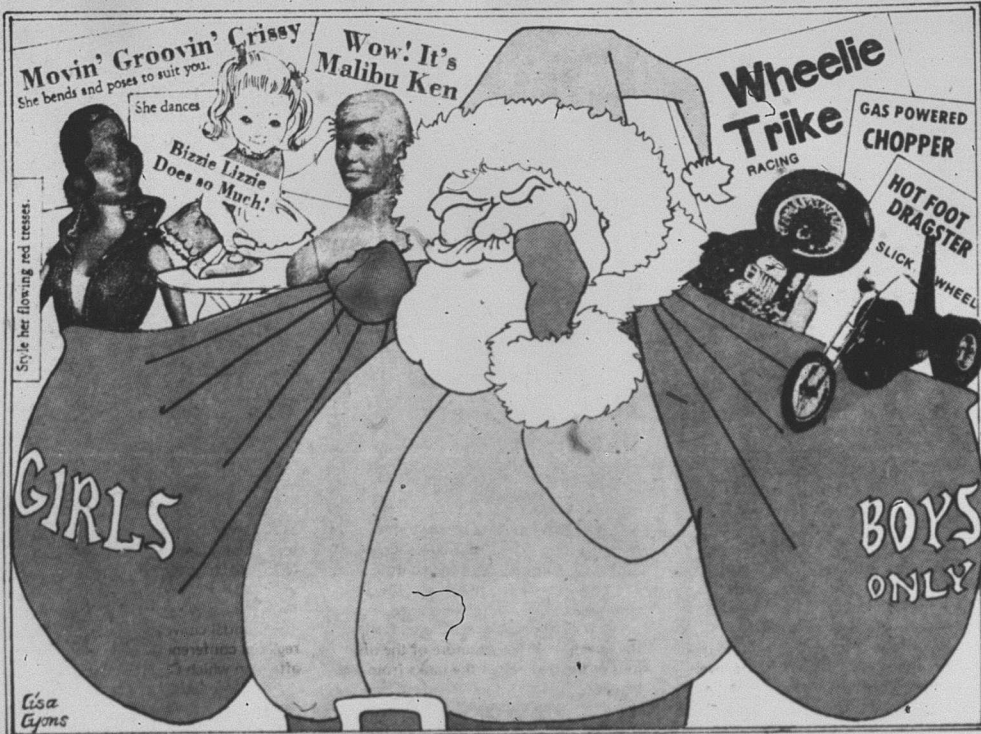
The activities of the local group consisted almost entirely of gaining the endorsements of the "prominents." Even in that, they stressed church women, etc., over trade union women. They counted on the dead campuses to give the movement life.

The Free Abortion on Demand Caucus within WONAAC, including members of the International Socialists, fought consistently for an alternative to the dead-end strategy advanced by the SWP-YSA. The caucus proposed: (1) an orientation toward working women; (2) a fight for Free, Quality Abortion on Demand with actual local actions which are more than feeders for a bi-annual march; (3) support for other women's struggles (like those against Ma Bell); and (4) no sacrifice of the interests of the working class to obtain the paper endorsements of liberal Democrats.

None of these suggestions is counterposed to mass action. They are necessary for building the women's liberation movement. It is unlikely that WONAAC will change its dead-end course, but it would be a great victory for the abortion movement and for women's liberation if it did.



New York cops bust phone striker at City Hall demonstration



"Psst, hey, kids!"

## And He Looked Like A Peddler Just Opening His Pack... Sara White

I didn't realize how much even little kids were sold by advertising until a few months ago when I took my 6-year-old niece into the biggest toy store in town for her birthday, saying, "You can have anything you want up to five dollars." I've seen even adults go wild in this toy store, but my niece didn't look at a single thing. She just whispered to me, "Where do they keep the Barbies?"

She wanted the latest fashion doll, Dancing Dawn. She had Barbie and all the others already. Her best friend got Dawn first, and obviously any other gift wouldn't have satisfied her Hunger for Dawn. So I swallowed my disappointment and we bought her the little six-inch blond doll in the cocktail dress.

Then she said, "Now we have to get her some clothes." Our \$5 only bought the doll and one extra outfit.

At home she played Dawn. How do you play Dawn? "First I dress her, then it's your turn to dress her." What does she DO? "Oh, she goes shopping..." What else? "Well, she can go out to dinner and go dancing." Anything else? "Aw, Aunt Sara..."

A lot of objections have been rightfully raised against encouraging children to identify with the totally shallow, superficial, sexist life-style the manufacturers have developed for the fashion dolls. The economic point is, the child has no experience in the glamorous activities of this grown-up doll with the sequined dress. So all she and the owners of all the Dawns, Barbies, Kens, Loves, and their recent Black counterparts, the Brads, Christies, etc., can do is what the makers/advertisers tell them to do — namely, *buy more stuff.*

The dolls and their accessories are made in Japan or Hong Kong at low

cost and marketed at tremendous profits. The accessories include all the expensive clothes: plastic shoes, tiny dresses, pants, scuba outfits, wigs; the paraphernalia: little sports cars, cardboard apartments, snack bars, dress shops and fashion show stages (what else?); and of course, the friends and their outfits.

And then there are always the model changes. For this Christmas, Mattel is pushing Malibu Barbie, with a golden tan, no less. All these things are advertised to the kids on television, mostly with cartoons.

If you don't know about them you ought to tune in the cartoons some Saturday morning. The cartoons themselves

are terrible, both in content and quality of animation — much of the time only the mouths move! Obviously, they put their money into the commercials, which are much more interesting and exciting. They are telling about the fabulous things YOU can HAVE, if your parents will just come through with the money. (And the batteries.)

The advertisers are trying to make even preschoolers (like the rest of us) define themselves by what they own, not what they are. And not just what they own, but what they've bought. If someone appealed to their imaginations, kids might want to make things for themselves.

What is every single child anxious for? Of course. They all want to *grow up.* So most of the stuff that's peddled to them is an imitation of something grown up, or rather, teen-age.

Since it is well-known that teenagers have more spending money than ever before, the advertisers are trying to widen their markets: "make the young want to act like exciting, media teenagers and make everyone else want to act like them, too. As the little girl in a commercial for the fashion doll "Love" says, "Love is a teenager. I want to be a teenager, too. Doesn't everybody?"

Teenagers don't play with teddy bears. They play with dune buggies, motorcycles, sports cars, dragsters, and "fashion." Have you noticed that even tricycles look more like motorcycles nowadays? The bicycle most of us wanted has long since been replaced by a polobike, which comes with an optional leopard-printed or rally-striped seat, is small, maneuverable, and dangerous, and tempts one to do tricks — the sports car of the bike world.

There are imitation motorcycles for every age and many vehicles that are actually battery-powered and cost 40, 50, 60 dollars. There is an emphasis on looking like you have speed and can raise hell on the highway — the staid old scooter now looks like a chopped cycle with dual exhausts!

Needless to say, traditional sex roles are reinforced in the worst ways in all this advertising. What can the six-year-old girl who dreams of being a teen-age fashion queen have to say to the boy her age who has to ache ten more years before he can legally roar down the highway?

The kids are meant to grow into the exact kind of consumers the advertisers want — unquestioning — unless their imaginations are protected by parents who can somehow find the time to do things with them. Interestingly enough, in a study done on young adults about their happiest childhood memories, nearly all recalled doing little things as a family, from "riding around in the car" to picnics and learning how to throw a softball. Almost none mentioned fancy toys.

Pity the poor parents whose kids want expensive, easily-broken toys that soon bore them. Ah, but don't pity the manufacturer/advertiser. Mattel Toy Co., which started with the first fashion doll, Barbie, grossed over \$200 million last year. ■

## HAPPY UNEMPLOYMENT!

[Continued from page 1]

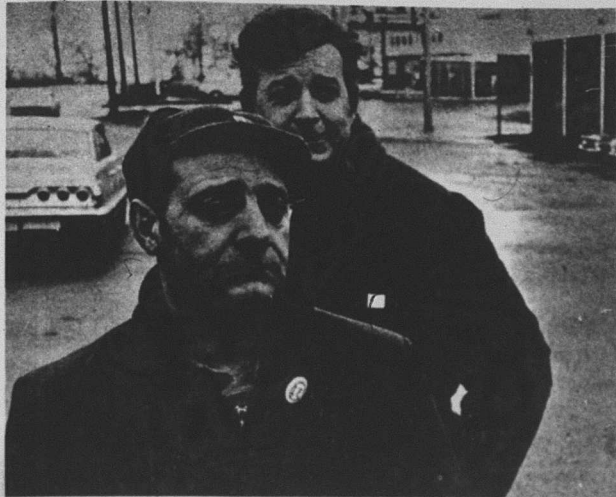
The struggle of the miners which broke through the wage guidelines, the Meat-cutters' one-day strike against the denial of retroactivity, and the continuing New York Telephone strike are examples that point the way forward.

Without the continuation of this resistance, solutions to the problems of unemployment, of attacks on social services, and of social decay, will be impossible. Capitalism will solve unemployment only at the expense of the employed, driving down the wages of everyone to make the exploitation of greater numbers of workers more profitable.

So long as economic and political power remains in the hands of the corporations, it will be the corporations that get the Christmas presents while workers get the lump of coal. ■







George Morris, *Rebellion in the Unions: A Handbook for Rank and File Action*. New Outlook Publishers, New York, 1971. 158 pages.

In spite of its misleading title, George Morris's book has little to say to or about today's rank and file rebellion. The nature of this revolt is hardly even described and the real causes of the rebellion are studiously avoided.

A large part of the book is an expose of the policies of the Meany wing of the labor bureaucracy, emphasizing their failures in reform legislation, their pro-imperialist policy, and their support of racism in the building trades. Absent is any consistent criticism of the Woodcock-Abel wing of the labor movement, except that they are "slow on action."

On the other hand, no less than three chapters are devoted to attacks on Trotskyists, Maoists, and New Leftists, most of which is two or more years out of date and irrelevant to the labor movement.

#### PROGRESSIVE PIECARDS

Active rank and file movements hardly figure in this book at all. But every book needs its heroes, and Morris has his. Morris's heroes are those labor leaders he styles as "progressives," notably the officials of District 65, Hospital Workers Local 1199, and the United Electrical Workers.

It is not "spilling the beans" to say that Morris's book represents the official policy of the Communist Party on today's rank and file revolt. For the CP, as this book makes clear, the "real" problem with the unions is above all the poli-

tical positions of most labor leaders. If a labor bureaucrat has "good" politics, meaning those close to the CP, he is a "progressive." The rest of the labor bureaucracy is judged by this standard.

The late Walter Reuther, for example, almost makes the grade. Speaking of Reuther in 1955, Morris says that his "wisdom then was far short of the level it reached in his final years." Did Reuther show this wisdom by winning decent wages and conditions for his members or by seriously fighting racism in the UAW? No! Reuther is judged wise because of his anti-war position and (oh, boldness!) because he invited some Russian trade union bureaucrats to the US.

While it is important that many labor leaders now oppose the war, this in no way eliminates the stubborn fact, totally ignored by Morris, that these bureaucrats form a distinct social caste within the labor movement, whose work, lifestyle, income, and social milieu separate them from the rank and file. This conditions the way that these leaders respond to all social issues. It explains why they sell out their members again and again, why they do not fight racism, and why they are so "slow" in fighting for their stated goals.

Why do Morris and the CP fail to deal with this fact squarely? For one thing, it would expose their beloved "progressive" leaders. More fundamentally, it would expose the CP itself.

The politics of the CP are the embodiment of bureaucracy; their own bureaucracy and that of Russia and other Stalinist-ruled countries. Their "version" of socialism is the bureaucratically-managed totalitarian society of Russia today. Similarly, their version of a trade union rank

# Program For Surrender

Brian Mackenzie

and file movement is a bureaucratically-managed "support group" for the so-called "progressive" labor bureaucrats.

That is why this book has so little to say about the building of an independent rank and file movement in the unions. That is why it doesn't even raise the question of the structure of the unions or the removal of the ranks from bargaining, contract enforcement, and grievance handling.

There is not a hint that rank and file influence on these vital matters has been eroded with the active, even enthusiastic, compliance of the entire labor bureaucracy. In the chapter on black workers there is not a word about the constant, racist harassment faced by blacks on the shop floor or the fact that often blacks cannot even gain access to the grievance machinery that does exist.

To be sure, in *one* sentence (p. 116), Morris acknowledges that rank and file revolt has been caused by "the growing dissatisfaction among the workers with the way their unions meet their problems." But for the CP, there is no need to discuss these problems in depth since they have no interest in building an independent rank and file movement.

Such a movement, however, is being built by the ranks themselves. This movement is aimed at transforming the unions into democratic, militant instruments of rank and file action.

Morris and his Party are attempting to lead this emerging movement in another direction, a direction that amounts to surrender. This can be seen in the practice of the CP, as well as in Morris's book.

Morris and the CP hold up the National Coordinating Committee for Trade Un-

ion Action and Democracy (NCCTUAD) as the model for, and embodiment of, today's rank and file revolt. Although NCCTUAD attracted a number of genuine black and white militants, it was for the most part a bureaucratic stillbirth.

Its initial convention and subsequent regional conferences have been managed affairs in which CP policies prevail. (See *Workers' Power* no. 29). Occasionally, the militants have been able to force through good resolutions. By and large, however, CP control has guaranteed that NCCTUAD will be of no use to serious militants.

#### NO STRUGGLE

The CP manipulators of NCCTUAD consistently oppose full criticism of the labor bureaucracy, and push, instead, mild pressure tactics. While claiming to favor independent political action, the CP consistently pushes for endorsement of "progressive" Democrats and Republicans and opposes efforts to build sentiment for a labor party.

Claiming to support black workers' struggles, their only action program for black caucuses is to fight for black representation on union executive boards. The other problems of black workers would, apparently, be left to these new black bureaucrats. The same goes for women, who appear as a two-page afterthought in Morris's book.

The idea that there must be black, Latin, and women's representation is perfectly correct, but to limit the action of caucuses to this is criminal. But the limitation and obstruction of mass struggle seems to be the Communist Party's chosen occupation — whether it is in Asia, Europe, Latin America, or in the trade unions of the United States. ■

## Success Story

A year ago, Trans World Airlines lost over \$63 million. Many feared that it would be the first major airline to follow the Penn Central Railroad into bankruptcy. That didn't happen, however, and this year TWA expects to break even or even make a small profit.

What is the secret of TWA's success story? Well, first you fire almost 5,000 workers, or 11 percent of the work force. Then you get some friendly assistance from the Civil Aeronautics Board, which allows you to reduce the number of your flights. Sounds simple, doesn't it?

Nor is it unusual. Indeed, what *Business Week* has to say about the airlines is true about most businesses — that they

are all "forced to slash payroll costs to try to solve the same urgent problem: how to stem the flow of losses and return to profitability in a stagnant economy."

Besides the unemployment, there are also other drawbacks to this approach, especially to the consumer. The smaller work force means more delays in making reservations and buying tickets and collecting bags, and an increase in maintenance delays because of fewer back-up airplanes.

But TWA is already working on a solution to these latter problems — they plan to make their remaining employees work harder. ■



# Dec. 7, 1941

December 7 marked the 30th anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, and America's entry into World War II. Like no other war in US history, World War II is to this day shrouded in a mythology of righteousness. To most people, it was a war against German and Japanese aggression, against Nazism.

These attitudes are even common among people in the radical community. The fact that so many American leftists enthusiastically supported America's entry into the "great war against Fascism" at the time has had its impact on today's generation of radicals.

World War II was in reality the greatest disaster suffered by the radical movement and the working class in this century. It ushered in a period of political reaction in this country from which we have recovered only recently.

The war ended with a vast expansion of American imperialist domination in Europe and Asia, and quite literally, caused the physical destruction of the revolutionary working-class movement in Europe.

## IMPERIALIST ORIGINS

The origins of the conflict lay in the imperialist objectives of the contending nations. Britain and France were quite willing to see Nazi Germany gobble up territory in Central Europe, so long as their own colonial goals were not threatened. Only when it became clear that Germany would threaten their own spheres of influence did they fight. And when they did, they fought not to "save democracy" or to defeat Fascism, but only to preserve their own empires.

Russia, for its part, acted at every turn in a manner which contradicted its claims to be a socialist workers' state. Stalin's reaction to the rise of Nazism in Germany was to order the Communist movements in Western Europe and America to end all revolutionary activity, and to form a "united front against fascism" (i.e., to cooperate with any "progressive" elements, including bourgeois liberals). As a result, the Communist parties ignored many revolutionary opportunities — such as the wave of sit-down strikes which swept France in 1936 — and eventually sold out a budding workers' revolution in Spain.

Later, in 1939, Stalin reversed himself completely and signed a "non-aggression" pact with Hitler. This move freed Hitler to attack Poland, which began the shooting war. Russia joined Germany in the attack on Poland, grabbing off the eastern part of that country, and later attacked Finland.

In America, still caught in the throes of a major economic depression, the war in Europe opened up many possibilities. The American ruling class saw the war as an opportunity to take the country out of the depression by producing war materials. In addition, the American dream



## WHAT REALLY HAPPENED?

of expansion into China was revived as one solution to the economic crisis of the depression.

This goal made conflict with Japan inevitable. The American buildup of naval strength in the Pacific was the direct prelude to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

In fact, a whole school of American historians — led by Prof. Robert Scalapino — argues that President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull provoked the attack on Pearl Harbor by a series of diplomatic maneuvers designed to manipulate the Japanese into firing the first shots of the war.

The point is *not* that the innocent Japanese were tricked by the clever Americans. Japan was itself deep into imperialist aggression in China, Manchuria, and other areas. The point is that there were no "good guys." Both sides saw the conflict as an expression of their own expansionist aims; and in such a

situation, who fired the first shot is irrelevant.

What came out of the war was, literally, an imperialist's feast. Germany conquered the whole of continental Europe, and thoroughly destroyed the revolutionary movement in these countries in the process. In the course of four years of struggle against the Nazis, the leadership of the European working class was wiped out.

When the Allies invaded "Fortress Europe" late in the war, they did so not to liberate these peoples from German tyranny, but to replace German imperialism with their own hegemony. The Russians marched west across Eastern Europe into Germany, and in the process assembled a sphere of domination which still stands today.

Winston Churchill urged the Allied invasion of Italy specifically to ensure British control of this country after the war. (Later, when the Allies occupied Italy,

their occupation policy was to disarm the anti-Fascist Partisans, bypass the local governments the Partisans had created in some areas, and concentrate all authority in a conservative government hand-picked by themselves.)

In America, the war seriously weakened the militant and potentially radical labor movement which had sprung up in the thirties. Huge numbers of union militants were drafted into the army. The labor movement's leaders threw their weight into the "war effort" and cooperated with a War Emergency Board which rigidly controlled workers' wages while permitting business profits to soar upwards.

## NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

The labor movement signed a blank-check, no-strike pledge for the duration of the war. Only one union — the United Mine Workers — had the courage to strike in the face of this blatant sellout of class interest to the wartime coalition.

These developments were enthusiastically supported by the American Communist Party. The CP viciously attacked workers who dared to strike during the war, calling them "traitors" and "fascists."

They wrapped themselves in the flag, raising the slogan "Communism is Twentieth-Century Americanism." They openly collaborated with business leaders and politicians in "raising productivity to help the war effort" — i.e., selling out the interests of the working class and the newly organized labor movement.

Meanwhile, American armies were marching deep into Europe and North Africa, and rolling back the Japanese in the Pacific. When the Big Three — Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin — sat down in Yalta to confer in 1945, their objectives became clear — they sliced up Europe like a freshly baked pie.

British-American "influence" was guaranteed in Western Europe and Greece, Russian "influence" in Eastern Europe. In spite of the guarantees of self-determination laid down in the Atlantic charter, the Big Three divided things up at a secret parlay like 18th century monarchs.

So for the rulers of the world, the war was a smashing success. But for the working people, the peasants and farmers, the war was the greatest disaster of their time. Tens of millions lay dead after the conflict, tens of millions more were homeless and displaced.

The death of German imperialism was followed only by the rise of American and Russian imperial superiority in Europe, and a new conflict — the Cold War — which soon began to take its share of casualties.

December 7, 1941, was indeed a "day of infamy" — but of infamy on the part of all the contending powers. ■

[Adapted from an article by Ken Fireman in *The Fifth Estate*, Dec. 9-22, 1971.]

## Rest In Peace

R. Rasmussen

On November 19, the Enskilda Bank of Stockholm, Sweden, announced the death by suicide of Marc Wallenberg, who had shot himself. Marc was 48 and the youngest of the Wallenberg family of tycoons which has dominated Swedish industry and banking for 200 years.

The Wallenbergs are the most powerful of the dozen or so families that own most of Sweden's industry, and themselves own 8 out of every 10 of the large firms in "socialist" Sweden. Out of every five Swedish firms with a turnover of four billion Danish kroner, the Wallenbergs control four — including such

famous firms as SKF (bearings), SAAB-Scania (motors), Asea (electrical control), Ericsson (telephones), and others not so big like Electrolux, Atlas-Copco, Alfa-Laval, and Casco — not to mention the Enskilda Bank, Sweden's biggest, which recently merged with Skandinaviska Bank (another of Scandinavia's biggest banks).

The German magazine *Der Spiegel* recently estimated the turnover of the Wallenberg empire to be 28 billion Danish kroner, while other sources put it as high as 38 billion (between \$4 and \$4.8 billion).

The Wallenbergs give large financial contributions to the rightist parties in

Sweden and are very close to the military, whose efforts to increase defense expenditure they support, while they themselves get many military contracts.

Wallenberg concerns employ 500,000 workers, thereby controlling the lives of about 1.5 million people.

The reason given for the suicide was overwork, but readers needn't worry about more suicides in Sweden from overwork in the near future; the figures for total unemployed are already over 116,000, with estimates of the unemployment to be expected this winter ranging from 250,000 to 500,000. ■



# India, Pakistan

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

fluence, it denounced the demand for an independent Bangla Desh as a CIA plot, because the Pakistani generals were China's allies.

India may expect more delayed political results after the war. Previously, one of the main things blocking the diversity of India together was fear and hatred of Pakistan. The Congress Party may find it much harder to maintain its political domination when it has no Moslem hordes to point to with alarm.

The world's great powers, with matchless cynicism, ignore the national rights of Bangla Desh and maneuver for the spoils. Not only China, but also the US backs Pakistan. The UN resolution on withdrawing troops to "their own territories," which the US supports, would leave Pakistan's troops in Bangla Desh.

On the other hand, those liberals (such as Senator Kennedy) who have called for support for India give tacit support both to India's territorial claims on Pakistan, and to India's aim of making Bangla Desh an Indian dependency. The only just solution is the withdrawal of all Indian and Pakistani troops from each other's territories and from East Bengal.

It is the working people of both sides who will lose if the Indian-Pakistani conflict absorbs and smothers the independent Bengali movement. The starving people of Bangla Desh can expect little help from India once they have served its purpose. The Indian blockade will bring unemployment and misery to Pakistan. The miserably peasants of India will have to pay for it all.

Hunger and misery can only lead to another war in the future, just as the wars of 1947 and 1965 led to this one.

The roots of war can be torn out only when the Hindu and Moslem masses unite against their real enemies: the politicians and generals, landlords and capitalists, of New Delhi and Islamabad. Only they can wipe out the nonsense of religion and caste which now keeps them apart. The imperialist conflict will only end when it is transformed into a class war.

But if the Bengali movement is not totally absorbed by Indian maneuvering, the independence struggle itself can give impetus to revolutionary struggle throughout the subcontinent. An independent East Bengal will spark independence sentiment in West Bengal; a united independent Bengal — given a powerful push in a socialist direction by the relatively strong workers' and peasants' movements in West Bengal — would stir the impulses of revolt elsewhere in India, in the rump state of West Pakistan, and even in the butcher regimes of Burma and Ceylon.

That is what is feared by the ruling classes of both sides, and of all the imperialist powers. ■



Castro and Allende

## CASTRO IN CHILE:

# Latin American Left Changes Tack

Juan McIver

Fidel Castro's visit to Cuba marks a whole shift in Latin American politics. In the 1960's, Cuba's "armed struggle" policy didn't relieve American pressure. Almost all the guerrilla groups supported by Cuba were destroyed.

Che Guevara was killed in Bolivia with many other guerrillas; Guatemalan leaders of the FAR and the MR-13, Turcios and Sosa, plus countless peasants, were killed. The Peruvian guerrillas were smashed in isolation from the urban centers.

When the guerrillas moved to the cities after failure in the countryside, they still faced immense odds. Brazilian guerrilla leaders like Marighella and Lázaro were ambushed and killed. Those who had organized the peasants, like Hugo Blanco and Francisco Juliao, saw their efforts destroyed.

The success of the Uruguayan urban guerrillas — the Tupamaros — and the relative impunity enjoyed by the Argentine urban guerrillas do not dispel the fact that the strategy of "armed struggle" did not achieve much. This lack of significant gains gave credence once again to the Communist parties.

The talk of "peaceful ways" to socialism, and other reformist schemes, gained many new adherents. Even "left-wing" military juntas are now considered acceptable agencies for social change. Hector Bejar, a survivor of the Peruvian guerrillas, has openly capitulated to the present nationalist regime of Velasco.

Cuba too has supported this regime, and Castro's visit to Chile should be seen in the context of this shift in Castro's ideology.

Allende's election to power meant that Cuba was no longer alone in Latin America. The US government can't play the same role as in the early sixties.

Blockades against Chile or Peru won't work because these countries have successfully diversified their dependence on various imperialist countries. A balancing act is possible.

Openly belligerent US policies would provoke intense reaction in Latin America and worsen the precarious US situation. Protectionism and cuts in foreign aid will also prevent the US from intervening decisively against Allende in Chile, or any other nationalist regime.

In short, Cuba's bargaining position vis-a-vis the US and Russia will become more favorable as long as Chile and other nationalist regimes (Peru and perhaps Uruguay) consolidate themselves.

Thus, Castro has supported the Peruvian regime which shoots down miners, arrests teachers, and deports revolutionaries like Hugo Blanco. The Cuban leader supported Allende's Popular Unity coalition even before it won the elections last year.

Today, Castro openly supports Allende and has toured the country telling Chilean workers to increase overall production. He did this at the Chuquibambilla copper mine, at the Pacific Steel plant in Huachipato, and wherever he has spoken to workers.

(If Castro's continental strategy is to be a success, Allende must have internal peace. But Chile has been rocked by a series of walk-outs and strikes since last spring, plus peasant and squatters' takeovers. Continuous miners' strikes for higher wages mean Chile's copper production will be less than Allende predicted for this year.)

Since Allende took power, Castro has explicitly stated that the Popular Unity shouldn't alienate the Chilean army. The parliamentarians in the coalition, including Allende, all agree and

are hostile to any attempt to arm the masses.

The lessons of Bolivia's right-wing takeover some months ago have obviously been lost both on Castro and on Allende. *Granma*, the Cuban Communist Party's official paper, reacted to Banzer's "fascist coup" in Bolivia with total surprise, and was unable to explain why left-leaning General Torres was overthrown so easily.

In Chile, too, if the waves of miners' strikes continue, and link up in whatever form with urban discontent and peasant takeovers, the army will step in. By then, the masses will be unwilling to defend Allende, and will be demoralized enough to allow a swift coup.

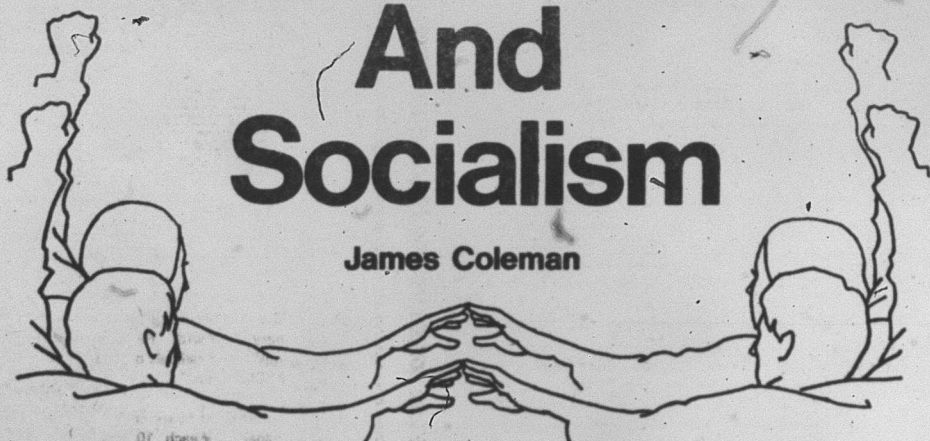
Before the recent elections in Uruguay, Castro said that if he were in Uruguay, he would vote for the candidate of the "Broad Front," retired General Liber Seregni. The Broad Front was similar to the Popular Unity coalition of Allende, and included the Communists and Socialists. The Tupamaros gave tacit support to Liber.

Despite the defeat of the "Broad Front" in Uruguay (Liber finished in third place) similar "broad fronts" are being discussed in Mexico and will no doubt be present in the 1973 Argentinian elections. They might even become a reality in Brazil and Ecuador when these military regimes give way to elections.

If these fronts are victorious, prospects for the Cuban bureaucracy and its Chilean ally will be brighter. But to the workers and peasants of Latin America, these new regimes offer nothing but continued exploitation and oppression, rationalized through a nationalized state machine. ■

# Gay Liberation And Socialism

James Coleman



[The following is the text of a speech given by James Coleman of the International Socialists and the Detroit Gay Activists at a march for homosexual rights in Lansing, Michigan, December 4. The march supported reforms in Michigan's sex laws contained in a proposed new penal code, while calling for repeal of all anti-homosexual laws and condemning other, repressive sections of the proposed code.]

Homosexuals are oppressed in all societies today. In the United States, we are beaten on the street by thugs and police; we are denied jobs if we are open; we are reviled by the churches, called "sick" by the psychiatrists, and joked about by the comedians on the airwaves.

In other countries the same. In Denmark and Sweden more "liberal" sexual codes prevail, and it has been thought there was no prejudice against homosexuals; now, radical gay youths are organizing.

In Cuba, homosexuals used to be sent to labor camps; now, they are expelled from universities, fired from teaching jobs if found out, and there is a campaign to get them out of prominent positions in the arts. And in China, reports a recently returned British doctor, he saw not one "case" of homosexuality in the 15 years he lived there. I wonder why.

There is some tolerance of homosexuals in the culture of the educated middle class. Often it is a false tolerance. One Joseph Epstein, in *Harper's* magazine, recently wrote that if he had the power, he would wish us all off the face of the earth — for our own good, of course. As another writer summed it up, "A faggot is a homosexual gentleman who has left the room."

In the life and culture of gay people who are in the lower class, the working class, there is not the polite mask. The intolerance is not really greater, just more freely — often violently — expressed.

When we talk about gay oppression, we are talking about beatings, harassment, murder, not just of the gay "community," but of millions more in our society. Gay people who never go to gay bars. People who work in factories, in offices, who mine coal, who are housewives. People who live in isolation, forcing themselves to laugh at faggot jokes, flinching at the friendly shoulder-slapping at work — be-

cause they know how much more it could mean, but they can't say. We are talking not just about less harassment of the bars and gay neighborhoods, but about ending this fear and isolation for all gay people.

Isn't it obvious that we are talking about more than a legal reform, more than the repeal of a statute or the writing of a civil rights guarantee? By all means, let us start with these. But this is not enough.

## ACTION MOVEMENT

The gay movement must become an action movement. It has to involve people in actions so that they feel that they do can make a real difference.

For example — in September we received a phone call from someone entrapped by the Vice police in the john at Hudson's Department Store in downtown Detroit. We called on Hudson's to discuss getting the Vice out of their johns. Weeks went by — they ignored several letters. Then on Saturday before Thanksgiving, we had a picket there. A small one, less than ten people. But on Monday morning Hudson's was on the phone, all smiles, wanting to discuss. They still didn't say yes to our demand to get the Vice out — and we won't be satisfied with anything less. But we kicked them, and they flinched. Fighting does make a difference.

So we need a movement with a sense of self-confidence and power. And we need more than that. The repeal of laws, a civil rights provision, or whatever, will allow an individual gay person or a small group to win a lawsuit. End of one specific case of injustice. This is fine. But it won't end the isolation, the fear, the victimization practiced on a scale of millions in our society.

We are also talking, when we talk of gay liberation, about a change in social atmosphere, in the way children are brought up, in the values taught by churches and schools, in the unconscious assumptions we breathe in with the air. We are not just talking about acceptance for those who are already homosexual, but about a culture where everyone can explore whatever degree of homosexual feeling might or might not exist in him. We are talking about a culture of genuine freedom.

How can this come about? It's often

said that the atmosphere is improving these days — because a doctor can go on TV and talk about "homosexual adjustments" where the subject was taboo a few years ago. But the cultural changes of the last few years have been real, if slight — along with commercialization and exploitation of sex have come some genuine widening of people's understanding.

But where has it come from? From Hollywood? They can smell profits, but none are so timid as they in educating public opinion.

The change, a very slight one, comes really from a breakdown in the complacency and fear of the 1950's (when one way Senator Joe McCarthy would smear people was to label them homosexual) — it comes from the discovery that America was not perfect, and with the war in Vietnam, that America was not omnipotent, and now with the wage freeze, that American capitalism has trouble running at all. In short, the slightly freer atmosphere of today comes from uncertainty about the old values, from the stirring of movements fighting for freedom, and the search for humane values, non-exploitative values, to go along with movements against inhumanity and exploitation.

## SEX AND REACTION

And let there be no mistake. If these movements are beaten back, if there is a general period of reaction like the '50's, we will be among the victims. The new Joe McCarthys will play on the public fear of homosexuals, there will be a strengthening of cultural conformism and religious orthodoxy, as there is in every reactionary period. Whatever gains we have won will be wiped off.

In short, our struggle is not independent of the other struggles for justice in society. Today those struggles are increasing. The wage freeze means that the economic crisis has gotten enough out of hand so that the government can no longer content itself with repressing revolutionary blacks or other organized revolutionaries. Now the government is attacking the working class itself. And it is already producing a response. Coal miners struck for a higher settlement than allowed by the wage freeze. Meatcutters conducted a one-day national strike against the freeze itself. There have been calls for a general strike.

There will be more of this going on in the next few years. If it is put down, part of the method will be a revival of bigotry and fear of all kinds. We will lose too. On the other hand, if it continues to grow, as I believe it will, much wider horizons will be opened up.

I was saying a moment ago that there had been a real improvement in the social atmosphere recently. But how small a taste this is of what genuine liberation would be like! Of being able to walk down the street holding hands with your lover, without risk of arrest or injury — not as a defiant gesture, but as a matter of course — and not just in Central Park in New York, but in South Dakota.

## REVOLUTION

For this to happen, the social ferment of the last few years must continue until this process ends in the creation of a new society. For really values aren't independent of society. If the values are in conflict with the needs of society — as our values of freedom and liberation are in conflict with the needs of this exploitive society — then either the values are suppressed or the society is changed.

It's very clear: only in a genuinely free society, a society which is not ruled by a minority for their benefit, but by the great majority in the interests of all — only in such a society can there be a genuine culture of freedom. And in a society based on oppression and war, the ruling group will maintain a culture of fear, bigotry, and sexual and social repression.

So we are talking about a revolution. Some call it a gay revolution, meaning that everyone is more than a bit gay and that the revolution is when that all comes out. I don't look at it that way. Everyone may be, or may not be. But what I want is a society of freedom, genuine freedom, where everyone can explore whatever he or she is. And the revolution I'm talking about isn't just a gay revolution, either. It's a revolution for and by the vast majority of the people — those who work — against a small minority.

So we should be far from indifferent to the social struggle rising up around us. We have a stake in it.

We have much to contribute to this general social movement. Gay Liberation implies a criticism of our present society with its warping sexual and social values. This criticism touches the area of personal life where the radical and revolutionary movements have often been indifferent or hostile.

China and Cuba, which I mentioned before, oppress gay people. If you look more carefully, they oppress everyone else as well. In Cuba now you can get two years in jail for excessive absenteeism from work. That is not the kind of revolution I am talking about.

The conception of Gay Liberation, of full sexual and social freedom, is both a contribution we can make to forging a more humane culture, and a test for anyone who calls himself a revolutionary, for any society which calls itself revolutionary. If it oppresses us, it is not for the liberation of everyone; and if you look harder you'll find it's not really for the liberation of anyone.

This criticism of the inhumanity of this society, and those societies which call themselves socialist today, which are not really socialist — this criticism is one we make by struggling for our own rights and building our own movement. In turn, we have to recognize that in the end, it is only the revolutionary transformation of society which can create the conditions for our real freedom. ■



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## feedback

### Economism?

Issue no. 44 of *Workers' Power* contains an article entitled "Nixon Stops West Coast Dock Strike." The basic intent of the article as set forth in the first five paragraphs aims correctly at exposing Nixon's attack on labor. You point out the necessity of breaking strikes and impotizing the unions if the government's pro-business policy is to succeed. However, the following sections of the article fail to effectively deal with the problems that this policy presents to the working class.

We specifically call your attention to paragraph 10, where giving Nixon's reasoning the benefit of the doubt you suggest that the ILA should be forced back to work instead of the ILWU as "they wouldn't have been hurt as much." You further explain how this might have been worked out as the ILA, having struck over working conditions, could have gone back under their old contract with no reduction in pay.

This sort of reasoning is absolutely destructive as it condones the playing off of one section of the working class against another. Such a policy of "lesser evilism" can only undermine the very struggles we wish to see built.

As socialists who are seeking to provide leadership in these struggles we must always demand that no fight be sacrificed. We must support all strikes rather than adopting a kind of "economism" which divides the class.

Signed by Eight Members of the San Francisco International Socialists

### Rejoinder

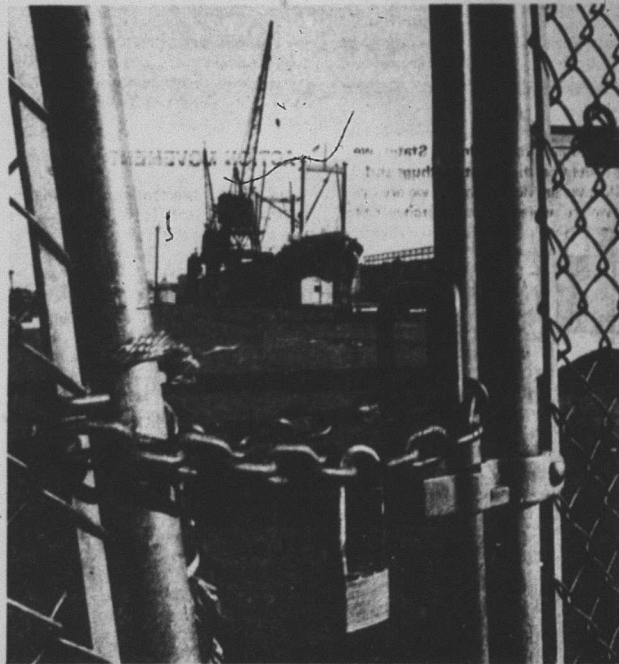
The section of the article attacked in the above letter reads as follows:

*"Nixon justified his use of the Act on the grounds that when the East Coast and Gulf Coast longshore workers (ILA) went on strike with the ILWU still out, the joint strikes constituted a national emergency. But even assuming his reasoning to be correct, he could just as easily have ordered the ILA back to work, and they wouldn't have been hurt as much."*

Our intent was simply to explode Nixon's rationale for his use of Taft-Hartley. Nixon invoked Taft-Hartley in the name of forestalling a "national emergency." But he was really using the new East and Gulf Coast longshore strike as an excuse to break the West Coast strike, which had already been in progress for three months.

If all Nixon was concerned with preventing a joint strike, he could have invoked Taft-Hartley against the East and Gulf Coast strike which had just begun. He didn't because the East Coast employers didn't want that strike broken — the East Coast strike was forced on the workers by the employers' attempt to take away the guaranteed-minimum-pay clause in their contract — while the West Coast shippers needed Nixon's help — the West Coast strike was a struggle for a better contract.

We pointed this out not to suggest that the ILA "should" have been forced back to work, but to expose Nixon's duplicity. The idea is simply that Nixon —



Philadelphia dock locked up during the strike

as always — wasn't acting in the "national interest," he was helping out the shipping industry, attacking the West Coast longshoremen.

To make this point is in no way whatever to imply that we advocate the use of Taft-Hartley against any strike. We are against the Taft-Hartley law and all other anti-labor laws and believe they must be smashed. We reject the myth of the "national interest."

What Jack Trautman shows in his article is that the Taft-Hartley legislation is not only reactionary in general (i.e., using "national emergency" as an excuse for strikebreaking), but that the capitalist state uses this reactionary tool selec-

tively to protect the particular interests of individual employers. This is the point which the signers of the letter failed to understand, and which we welcome the opportunity to clarify.

Since the article appeared, of course, Nixon has moved against the East Coast longshore strike through another Taft-Hartley injunction. As part of its anti-labor offensive, the state may be expected to attempt to crush all major strikes by political means. But it will still do this in a way that provides the greatest economic benefit to the corporations it serves.

W.P. Editorial Board

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## Workers' Power

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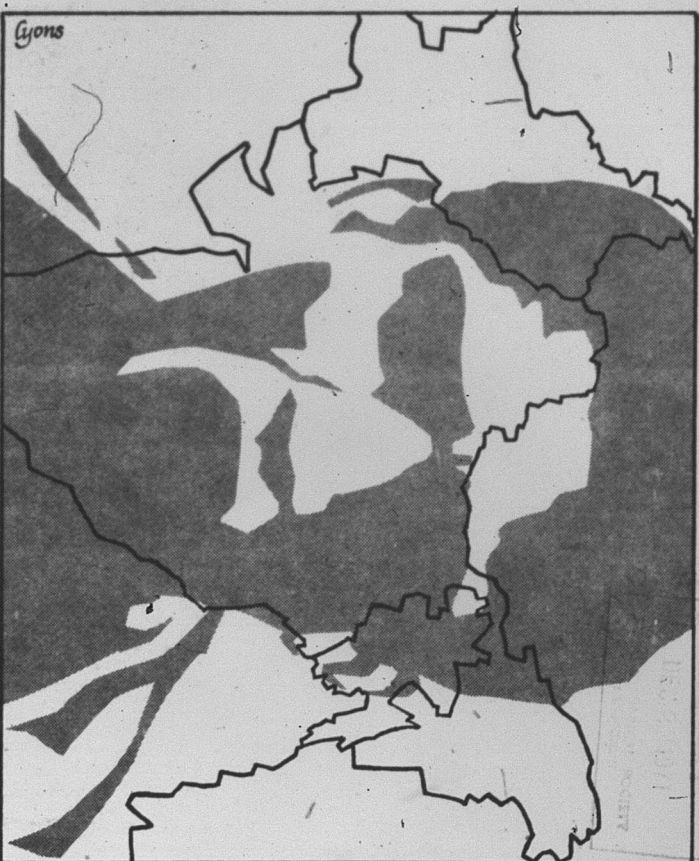
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