

# WORKERS' POWER

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# SOUTH AFRICA GOT A-BOMB FROM U.S.

The white-supremacist state of South Africa has the atomic bomb.

That was revealed in this week's sensational headlines. But the headlines failed to mention the most shocking facts about the South African bomb.

For over ten years, the United States has supplied South Africa with nuclear fuel and part of the technology for that bomb.

## WE SAY: U.S. Out of South Africa!

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Around the country people demonstrate against U.S. support to racist regime in South Africa.

The first "nuclear co-operation pact" between the United States and South Africa was signed in 1957.

The pact was reaffirmed in 1974, and extended till the year 2007. It includes provisions allowing South Africa to buy "enriched uranium," the basic fuel for atomic weapons, from the United States.

Enriched uranium sales from the U.S. to South Africa actually began over ten years ago, in 1965.

That was the same year that South African scientists first announced they had the "capacity" for developing nuclear weapons.

From Lyndon Johnson on, every American President knew that this country was exporting the material for a South African atom bomb.

Foxboro Corporation supplied critical computers for the South African Atomic Energy Board.

These facts were reported last year by the weekly AFRICA NEWS and have been cited in a suit filed by the American Committee on Africa against U.S. involvement in South Africa's nuclear program.

The South African government, according to Jimmy Carter, has solemnly assured him that it has no bomb and never will.

South Africa's assurances are worth about as much as Jimmy Carter's—absolutely nothing.

That means the atomic bomb stands ready to be used to defend colonialism and capitalist rule in southern Africa.

### THE FACTS

• To date, the U.S. has sold 229 pounds of enriched uranium to South Africa.

• The U.S. government set up a private corporation called "U.S. Nuclear Inc.," based in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, to handle uranium sales abroad so that the government would appear less directly involved.

• American and German-based firms built the South African nuclear plant at Pelindaba.

• And three years ago, the

### VICTORY TO LIBERATION

Unless the liberation struggles and the Black workers of South Africa succeed in overthrowing them, South Africa's rulers could create a nuclear holocaust killing tens of millions.

But let's not forget it was the American ruling class, in the name of peace, which first unleashed the atomic bomb and the age of megamurder on the world.

South Africa's racist rulers have an atomic weapon today for one basic reason: their American senior partners wanted them to have it. □

## Chrysler Rebellion



see pp. 6—7

# "We Got More When We Took To The Streets"



by Kate Stacy

Black civil rights leaders and spokespeople continued to assail President Carter for lack of attention to Black needs, backing up their demands with the possibility of a return to marches and rallies. At the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's twentieth annual convention last week, outgoing president Joseph Lowery dispaired "the pace and depth" of Carter fulfilling his campaign promises to the poor.

Well-known spokesman Julian Bond, in his address to the National Students Association Congress in Houston, accused the President of ignoring Blacks. "Because we are fools for fads, Jimmy Carter's newness captured our imagination...because he needed to be made legitimate, he captured the attention of the Black masses...." Vernon Jordan, National Urban League head, and Benjamin Hooks, president of the NAACP, appeared together on nationwide television's Issues and Answers to continue the public outcry.

### BACK TO THE STREETS?

Hooks raised the possibility of NAACP participation in national rallies and demonstrations for the first time in years, saying that now was a time when action was necessary.

Even Coretta Scott King, usually a very moderate voice, called present unemployment rates "nothing less than a repeal of the Civil Rights Act" and "the gutting of the promise of justice." She announced plans to participate in a national "Full Employment Week" scheduled for September 4-10. And the prestigious Afro-American newspapers likened Carter's angry response "to that imposed by the Kremlin against so-called Russian dissidents who cry out for social justice."

### ANGER

Since the Carter Administration took office in January, these Black leaders have found themselves caught between a rock and a hard spot.

The rock is Carter's unwillingness to spend money on the cities or on reducing poverty.

And the hard spot is the anger and discontent of Black people, who are suffering depression conditions and expected the Democratic Administration to make some changes.

Carter has turned his back completely on the Blacks who put him in office.

### LIGHTS OUT

The cornerstone of the discontent that forced the politicians to speak out is minority unemployment.

ment, go one step in the right direction.

As one delegate to the SCLC convention last week put it, "When we took to the streets we got somewhere."

### NO MUSCLE

But these actions are not likely to gain real muscle as long as they are run by the Democratic Party politicians.

They have nothing to threaten Carter and the Democratic Party

bosses with. Carter knows that come election time he will have the Black vote sewn up again.

The Black politicians will always say, as Julian Bond recently did, "of course we're much better off with a Democrat for President than we would have been with a Republican."

It is Black working people and unemployed, who cannot afford to go on living with that kind of choice, who will lead the next real upsurge.

## Welfare Plan Skimpy

Jimmy Carter's new welfare plan was first put forward by Richard Nixon in 1972. At the time civil rights leaders accurately denounced it as "forced work" and "slave labor."

But now that the Democrats have adopted it, the same politicians all applaud.

- Under this plan families of four will be forced to make do with \$4200 a year—less than \$87 a week, far below the federal poverty line.

- Food stamps and other supplemental programs will be dropped.

- For the first time welfare benefits will be tied to work programs. This concept was long fought by the labor and Black movements.

The degrading, union-busting, often irrelevant jobs that recipients were forced to do were usually intended more as punishment for being poor and from a minority race, instead of being meaningful work.

- Eligibility requirements for benefits have not yet been announced but Carter is pledged to cut tens of thousands of recipients off.

It is doubtful that he will actually be able to come up with the jobs programs that the plan promises.

The Black leaders are all favoring the new program—even though it will mean terrible hardships for millions of people—because of the extensive cuts in benefits.

They like it because it contains some elements of the liberals' favorite goals:

- It is a national plan.
- It takes some financial pressure off local governments through federal payment up to 90% of the base rates.

- It is a step toward a guaranteed annual income.

But the income the White House proposes can't be survived on!

The Black leaders' unwillingness to break with the Democratic Party forces them to see these setbacks as great advances.

But the conditions Black people have to deal with are forcing them to reply, "that ain't enough—by a long shot."

The Black leaders stumped—and stumped hard—for Jimmy Carter last fall. Electing a Democratic Administration to work with the Democratic Congress has been their goal for a decade.

And Jimmy Carter gave them plenty of campaign promises to stump with.

As Julian Bond pointed out, "He said that if winning jobs conflicted with fighting inflation, then inflation would have to continue, but now we hear that a balanced budget comes first."

"While New York smolders and burns, he visits Yazoo City."

In Detroit, in Chicago, in New York City, thousands of job seekers line up for a few hundred openings.

The lights go out in New York, and the city explodes on a shopping spree.

Black leaders are painfully aware that another big city ghetto would have reacted just like Bushwick, East Harlem and the South Bronx in New York did.

They began to put the pressure on Carter in hopes of moving him, but they are also realizing that they haven't really gotten anywhere.

The marches, rallies and hearings now being planned, especially around the demand for full employ-



Vernon Jordan (top) and Julian Bond (below). Two loyal Black Democrats caught between a rock and a hard spot.

## Equal Employment Opportunity?

Jimmy Carter said he was going to do right by America's oppressed minorities. After all, it was their votes, particularly Blacks, that helped put Jimmy in office.

At the very least, minority voters expected Carter to appoint a bigger percentage of Blacks and Latinos to important positions.

Well, the appointments are in. And it's no deal.

Out of the 265 top appointed positions, like cabinet and sub-cabinet posts and diplomatic jobs, 75% went to white males.

Blacks got only 9% of these posts. Latinos a puny 4%. Asian-Americans got one job out of 265. And Indians got nothing. Women, the oppressed majority, got only 14%.

Down at the White House nothing much has changed.



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# Some Miners Still Strike Despite Back-to-work Order

by Jim Woodward

"I DIRECTED THEM back to work and was told to go to hell."

If statements like that one from a United Mine Workers official, could be burned to generate electricity, the nation's energy crisis would be solved.

In fact, there's been a good deal more hand wringing than coal digging in West Virginia and eastern Kentucky for the last two months.

The latest installment of wishful thinking occurred August 22, when the UMW Executive Board met in Charleston, W. Va. and agreed on a formula to end the strike. Up to 85,000 miners have been off the job, protesting employer-inspired cuts in their health benefits.

The Executive Board passed a resolution calling on all miners to go back to work. It also called for immediate negotiations with the coal operators over restoration of health benefits.

And it was widely interpreted as promising termination of the national coal contract and a strike in 60 days if the operators did not

come to terms.

The meeting produced enough different interpretations of the resolution, however, that an authorized strike in 60 days cannot be regarded as automatic, or even probable.

## WILDCATS CONTINUE

Immediately following the Executive Board meeting, many miners returned to work. None were satisfied that the issue was resolved. But two months of strikes have left the miners in desperate economic condition and many were willing to give the Executive Board 60 days to see what it could do.

Many other miners were not, being all too familiar with Executive Board promises which produced nothing. In May, widespread wildcats in Ohio and West Virginia over company contract violations on absenteeism were ended with an Executive Board promise of a national strike... And then nothing happened.

So this time, as some miners were going back to work, others

were travelling from mine to mine, pulling them back out.

On the first day, half the 24,000 miners in West Virginia's District 17 went to work. They next day, virtually all of them were back on strike.

Some 35,000 miners were still on strike as of August 24. Miners from eastern Kentucky were particularly

active in keeping the strike going.

Whether the strike would expand again, or slowly stagnate, was unclear at Workers' Power press time. But the miners had clearly shown the coal operators that they knew how to fight and were willing to fight.

No one can expect that this struggle is over. □

# Why The Coal Miners Keep Wildcatting

For the past decade, massive wildcat strikes—wave after wave—have rolled over the coalfields.

Why have the miners fought this way? Do they gain anything from these strikes, and are the gains worth the price the miners have paid?

The issues have varied enormously: from harassment or discipline at a single mine, to black lung, flood relief, federal court interference, and now the health cuts.

Over the years, rank and file miners built, through struggle, a confidence that they could fight the bosses, their union leaders, and the courts—and win.

Back in 1969, the West Virginia state legislature was considering a bill to give compensation for black lung disease. When it looked like the bill was stalled, 40,000 West Virginia miners struck in protest.

The state legislators made statements that they would not pass the bill "under threat." The miners stood firm, no coal was mined, and the legislature, eating crow, passed the bill.

## WHAT WINNING MEANS

But winning does not always mean scoring an immediate, clear-cut victory. Often it means simply costing the operator so much that he will think twice before trying to pull the same stunt, and risk another wildcat.

Last year, for example, 120,000 miners walked out for four weeks because federal judges were constantly jailing miners and assessing heavy fines against the union for wildcat strikes. They demanded that the coal operators sign an agreement not to seek court intervention in future disputes.

No such agreement was ever signed, and the strike ended. Did the miners lose? Not really. A year

later, anti-strike injunctions are comparatively rare, despite twice as many wildcats this year as last.

In the current wildcats only one company, Amherst Coal, went to court for an injunction... and the judge turned them down.

## A NEW BREED

What was the change? Largely that the coal operators and the courts realized the injunctions weren't doing any good. And a favorable Supreme Court ruling gave the miners more legal ground to stand and fight on.

One pro-company federal judge lamented, "There is in our midst a new breed of miners who are determined to fashion their own federal labor policy."

Similarly, the current strikes will not end with a clear victory for the miners. But they have established the health cuts as a major issue which must be resolved before a new national contract is signed this winter. And there are indications that they have deterred the operators from making the pension cuts which have been threatened.

The wildcats, of course, are enormously costly to the miners. One striking miner recently told Workers' Power that every time he gets enough money saved to consider buying a home, a strike comes along and wipes him out.

The only way to make the strikes less costly is by making the movement more powerful. That means organizing a rank and file movement to win control of the union. If the organized strength of the union was backing the strikers, instead of opposing them, the strikes would be even bigger and more effective, and shorter.

In the meantime, the miners' major tool in resisting the operators' offensive will probably continue to be the wildcat strike... because it works. □



These West Virginia miners were among those protesting the cuts in health benefits in Washington earlier this month.

# Klan Joins Forces Against Women's Rights

"I helped advise them," said the Grand Dragon of the Mississippi Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. "I plan to go to Houston and do the same."

Opponents of libbers, lesbians, loonies and left-wingers are doing well," George Higgins Jr. went on.

The "them" the Grand Dragon was referring to is a coalition of right-wing groups intent on defeating the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights.

The Ku Klux Klan, infamous for its violent attacks on Black people, is now organizing against another enemy—women.

Along with John Birch Society members and other extreme right wingers they are working to undermine the November 18-20 convention of the International Women's Year Commission in Houston.

The IWY Commission is the on-going structure set up by the federal government after last year's International Women's Year. Its purpose is to eliminate barriers to women's equality with men.

The Houston conference is to develop a plan of action for that. But the right-wing coalition is out to wreck that conference.

The groups are organizing men and women to attend state IWY meetings and elect anti-women's rights delegates to the convention.

Higgins, the Mississippi Klansman, told reporters that Klan members have organized in Mississippi, Florida, Indiana and Kansas, and plan to go to Houston.

He carries an identification card that reads, "The only reason you are white today is because your ancestors practiced and believed in segregation yesterday."

The anti-women's rights forces organize by getting churches to mobilize their women members, who are bussed to the meetings by the thousands.

The John Birch Society says that "The drive for so-called women's liberation is clearly pro-communist, anti-family and anti-American."

The right wing won solid delegate states in Alabama, Nebraska, Montana, Missouri, Utah, Oklahoma, and Mississippi. They have a majority in Indiana, Florida, Ohio, Kansas and Hawaii.

They are expected to have a total of a quarter of the delegates at Houston.

This is yet another event that the right-wing, racist and sexist forces are using to organize their movement against civil, human and individual rights and freedoms. □

# DEITY BEATS BUM RAP

God Almighty, who was falsely accused of setting off the massive New York City blackout, is off the hook.

The power failure was originally called an "Act of God" by the Consolidated Edison Company, which claimed that lightning strikes knocked out their system.

On Wednesday, however, the Company admitted that its machinery should have been able to successfully handle the emergency but failed to do so.

Con Ed's admission that it was to blame will presumably free the deity from all liability in damage suits and negligence charges resulting from the blackout.

It also means that God will not have to appear before Congressional committees or other bodies investigating the disaster.

Workers' Power is delighted to be able to report that for once, the victim of a crude frame-up has beaten the rap. □



London: Demonstrators would not allow the Nazis to terrorize the Black community. A wedge of anti-fascists charged into the Nazi march, splitting it in two.

# London: No Nazis March Here!

IT WAS ABOUT 50 years ago, in Germany, that Adolph Hitler's Nazi movement began seriously organizing.

They had a two-part strategy. One part was to blame Jews and so-called "lower races" for the devastating unemployment and economic ruin of Germany.

The second part was to give their followers something to feel proud of, by taking over the streets and smashing trade union offices, Jewish neighborhoods and shops, and other targets.

The powerfully organized German working class could have pulverized the Nazis.

But when Nazis took to the streets, all too often the official workers' organizations relied on the respectable forces of the government, police and courts to stop them.

The crisis got worse. And in the

end the respectable German middle class and the employers wound up turning the police, the courts and the government over to the Nazis.

**IT WILL NOT be allowed to happen again.**

That's the message that 500 racist thugs from Britain's Nazi movement, the National Front, got when they tried to march through a heavily Black neighborhood in South London two Saturdays ago.

Three thousand anti-fascist demonstrators were waiting for them.

The mass mobilization to stop the Nazi march was called by the British Socialist Workers Party.

Five thousand police, a quarter of the entire London police force, were also there.

**The police had their orders—not to stop the Nazis from marching, but to clear a way for them through**

**the anti-fascist demonstration.**

The Socialist Workers Party newspaper, *Socialist Worker*, described what happened next.

"The Nazis were allowed through police lines to join their march by showing their Nazi membership cards.

"Suddenly hundreds of police and a score of police horses began to charge down the road clearing a path for the head of the Nazi column.

"The crowd of anti-fascists exploded. Sticks, smoke bombs, rocks, bottles were thrown over the police heads at the Nazis.

**"The angriest anti-fascists were the local people, the Blacks especially, and also lots of young white kids. . .**

"The would-be master race huddled onto the opposite pavement in bedraggled groups, hardly a march at all."

The battle of South London ended, with the Nazis' march in disarray, the most humiliating defeat the National Front fascists have suffered.

### CRISIS BREEDS RATS

The crisis of Britain is still far from Germany in the 1920's and early 1930's. But it's growing worse.

The National Front has grown because unemployment in Britain has climbed toward 1 1/2 million. Because its inner cities are falling apart.

Because the system needs to turn white workers against Black and Brown immigrant workers. And because the official labor movement accepts those divisions and the bosses' excuses for unemployment.

In other words, racism has gained ground in Britain for the same reason it has picked up support in the United States.

The Socialist Workers Party is building a revolutionary socialist workers' movement to change the conditions that breed fascist ideas. It is an example to be followed in America.

**THE POLICE, who failed to protect the Nazis' so-called right to march, took out their revenge on the anti-fascists.**

Over 200 were arrested, as

policemen with riot clubs and heavy shields ran wild.

One victim told reporters: "The Special Patrol Group had us pinned against railings and let three Nazis attack us with sticks and bottles. They broke a friend's arm."

Martin Culverville, a student, was "hauled out from the crowd by three policeman. I remember nothing until I woke up in an ambulance with a cracked skull and ruptured eardrum." □



This Nazi was allowed to escape.



Anti-CIA writer Agee was deported.



Community residents celebrate victory over the Nazis.

A leading British government official stated: "Even if we despise and hate these people (the fascists), we have to think about their right to demonstrate in our sort of society."

He sounded like some people in this country who thought the Nazis should be allowed to march through Skokie, Illinois.

Only a few weeks ago, this same government official had two journalists, Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball, thrown out of Britain. Their crime was exercising their right to print the truth about the CIA.

That's how the British government respects free speech "in our sort of society."

**The same week the British Nazis tried to take over the streets, it happened that another Nazi was in the news, too.**

Herbert Kappler, the SS officer who ordered the murder of over 300 Italian civilians in a reprisal murder in 1944, escaped from an Italian prison and slipped into Germany.

Italian and West German prison officials, border police and government officials aided the escape and are now protecting his hideout.

Those governments, too, love to parade their "hatred" of fascism and their devotion to "free expression."

Depending on the "law and order" of this system to stop fascist movements leads to the same disaster every time.

Driving the Nazis and their American cousins the Ku Klux Klan off the streets today is part of the fight to make sure there aren't any more Herbert Kapplers tomorrow. □

# Phone Workers Choke On Contract Crumbs

"YOU MUST REMAND, remind and mandate them to get back to the fight now with an overwhelming rejection of this weak, watered down, unreasonable facsimile of an honorable present-day contract."

That's what Art Koski, President of Communications Workers Local 7250 said about the settlement between the CWA and the Bell System.

Koski, like the leaders of the Detroit locals, is urging CWA members to vote down the national settlement.

While the CWA leadership calls the agreement a "Breakthrough in Job Security, Pensions and Maternity," most phone workers would agree with the CWA member who told Workers' Power, "It smells like a sellout."

Despite this sentiment, the contract is likely to be ratified, as leaders of many large locals try to railroad it through.

## WILDCATS

In a few places, phone workers walked off the job in protest. In Des Moines, Iowa and in Detroit operators wildcatted. In Cleveland, repair clerks struck. And in Akron and Canton, Ohio commercial clerks walked out.

All were disgusted that the CWA's hundreds of thousands of women members made few real gains.

In some locations, rank and filers have demanded membership meetings to put local officers on notice that they want more information, more of a voice, and most of all a better contract.

CWA members have circulated statements expressing their anger over this settlement and demanding real improvements, especially for lower seniority and lower paid Bell workers, who got next to nothing.

Most local officials, however, are helping the top leadership sell the contract to the members.

The Executive Board of the CWA's largest local, 1101 in New York, called the settlement "an excellent agreement between CWA and the Bell System."

Written summaries of the contract go so far as to turn losses into victories.

The original demand around cost of living, for example, was for an improved formula. Instead, the formula stays the same and the fact that Bell did not get a cap on cost of living is played up as a huge victory!

## WIDENS THE GAP

The union claimed it was going for upgrades to close the gap in pay between operators and clerical workers (mostly women) and craft jobs (mostly male).

The only thing they achieved was a few tokens for some high seniority workers, which the officers are now playing up.

Service reps, for example, got an extra \$5 at top seniority for each of the first two years.

The local agreement with Ohio Bell grants operators a top-seniority differential of \$1 a week!

Even aside from inflation, these gains will be completely wiped out by taxes. They do nothing to close the wage gap between these jobs and craft jobs.

The average yearly wage for a craft worker is now \$4,678 higher than an operator's. By the end of the new contract, this difference will have increased by over \$1,000—to \$5,819!

It's clear that phone workers got screwed again, some even more than others.

As one "Vote No" leaflet distributed by members of a Cleveland CWA local states, "It appears we received crumbs instead of a piece of the pie!"

And that's how it will stand for another three years unless phone workers nationwide vote no and strike if need be.

The Cleveland leaflet calls on the rank and file to send the negotiators back to the table: "Put the pressure on Ma Bell—not us. We'll vote with our feet if we have to!"



Detroit operators picketed Michigan Bell headquarters. She and other low-paid phone workers will continue to get the short end of the stick under the new contract.



## BACK IN THE CLOSET, ANITA!

ATLANTA—Gay rights supporters turned out in force here August 19 to protest the selection of Anita Bryant as "America's Greatest American" by the Miss National Teenager Pageant.

Chants of "No awards for bigots—Civil rights for gays!" greeted the pageant contestants, who were hustled through the line by anxious-looking parents and undercover cops.

Pageant officials had tried to stop the demonstration by denying that Bryant was to receive the award—an outright lie.

The Pageant officials joined the list of those who have learned the hard way that support for Bryant's vicious campaign against gay rights is backfiring.

Instead of driving gays back into the closets, it is driving them into the streets in some of the biggest demonstrations since the anti-war movement.

Anita Bryant did not show up to receive her award. The vigorous protests sparked by her recent public appearances seem to be driving her back into her own closet. Let's keep her there!

Sarah Schaefer

## He doesn't drive a truck. . . and he doesn't bake bread — But he's sure rolling in dough!

Harold Friedman made \$352,230 last year. Industrialist? Banker? Corporation executive? Oil tycoon? No. Guess again.

Gangster? Syndicate connection? Mobster bigwig? You're getting close.

Give up? Okay. Harold Friedman is a union officer in the bakers' union and in the Teamsters. He was paid the \$352,230 for his union work last year.

His various salaries break down this way:

- President of Cleveland's Local 19 of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers International Union—\$229,742.

- President of Cleveland Teamsters Local 507—\$121,006.

- Bakery Workers International Union General Executive Board—\$1,582.

Local 19 of the bakers' union last year gave Friedman a raise

to bring him up to his current salary—nearly a quarter of a million dollars. The raise wasn't bad—\$111,000 for part-time work.

The bakers he represents average just under \$14,000. Friedman, their leader, makes 27 times their annual earnings. But then he has a lot of responsibility. Right?

Local 19 pays 41% of its total union dues to the salaries and expenses of the top four officers. Friedman is one, his son David is another—and Jackie Presser, Teamster International Vice President and Friedman's in-law is a third.

Local 19 members pay dues of nearly \$200 per year. Friedman personally takes 32% of their dues money.

Friedman also controls the Pension and Health and Welfare Funds of the union. □

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# Chrysler's Hot Summer

This summer Chrysler Corporation experienced the biggest wave of wildcat strikes it has seen in 30 years.

In plant after plant, workers walked off the job because of the intolerable heat. When management retaliated by firing or disciplining stewards or rank and file members, they often triggered another walkout.

Twenty-one plants from Detroit to Indianapolis to St. Louis had unauthorized strikes. Over 50 workers have been fired. Over 5400 disciplinary notices were given. In every case the United Auto Workers International did its best to break the strikes.

Chrysler locals were rebelling in a different way this winter and spring. The workers did not accept whatever the local and International officials were handing out in the local contracts.

Local after local—Sterling Stamping, Warren Stamping, Missouri Truck, Detroit Forge—rejected the first contract offer their officials brought back from the bargaining table. Pressure forced official strikes at many plants.

**Why was Chrysler ripe for a rebellion this year? What is going to happen to the UAW?**

Workers' Power spoke to Dave McCullough, vice-president of Local 869 at Chrysler's Warren Stamping Plant and a member of the International Socialists.

Kim Moody, Workers' Power editor, researched the reasons behind Chrysler's new policies.

by Dave McCullough

All the contract rejections, the wildcats and official strikes of this spring and summer are mainly a delayed response against a number of things:

The union's abandonment of rights and conditions, the weakness of local rank and file organizations to deal with it, the 1976 contract settlement, and the failure of the union and the failure of conditions to recover from the 1975 depression.

People came back from what was essentially a speedup during the depression and waited for things to return to normal. Things never did return to normal. The company was ahead.

Most basically, it's a delayed response against the employers' offensive.

Skilled trades were pretty pivotal in a number of places.

They were important in both the contract rejection movement and the wildcat strike at Warren Stamping, they were important in the Trenton wildcat strike, and I believe they were a crucial element in the Newark strike and at Lynch Road.

The reason for that is that they felt the crunch most sharply. It was a bigger change in their standards of working than it was for production people.

They were used to being privileged people, working under low supervision. Now they're being sped up, cut back, being treated like production workers—or as they put it, like animals.

## KICK-ASS COMPANY

Part of it is the General Motors-ization of Chrysler: General Motors is a tough, kick-ass company. Chrysler wants to be like that. They're starting centralization of policy making up at the top.

One policy I know about is that they sent out a memorandum to all labor relations supervisors, outlining tactics for beating back improvements in the national contract in local negotiations.

It gave a sample of all the ways that locals had beat them out of extra. It's about that thick.

I think for many years Chrysler was sort of an archaically operated company, where you have plant managers who go on and on and there's a chummy relationship between them and the local union officials developed over the years.

People stay in the same positions and no one is shuffled around. But in the last couple of years we've



Dave McCullough, Vice President UAW Local 869

seen Chrysler playing musical plant managers.

What that means for us is that the grease level of low level corporation officials and union officials who collaborate with each other will probably be replaced by people who don't know each other and don't trust each other and aren't

able to do that. So the conflict will be a lot sharper.

I think that means that the stakes are higher.

Management will be more liable to do stupid things that provoke wildcat strikes, because they feel they have to perform, they have to get results for the corporation, and if they don't they can be replaced.

## TURNOVER

A corresponding thing is that if local presidents and whatnot are not able to cut a deal with management to cool things off, they will be replaced too.

Which leads me to another point. Another reason for all the commotion this year is that the backlash against the 1976 contract, and the general backlash against the decline of conditions, was not able to take a focus on elections in Chrysler, since most of them are scheduled for 1978.

So it was natural that the first focus of reaction would be something else, wildcat strikes or whatever.

All this points to a coming



Members of Local 51 discuss the firing of three union members for a

turnover in the local leaderships next year.

Rank and file people see that it will be possible to get elected. People who the day before yesterday were saying, "Ah, fuck the union, it'll never be any good," now say they're going to run for office.

## CONTROL THE RANKS

The union has two reactions to the situation, on the local and the International level.

The local officials are trying to

re-establish the power of the locals, re-establish their power to deal with the corporation...get themselves a bargaining position against the International.

There was a push on the part of a lot of local leaderships this year to try to land decent contracts, and they got bought.

But while they're trying to establish more power for themselves in relation to the International, they're losing control over the rank and file.

Number one, because they can't provide much protection, not to

# The General Motors

by Kim Moody

**IT WAS NOT A HEAT WAVE** but Chrysler management that produced the auto rebellion of 1977.

Wildcat strikes, contract rejections, and hard-fought local union elections this year were truly "engineered by Chrysler."

Chrysler caused the rebellion with its new "get-tough" policy. By bearing down on its workers, Chrysler raised productivity by 13 1/2% in two years. And the workers were more than 13 1/2% angrier.

This article tells how and why Chrysler did it.

## ECONOMIC CRUNCH

As the weakest of the Big Three, Chrysler has felt the burden of the world economic crisis of the last ten years even more than its big brothers.

The entire auto industry has been hit because of inflation. Their costs for materials—steel, rubber, glass—have gone up, and the work force in turn tries to keep its wages up with inflation. Profit margins have actually declined over the past ten years.

But during the recessions of 1971

and 1974-75, both Ford and GM continued to make profits. In each of these years Chrysler lost money.

Even in good times, Chrysler profit margins are lower than Ford and GM. In 1976 Chrysler profits were 2.7% of total sales, Ford's were 3%, while GM's were 6%. The story has been the same for over ten years.

## GM TAKES THE LEAD

When the system began to run into trouble in the late 1960's, GM took the lead in trying to solve the problems of the industry. They tried to modernize.

This meant new technology such as robot welders, and the model assembly plant at Lordstown that was intended to produce 100 cars per hour.

But it also meant a systematic and ruthless campaign to discipline and speed up the work force. The General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) was created to whip assembly workers into line.

As a result, GM faced a workers' rebellion of its own in the early 1970's. Wildcat strikes plagued GM, but GM remained tough.

With the aid of the top leadership of the United Auto Workers, the



"MEET OUR NEW PRODUCTION SUPER, IN CHARGE OF THE STEPPED UP PRODUCTION SCHEDULE!"

# Summer Of Rebellion



eat walkout. A wildcat strike followed this meeting.

ment advances. Number two, because there are radical alternatives cropping up, and people are now taking these alternatives seriously.

Radicals have been elected to office. Caucuses have formed in some locals which are a real break with the past tradition of the "ins" and the "outs" that you couldn't tell apart. More and more the decent committeemen look to the radicals for ideas.

The third aspect of their losing control of the ranks is that in the wildcat strikes this summer, pretty

universally compared to a few years ago, the local leaderships talled the ranks.

They didn't come down on the workers like they did at Dodge Truck or at Mack Avenue in 1973. I think in their hearts a lot of them really supported these strikes. They were forced to because Chrysler has been coming down so hard and the people are so pissed off.

At Trenton Engine that was certainly true and to a lesser degree at Warren. At Lynch Road some of the Shop Committee

supported the strike at least at the beginning. It was committeemen at Newark Assembly who led the heat walkout.

## WASHINGTON PLAN

The International has two responses to the situation of the union and the industry.

One is the Washington plan—that the UAW can win in Washington through political means what it can't get through fighting the bosses, since it won't fight them. I think that's going nowhere. I

don't think anyone, at any level in the union is excited about what Carter's doing for labor.

With that flopping, they have another problem, which is how to maintain control. I think we can expect to see the International try and re-establish control of the union by bureaucratic means.

Since they won't service us, since they won't fight the companies, since their Washington strategy is failing, since they don't have an ideological perspective to offer labor, since they don't even have the political cadre to con the members any more—they have to re-establish control over the locals.

They're consciously trying to do that, but the means they're using are bureaucratic ones.

So that brings me back to the

original scenario. Conditions have been sold out, and the people are beginning to respond. It showed itself in contract rejections and contract strikes last spring, in wildcat strikes over the heat and over discipline this summer.

The locals feel themselves more and more bureaucratically stifled by the International.

Chrysler locals are being beaten by Chrysler one by one. A growing number of people are seeing the advantage of coordination among local actions so they don't get beaten back and smashed.

The result of all this will be a good chance for rank and file union members to get control over their locals in the next elections, if people keep up their interest and get involved. □

# Internationalization of Chrysler

GM rebellion was eventually subdued.

GM's attack on its workers paid off. GM profits remained high even during years of economic slump.

## CHRYSLER TRIES, TOO

Chrysler's answer to the crisis was entirely different. Chrysler did not have the money to spend on technological improvements.

Chairman Lynn Townsend and President John Riccardo tried to save the day by cutting costs.

This meant letting old plants crumble and patching up the old machinery and tools. It meant filthy plants and no money for safety.

These conditions produced a rebellion in 1973, Chrysler's highest production year ever. Management was pushing production so hard that summer that no time was taken out for maintenance or repair.

When two workers led a sit-in at Chrysler's Jefferson Assembly plant the week before change-over, the company was caught off guard and granted the strikers' demands.

Ford and GM openly criticized Chrysler for giving in to a wildcat.

It took the UAW International to break the wildcats that broke out in Chrysler during the rest of the

summer. One thousand union officials were mobilized to smash a sit-in at the Mack Avenue Stamping Plant.

Only months later, the U.S. economy entered a serious depression. In 1974 and '75 Chrysler lost a total of \$312 million.

A management shake-up followed. Chairman Townsend was canned and John Riccardo took over. Riccardo was regarded as more hard-nosed and more capable of "GM-izing" Chrysler's labor relations.

His fellow managers called Riccardo "The Flamethrower."

Chrysler's new approach was a different kind of cost cutting. The new plant aimed to get more production out of the work force, but not primarily by old-fashioned line speed-up.

Chrysler was after a disciplined work force. No more Mr. Nice Guy. No more goofing off.

This meant cutting down on absenteeism, pushing overtime, eliminating jobs, and of course, harassment.

Although it was filthy and more dangerous, Chrysler used to be considered an "easier" place to work than GM or on the Ford plantation. Not that the work was easier, but supervision was a lot

more lax.

Now Chrysler is trying to get tough. And it has gotten results.

In 1974, it took an average of 130 man-hours to produce a car or truck at a Chrysler plant in the U.S. By 1976 it was down to 114 man-hours. In other words, productivity was up 13 1/2%.

## ATTACK CONTINUES

Chrysler didn't achieve all it needed to in 1976. It continued the attack on its workers into 1977. And people got sick of it.

The intense July heat wave doesn't explain by itself why people said to hell with it and walked out.

No, it was two years of disappearing jobs, harassment, and arrogant management. It was Chrysler's stubborn refusal to grant improvements in local contracts.

(John "Flamethrower" Riccardo received a salary of \$254,166 in 1976, and for a job well done, \$445,900 in bonuses.)

In short, Chrysler campaigned to make the workers foot the bill for capitalism's economic crisis. That was what produced the rebellion of 1977—and the greater rebellions yet to come. □

## TELLING IT LIKE IT IS...

Here's what Chrysler workers had to say about changing working conditions in their plants:

**Newark Assembly, Delaware:** "The foremen have started overruling the inspectors and sending through jobs that need repairs. That eliminates repairmen's jobs."

**Warren Stamping, Michigan:** "For my first four years I never had to bring a note to cover being absent. Now it's a common thing."

"For years two diemakers worked repair on each press line. Now one. Now they want one guy to cover two lines."

**Dodge Main, Hamtramck, Mich:** "They're writing everybody up like crazy, that's the biggest change. They want to give you time off for every little piece of bullshit."

**Lynch Road Assembly, Detroit:** "They won't accept your doctor's notes any more. And we've never worked this much overtime in the summer before."

"They've taken away all the places to sit down; you can't sit on the stock or the racks. It seems like the only purpose is harassment. They won't hire janitors—the foreman gives you a direct order to clean up your area yourself."

**Missouri Truck, St. Louis:** "We've been working 10 hours, 6 days for two years now. When we supposedly got in our new contract a chance for you to take a day off now and then, management started violating it right away."

**Detroit Forge:** "When we were working six and seven day weeks last year, they started cracking down on absenteeism with a new Absentee Control Plan. It has firing as the final step."

"Where I work the practice is to run the machines around the clock until they break down completely. They've given up on any general repair of the plant, too."

**Chrysler Electrical, Indianapolis:** "We've always had one of the best local agreements in Chrysler. This year they came in and started trying to beat us back to where the other plants are."



The last Chrysler rebellion, in 1973, produced this strike at the Mack Avenue Stamping plant. The UAW mobilized 1000 goons to break it.

# TODAY'S RECOVERY-TOMORROW'S RECESSION?



by Dan Posen and Kim Moody

The economies of the United States, West Germany and Japan are leading the western nations out of the deep 1974-5 recession.

But already there are fears that the end of the upturn and another economic depression may be on the way.

Why the worry?

Current economic predictions are that the U.S. economy will grow by 5.25%, the West German by just under 4%, and the Japanese economy by 5.5% this year.

These "growth rates" are measured by the increase in the value of goods and services, called the "gross national product," produced in each country.

The growth rates of the strongest countries are intensely watched by economists and governments, because they're the key to the revival of the weaker ones.

How does this work? For example, if the German and Japanese economies grow rapidly enough, then German and Japanese steel-makers can sell all they produce to other German and Japanese manufacturers.

Perhaps, Germany and Japan might even need more steel which would be imported from other countries, stimulating those weaker economies to export and produce more.

What has a lot of the system's international economic experts worried is that the strongest economies, the ones which are growing, just aren't growing fast enough.

## TOO SLOW

The German economy's 3.75% growth rate is less than the 4.5-5% predicted by the government. The growth rate in Japan is actually falling from a previous rate of 7%.

The American economic growth rate is also less than the predictions of the Carter Administration. That's why unemployment stays so high.

These may seem like small differences. But they cause lots of other problems. For example, instead of sucking in imports, the Japanese manufacturers are finding better markets for steel and appliances abroad than at home.

This causes some American bosses to wait that foreign imports are killing them.

But don't be fooled. American capitalists happen to be doing particularly well right now, even if some of them try to hid it by squealing about imports, clean-air laws and other nuisances.

## DOING FINE

For the first time, American corporations' total profits in one quarter reached an annual rate of over \$100 billion.

Auto, tire aluminum, oil, and computer profits were more than enough to offset sluggish steel profits.

But there's a hidden problem here, too. Capitalists are making higher profits—but they are not investing in enough new plants or equipment to maintain a long-term strong recovery. That's why the growth rate is "sluggish"—too slow.

Higher profits, right now, are being plowed into executive salaries, dividends, bonuses, and so forth. That makes the companies' final profit figures look very attractive.

What it does not do, is create enough jobs to re-hire the officially unemployed, let alone put a dent in the millions of permanently jobless young people and welfare recipients.

Why is this? Well, the employers

just aren't that confident that capital investments are going to pay off big in the long run.

## PROFIT RATE

The rate of profit on the huge mass of capital already invested is fairly low. They won't invest much new capital, on top their enormous old capital, on the basis of that profit rate.

That means that many of America's unemployed won't be going



back to work in this recovery.

And it means that for many of the weaker economies of southern Europe and the third world, there really won't be an economic recovery worth mentioning at all.

Is another recession coming? In one word—yes.

It's impossible to predict just when. But with the recovery this weak, the downturn just might be coming along sooner than anyone thought.



Back to work? A few, but not nearly enough.

## It's A Recovery For Business — But Not For You

Economic recovery is supposed to be about getting people back to work and opening up new jobs. Isn't it?

American business profits are going up because productivity of workers is increasing (6.5% last year) a lot faster than real wages, which are standing still or even decreasing.

Unfortunately, this rise in productivity means that more produc-

tion is being done with fewer jobs—not new ones. Unemployment simply isn't going to go down much.

American industry's "unit labor costs" went up barely 1% last year.

That's much less than the rate of inflation. Workers made up the difference by higher productivity.

Compare this to the rise in unit labor costs in some of the weaker economies: 12% in Britain, 10.5% in Italy, 14% in Sweden.

The truth is that workers in those countries are doing a better job keeping wages up than American workers are.

One theory, argued by business and even many labor leaders, is that by working harder American workers will solve the country's economic problems and improve things for themselves.

The current business recovery proves how wrong this is. The bosses' higher profits aren't putting enough people back to work. Not nearly enough.

The employers aren't concerned with solving anyone's problems except their own. It really doesn't matter how hard you're willing to work, if they can't make a high enough profit by hiring you.

## Labor Notes

by Jim Woodward

The Department of Defense has awarded a \$3.4 million contract to the J.P. Stevens Company. J.P. Stevens is the target of a nationwide boycott by the AFL-CIO in support of a union organizing drive. Under the terms of the contract, Stevens will provide cloth for army and air force uniforms.

Local 1199, the New York hospital workers' union, has closed its account at Citibank to protest the bank's support of South Africa. Citibank has loaned \$750 million to the apartheid regime there.

Mechanics who work for the post office in Charlotte, North Carolina found a way to get even when the postmaster moved their parking spaces so they had to walk farther to work. As loyal postal employees, they simply reported that the postmaster had ordered them to repair his personal cars. The postmaster ended up reimbursing the post office for labor charges.

Students at New York City's Brooklyn College recently checked out 134 help-wanted ads in local newspapers and found that 80% were either "incorrectly stated or misleading" or advertised non-existent jobs. Many ads were placed by employment agencies simply wanting to add to their files of job-seekers.

The Labor Department has extended to September 15 its investigation of the February 8 United Steel Workers election. The Labor Department said the additional time was necessary to coordinate its work with Canadian government investigators.

Researchers at West Virginia University say they have perfected a system that could greatly improve mine safety. It uses sensing devices throughout the mine and a computer to check on concentrations of dangerous gases, air flow, temperature, relative humidity, and pressure changes. An alarm sounds if dangerous conditions occur. One problem is the cost, which the developers estimated at \$100,000 to \$200,000 for a large mine. This will give the coal operators an opportunity to demonstrate whether they think the miners' lives are worth that much.

Unionized civilian workers at some air force commissaries are complaining that management is raising temperatures in the meat coolers so they don't have to pay extra to employees working in low temperatures. Probably saves them a bundle on electricity bills too.

According to Industry Week, a bi-weekly management publication, some companies are already planning for the next recession. Maybe you should be making plans too. See your Workers' Power salesperson or write to the address below for information on joining the International Socialists.

What's happening where you work? Send items for this column to: Workers' Power, Labor Notes, 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, Michigan 48203. Or phone 313-869-5964.



# WHO'S RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE MURDERS?

by Dan Posen

Last weekend in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), sixteen farm workers and members of their families were rounded up and machine-gunned to death. About 20 others were wounded.

The massacre occurred at a farm called Odzanu Junction, in north-eastern Zimbabwe near the Mozambique border.

The white owner of the farm claimed he was ambushed on his porch, but escaped unhurt.

Only weeks ago, a bomb in Salisbury killed 11 Black shoppers and wounded over 70 others. Last December 27 tea workers were murdered.

Reports issued by the white-minority Rhodesian government, and repeated by the American press, claim these massacres are committed by the armed forces of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) and the Patriotic Front.

The Patriotic Front is a military alliance of Zimbabwean nationalists fighting to overthrow the racist government.

Are dozens of innocent Black shoppers, farm workers and other civilians being massacred by the very people who are fighting to liberate Zimbabwe?

The answer is simple: no.

## LIES

The Rhodesian government is lying. The American press and television are deliberately repeating those lies.

## HOW THE LIES HURT

An auto worker from Detroit, who has worked to build solidarity with southern Africa Black freedom fighters, told Workers' Power:

"The news reports of Blacks being killed by other Blacks in Africa cuts down on people's interests. It makes southern Africa harder for them to relate to."

"People can't answer the stories of what's going on. This makes them a lot cooler to the whole issue of African liberation."

"It also reinforces the general idea that we can never get together, as Black people, or as workers, without turning around and killing each other."

This makes it all the more important for southern Africa liberation supporters to have the facts and arguments to explain what is going on in Zimbabwe.

Stories which falsely accuse the Patriotic Front and ZANU of killing Black civilians are actually part of a campaign against the liberation of Zimbabwe.

The western powers, led by the Carter Administration, are trying to pressure the freedom fighters into laying down their arms. They want to destroy the worldwide support for armed struggle.

We must not let their tricks succeed. The liberation of Zimbabwe is our struggle, too!

The massacre of farm workers last weekend, as well as the earlier, mass killings which have made international headlines, was committed by the Rhodesian government.

The latest mass murder occurred in an area where the freedom fighters have tremendous mass support.

Thousands of villagers living in this region have left the country to join up with the guerilla forces of ZANU.

Would ZANU have any conceivable reason to commit atrocities against its own supporters?

No. But the Rhodesian government has a great deal to gain from murdering innocent Blacks and charging that the freedom fighters are responsible.

It is part of the Rhodesian government's last-ditch effort to get international support. And it is intended to create Black support for a few so-called "responsible



Bodies of Black farmworkers murdered last weekend by the Rhodesian government.

Black moderates" at the expense of the freedom fighters.

### SAME PATTERN

The latest murders followed the pattern of the others.

In these raids, white Rhodesians are not killed. In last

week's massacre, the white Rhodesian farm owner escaped without a scratch.

Black villagers or farm workers are rounded up by men who identify themselves as ZANU soldiers. Then they are gunned down.

But there are always survivors left behind to tell the authorities

that the raiders were wearing ZANU uniforms.

The massacres tend to occur in areas where the freedom fighters have the greatest mass support among the Black population.

The seven Catholic missionaries murdered earlier this year were also sympathizers of the liberation struggle.

The Rhodesian government has a unit of Black mercenaries called the Selous Scouts, who specialize in terrorizing Black villagers.

The Selous Scouts are part of the same Rhodesian Army which dropped napalm on villages in Mozambique and murdered over 700 refugees who had fled to a camp in Mozambique last year.

The Rhodesian Army is also shooting down an average of about 40 Black villagers every week for curfew violations.

Those are the everyday massacres which do not make headlines.

Those facts and figures make clear who are the real terrorists and killers in Zimbabwe.

## ZANU Statement

Davis Mgabe is the chairman of the North American chapter of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union).

He confirmed that the massacre of farm workers on August 21 was unquestionably committed by the Rhodesian Army's special unit, the Selous Scouts.

Mgabe told us: "We have definite information that the workers on the farm were killed by the Selous

Scouts. "There is no way that freedom fighters would have gone into an African compound and attacked, without even attacking the enemy, who is the European farmer only."

"The farmer was actually awakened by the burning of the compound. There is no way that any freedom fighter group could have attacked workers on the farm without attacking the

landlord. It is not possible.

"They would not have done this, even if the farmworkers were not co-operating with the freedom fighters."

"In fact, this farm was on a route which many freedom fighters went through. The Selous Scouts were unhappy because the farm workers were not co-operating with the government."

"That is why they raided the farm and killed the workers."

## ISRAELI TORTURE CONFIRMED IN OCCUPIED WEST BANK

The government of Israel announced plans to extend its control over the occupied Palestinian West Bank territory last week.

Right-wing Prime Minister Menahem Begin said the new policy is intended to provide social services and benefits for Palestinian Arabs.

"Who can be against doing good for the people?" Begin taunted reporters at a press conference.

In fact, the Israeli government has been demonstrating its idea of "doing good" for the Palestinians ever since it occupied the West Bank in 1967.

### FACTS REVEALED

Ten members of the National Lawyers Guild, a delegation who visited the West Bank as well as Israel, Jordan and Lebanon last month, released information about what they learned.

The Palestinian village of Deir Abu Mishal was attacked over a period of 45 days, by recent Israeli Jewish settlers in the West Bank.

Every night they fired shots, broke windows and door handles, shouted obscenities at sleeping villagers and warned them to leave. These Klan-type night riders were accompanied and protected by Israeli soldiers.

The villagers are now organizing self-defense groups. West Bank infant mortality is 80 per 1000 live births, one of the highest in the world. In 1967, when

the Israeli army occupied the area, three West Bank hospitals were turned into police stations.

The Guild members confirmed charges that Israeli military officers use torture to gain confessions from Palestinian prisoners.

Many so-called terrorist confessions are drafted by Israeli officers in Hebrew, which the prisoners can't speak.

A member of the delegation from Detroit, Abdeen Jabara, recalled speaking to one former West Bank prisoner who had acid poured on his genitals. Others had their feet beaten until they could hardly walk.

Another delegation member, Professor John Quigley of Ohio State, cited such Israeli activities as blowing up houses of people suspected of resistance activity, seizure of land on trumped-up charges and forcing community leaders into exile.

"Doing good for the people," Menahem Begin calls his new policy. A few western newspapers may be fooled, but the Palestinian people aren't.

They know it will mean more of the same, or worse.



Israeli occupying troops in Nablus in the West Bank.

# Questions & Answers About The Equal Rights Amendment

**THOSE WHO SUPPORT** equal rights for women wholeheartedly endorse the Equal Rights Amendment and are fighting to see that it is passed and becomes the law of the land.

Opponents of women's rights, on the other hand, are engaged in a hysterical campaign to defeat the ERA.

In the middle there are lots of people who do not know where they stand on the ERA. They do not understand what all the fuss is about.

The odds are about 50-50 that ERA will pass. If three more states do not ratify it before March 1979, the ERA will be defeated.

In this article, **Elissa Clarke of the I.S. Women's Commission** answers some questions about the ERA.



discriminated against.

The ERA will be used by women who apply for "men's" jobs and are told they won't be hired.

It will aid women who want to be promoted—secretaries who are tired of training men to be their bosses; women who work on the assembly lines who want to get a more skilled job; women who do the same work as the men around them, but find their paychecks are a lot smaller.

**4. What about mothers? What will happen to the family if the ERA passes?**

Private affairs between men and women, families, and children will go on as before. The ERA says only that men and women are equal "under law."

That means that laws must be applied equally, regardless of sex, but it does not legislate in private matters.

However, I support the ERA because I feel it is a step towards women's liberation, and I would be lying to you if I said that women's liberation will not change the relationship between men and women.

If women could get jobs at good wages, without any trouble, it would free us from economic dependence on men. Marriage would then be much more likely to be based on love, rather than a woman's fear that she could not support herself.

**5. You keep talking about women's liberation, that makes me suspicious. Will the ERA mean that women will be forced to do men's jobs?**

No. But women who wish to apply for traditionally "men's" jobs would have every legal right to get them.

In the last five years, many companies have begun to hire women into jobs that were only given to men before.

The first women to work on the assembly line in auto plants, as steelworkers in the mills, as craft employees at the phone company, felt pretty strange the first day on the job.

But pretty soon they learned that a job is not a "man's" job or a "woman's" job. It's just a job.

There are plenty of jobs in every factory that women can do, provided they are trained and given a little time to gain experience and build up their muscles.

And we all know that "men's" jobs usually pay a lot higher, are more likely to be unionized.

**6. Does it mean that women will be drafted and have to go into combat?**

If we had a draft, which we don't, women might possibly be drafted on account of the ERA. Possibly, they might also go into combat, though physical size and strength would be considered.

The draft is oppressive to men as well as women, and is something we should all fight against, as brothers and sisters. Women are not "safe" from the draft if their



But women who are denied jobs, women whose husbands skip child support, women who stay in bad marriages because they cannot support themselves—these women do not feel so lucky.

**8. Will the ERA mean that I, as a working man, can be discriminated against by a woman?**

Women have been discriminated against for hundreds of years. We have a lot of catching up to do.

In an economy that does not have enough jobs to go around, women will get some of the jobs that men want. The fight ahead will be for jobs for all.

If a man and a woman apply for the same job, legally it should be given to whoever is better qualified. It cannot be denied to the woman because of her sex if the ERA is passed.

The ERA does not guarantee that affirmative action programs will be set up. (These programs guarantee women a certain percentage of jobs, even if they are not as qualified as men.) But it is likely that we will see a lot of fights around these issues, and the ERA will be a tool that women can use to win.

**9. Will this be like other civil rights legislation—good intentions but impossible to enforce?**

Possibly. The Equal Rights Amendment in itself guarantees nothing. It is the thousands and thousands of women who want to fight for better lives that will put some meaning into the ERA.

**10. What will happen if the ERA is defeated?**

If the ERA goes down in defeat, there will be bad times ahead. For our sisters, and our brothers.

The right wing is behind the move to defeat the ERA. If they are successful, they will grow and become stronger. They have already been successful in attacks on abortion and maternity benefits for women.

But they will not stop with women. They attack gays. They will go on and attack Blacks.

Working people day by day see their rights and their standards of living eroded away. If we stand up together and defeat the right wing on this issue, we can go on to other battles. But if we let them win here, we will have a much harder job ahead of us.

husbands or brothers can be drafted.

On the other hand, women who are already in the military will have grounds for advancement and better opportunities in the military.

**7. Won't the ERA do away with some of the benefits of being a woman—like being supported by a man, or getting alimony if your marriage breaks up?**

If the ERA becomes law, men and women will still get married and have families.

In many cases, one partner will decide not to work, either to raise the children, or because one income is sufficient for them to get by.

In general, women will probably be the ones to stay home, because that is the "norm" in our society.

If a marriage breaks up, one partner may have to contribute to the support of the other, and perhaps support their children entirely. But it will not always be the man. Instead, it will depend on each partner's income.

Today, women supposedly have all these benefits—an easy life, all we have to do is get married and sit at home.

## JOIN US!

If you agree with the views expressed in this paper and  would like more information, or  would like to join the International Socialists, then send this form to: **INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.**

Name

Address

Union

# Where We Stand

## WE OPPOSE

**\*CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION**  
We live under the capitalist system. The wealth produced by working people is stolen from us by private employers. They prosper from our labor.

**\*CAPITALIST CONTROL**  
Capitalists use their profits only to make more profits. When they need fewer workers, they create unemployment. When they need more money, they speed up work, downgrade safety conditions, and raise prices. The capitalist system spends little on health care, a clean environment, or social services, because these things make no profit.

**\*OPPRESSION**  
Capitalism needs inequality. Because it needs profits, it can't provide enough for all. So it gives some groups of people worse jobs and lower pay, and labels them inferior. In particular, capitalism locks black people into the bottom of society, and spreads racist ideas to keep them there. Capitalism keeps women responsible for taking care of the work force when it is not at work, including children, who are too young to work. Women who work for wages have two jobs.

**\*CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT**  
The government serves the capitalist class. Its only purpose is to protect the private profit system. It protects its interests abroad through economic control of other countries, spying and wars.

**\*BUREAUCRATIC COMMUNISM**  
Russia, China and other countries with economies like theirs, are also oppressive class societies, run by a privileged ruling class of bureaucrats. They are not socialist and must be overthrown by the working class of those countries.

## WE SUPPORT

**\*THE RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT**  
The unions protect workers from their employers. But today's unions are run by privileged officials who sell out because they support the capitalist system. They want labor peace, not labor power. We support the struggle for rank and file control of the unions.

**\*LIBERATION FROM OPPRESSION**  
Black people are an oppressed national minority in the United States. They have the right to self-determination—to decide their own future. The struggle of every oppressed group for equality is a just struggle—Blacks, women, gays, Latinos, Armenians, Indians, etc. We are for the independent organization of oppressed peoples to fight for their freedom. Support from the entire working class movement will make the struggles of both—the oppressed and the working class movement—stronger.

**\*SOCIALISM**  
Society should be run by the working class. The wealth produced by those who work should go to fill people's needs, not to private gain.

**\*WORKERS' REVOLUTION**  
But the capitalist class will not give up their rule and profits voluntarily. Socialism can be created only when the working class seizes control of the factories and makes their own government. The working class will rule democratically because it can own society's wealth only together.

**\*INTERNATIONALISM**  
The struggle for socialism is world-wide. We support every fight of the working class against exploitation, and every struggle by nations fighting for independence from foreign rulers. We support every struggle for freedom—from the people of southern Africa against racism and western colonialism, to the struggle against bureaucratic rule and Russian imperialism in Eastern Europe. We demand complete independence for Puerto Rico from U.S. colonial rule.

**\*REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**  
The most class conscious members of the working class have the responsibility to lead the struggle toward socialist revolution. To do this they must build an organization to put their consciousness into action and make their leadership effective.

**\*INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS**  
The I.S. is an organization of revolutionary socialist workers. We are open to all who accept our basic principles and are willing to work as a member to achieve them. Join with us to build the I.S. into a revolutionary party, to build the movement to end exploitation and oppression and to create a socialist world.

**Workers' Power**  
313-869-5964

## Six Plays About Women's Liberation

"The state of Pennsylvania has just cut off funds for welfare," says a young Black woman. "That means I can't pay my rent, pay for my food stamps, or pay my babysitter."

She picks up a cigarette. "But I've come a long way. . . baby."

That was the first of six skits performed at the International Socialists Workers' Conference to dramatize the sexism that women face every day.

The skits were performed by four members of the I.S. Pittsburgh branch: Celeste, Steffi, Randy, and Eric. They were titled "Labor Pains. . . or. . . Only Your Hairdresser Knows For Sure."

### STEELWORKER OR WAITRESS

The second skit showed what happened to Dorothy Benson on her first day at work in a steel mill. Her foreman introduces her to the man she will be working with.

But this guy thinks the work is too heavy for a woman. The foreman says, "The government says we got to pay them like men, so they got to work like men."

"Well, we all work together around here," the fellow assures Dorothy.

Dorothy is ready to start work, but instead her workmate sends her for coffee. "This is what you

want me to do for my job!" she exclaims.

"That's right, honey. We buy. You fly."

A woman in the audience commented: "That's exactly what happened to me when I started in the mill. I got sent to the canteen every day! Finally I told the guys I was working with, 'Look, I'm here to be a millwright, not a waitress.'"

"Men are always saying that women use their sex to get out of doing the work—but they use their sexism to keep us from learning the job."

### DEMOLITION CREW

Another skit showed a woman who applied for a job on a demolition crew. The boss asks her, "You're not one of those women's libbers, are you?"

He finally offers her a job as a secretary, and when she complains about the low salary he says, "You don't need to worry about money or expenses, if you play your cards right. . ."

On her first day on the job, the woman manages to break everything in sight. The boss fires her when she spills coffee on him. "I've never seen anyone wreck an office so fast," he says.

"Well, isn't that what I came to your company for—demolition



The job application (above): "Don't you worry if you play your cards right. . ." At left, a woman's first day on the job in a steel mill. She is sent out for coffee.

comments to a fellow TDU member.

But his fellow worker calls him on his sexism. "I've been meaning to talk to you about that, Tom," he says.

The man comes to accept his wife joining in the struggle, just as the wife decides that her husband "can't stop me from doing anything that I feel is right."

Two other short skits spoofed sexism in the media, showing how corporatins use sex to sell soap.

After the skits, many women and men in the audience spoke up about their experiences with sexism on the job and at home. Here is a sampling of what they had to say.

**Endi, an auto worker from Detroit:** "All day, men are making remarks to you about the way you look. I say, 'There's more to me than that!'"

"I feel like a piece of meat all day! They talk about me as if I wasn't there."

Steffi, a steelworker from Pittsburgh: "We have that problem too. The riggers would howl at women as they walk by. A friend of mine decided to handle the problem with some humor."

**"When they howl, she throws them a dog biscuit!"**

Mary, a telephone worker from Cleveland: "I'm a clerical worker, but I work in a union shop. In our last contract, the company held out against upgrading clerical workers."

"They told us, 'You're better off than other clerical workers.' I say, so what? They're just saying that it's easier to starve on three bowls of soup than two."

"We need to organize even in organized jobs!"

Bill, an auto worker from Detroit: "They use the carrot and the stick with the women in my plant. Sometimes they'll put the women on the hardest jobs and force them to quit."

**"Other times they give the women the easy jobs, then they say to the men: 'You're stuck in the paint shop or the jungle, and she gets the easy job.'"**

"The company has a big stake in keeping men and women divided. We have to show people what's going on."

You can write to the Pittsburgh I.S. for the script and stage directions for "Labor Pains": Pittsburgh I.S., P.O. Box 466, Homestead, PA 15120. You can write your own skits too!

work?"

A fourth skit illustrated the conflict between a couple when the husband does not want his wife to get involved with his problems at

work—even though he is becoming an activist in Teamsters for a Democratic Union.

"My old lady belongs at home taking care of the kids," he

## EVERYTHING YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT SEXISM. . .

Say "women's liberation" and many women will tell you they're not interested.

But if you talk about getting equal pay for equal work, they say "Right on!"

If you talk about getting "men's" jobs or getting into the skilled trades, they're for it.

If you talk about men pitching in around the house, and sharing in the pleasures and responsibilities of child rearing, they agree with you.

**Talking About Women's Liberation.** By Elissa Clarke, Margaret James, Carolyn Greene, and Valerie Dixon. An International Socialists pamphlet, 15 pp., 50c.

"Talking About Women's Liberation" is a new pamphlet that you should read if you're getting interested in questions of women's liberation and socialist politics.

"Talking About Women's Liberation" deals with four key questions of women's liberation:

• **The Family.** Will socialism destroy the family? This fear turns many women off to women's liberation. But it is capitalism that is destroying the family. Socialism will bring better human relationships, relationships based on love

—not economic dependence.

• **Women as Workers.** Women have always worked, and worked hard! And we are in the workforce to stay. Where do women work? How much do they earn? What special problems do working mothers face?

• **Black Women.** Black women face oppression as women, as workers, and as Blacks. Black women workers are the worst paid and suffer the highest unemployment.

Black women sat out the women's liberation movement of the 1960's because they did not want to join this racist society in a put-down of Black men. But only a working women's movement, made up of Black and white women, can end the super oppression that Black women face.

• **Women In Struggle.** Who will fight for us? Who will fight for equal pay, for childcare, for maternity leaves? We have to do it for ourselves!

If we want better lives, we have to join in the struggle. And then we will demand that our brothers join us—because united we will win. Sky's the limit!

### QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS


This short and lively pamphlet is written in a unique way. Scattered through each article are the questions and comments of a group of women discussing the ideas of women's liberation. Their thoughts

may mirror yours, or get you thinking about some of the problems that your sisters face.

"Talking About Women's Liberation" would be an excellent basis

for a discussion group on women's oppression, or a short class series.

The four articles in "Talking About Women's Liberation" first appeared in Workers' Power. □



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# Workers' Power

## Flood Victims Get The Boot From Bethlehem Steel

**Bethlehem Steel is all heart.**

A devastating flood wrecked the city of Johnstown, Pennsylvania. Bethlehem, the biggest employer in the area, pitched right in.

It announced the permanent layoff of 4000 workers, more than a third of the workforce.

It wasn't really because of the flood damage. And it wasn't even because of new pollution-control equipment that the company does not want to install.

Because Bethlehem has made other cuts recently. They are laying off 3500 workers—again permanently—at their Lackawanna Mill, near Buffalo.

The Buffalo area has been in a chronic depression for years now, and Bethlehem—good citizen that it is—has done its part in making it happen.

Ten years ago they employed 20,000 people at Lackawanna. Now the number will be about 7500.

### DOWN THE DRAIN

Bethlehem, the second-largest steel company in the United States says it can't make enough of a profit on these people.

If it happens that the people of Johnstown will never be able to rebuild their city now—well, that's tough.

If it happens that the Buffalo

area will sink further into a depression from which it may never emerge—well, that's the system.

If it happens that the workers at these mills have spent their whole lives working for Bethlehem, that many will never find another job—well, there's always welfare.

If it happens that their parents and grandparents slaved for Bethlehem—and it really was slavery in those days—so they could build their communities and give their children a better future—well, they're all dead anyhow.

There's only one fact that counts. Bethlehem can't make what it has decided is a big enough profit.

### BLAME IMPORTS?!

Bethlehem puts a lot of the blame on imported steel.

They don't claim it's because of lower wages in other countries. German and Japanese steelworkers have living standards pretty similar to American steelworkers.

They say it's because these foreign companies keep making steel, and selling it, even when they can't make a profit.

Bethlehem says the foreign

governments subsidize this because they don't want layoffs at home. These governments, it seems, are afraid of their labor movements, so there are very few layoffs.

### THE AMERICAN WAY

It's a good thing that the people of Johnstown and Buffalo are not subjected to this terrible practice.

Protection against layoffs might destroy their initiative, their sense of being real Americans.

Luckily, the American labor movement—especially the United Steelworkers—has not fallen into this trap.

The Steelworkers Union instead has a no-strike agreement with the industry, called the Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

The purpose of the Agreement? Why, to prevent loss of jobs, of course.

So, the next time you happen to be in Johnstown, do your bit. Explain to the people trying to re-build their flooded homes without a job, that they are really a living, shining example of how the system works. □



After the flood...

## GEORGIA JUSTICE Dawson Five

## Forced To Stand Trial

by Kate Stacy

"Niggah, I'm gon throw you out this car and leave you in the swamp if you don't tell us where the gun is."

The police officer's own gun was cocked and pointed directly into the face of the young Black suspect.

But the judge in the suspect's trial denies that this was police misconduct!

He has refused to dismiss charges against the Dawson Five.

The Five are a group of young

Black men being framed for the murder of a white storekeeper in Dawson, Georgia. They were nowhere near the scene of the crime.

### FRAMED

Their lawyers have presented eyewitness testimony that police tortured the men with threats of castration, electrocution and shooting to get them to confess. These "confessions" were never put on paper or repeated.

The defense asked that this police misconduct serve to dismiss

charges against the Dawson Five.

However the judge denied that the defense had proved misconduct—even though it was a former Dawson police captain who testified to the torture.

The police officer, who is white, also testified that Dawson police have a long history of framing and victimizing Blacks.

According to his testimony, Blacks had their heads run into walls, had Mace sprayed into their eyes and mouths, or were beaten with gun butts to get them to confess to crimes they had not

committed.

As a police officer he was assigned to intimidate Blacks who tried to register to vote.

### ASSIGNED TO INTIMIDATE

He was also assigned to make complete life histories of Blacks who bought firearms, including keeping records of their ammunition purchases.

He recounted that the police fed poisoned hot dogs to dogs in Black neighborhoods, killing over 100. They destroyed white property and

then blamed it on Black people.

Still the judge insisted there had been no official misconduct! He has ordered the Five to stand trial beginning August 29.

Publicity has already forced the prosecution to drop its demand for the death penalty. In addition the defense has successfully challenged the jury pool because it did not adequately represent the county's 65% Black population.

But these few gains are a long way from the complete freedom that these innocent young Black men are entitled to. □