

Workers' Power

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TIME TO TAKE OUT THE GARBAGE!

Impeach Nixon Now!

The Nixon regime is dead. Nixon himself remains in office only because no one has yet worked up the nerve to kick its stinking corpse off the White House throne.

Nixon's guilt is no longer in doubt. Every few days, new evidence comes to light: bribery, burglary, extortion, obstruction of justice, sabotage, tax evasion — all this on top of his real crimes, mass murder in Vietnam, union busting, racism, and repression. About the only crimes Nixon hasn't committed are drug abuse and child molestation.

He stands exposed as an international gangster, despised by most of the population, and yet Nixon remains in office. Why? The answer says a lot about what's wrong with American politics.

Plea bargaining

Nixon, for his part, is buying time. He has held off resigning because he fears once he leaves office nothing will keep him and his whole entourage out of jail. Playing with a yo-yo on the stage of history, Nixon is plea bargaining with the ruling class behind the scenes.

For their part, the ruling class and its representatives are convinced he's got to go. Their problem is not that Nixon is a criminal, but that Nixon got caught.

The President's job in part is to discipline the American people — today more than ever, as the

US enters a period of recurring economic crisis and intensified world competition. But Nixon is so discredited, he can no longer keep the US working class in line.

His exposure has destroyed many of the myths that capitalist politics depend upon. Already the Republican Party is heading for disaster this fall. They fear annihilation if they can't unload Nixon before November. But more than that, *both* parties are worried that if the present crisis goes on much longer the whole two-party system — the bedrock of the status quo in this country — will begin to crumble.

At his last press conference, Nixon proclaimed, "Dragging out Watergate drags down America." Since it is Nixon and his lawyers who are doing most of the stalling, this was just another exercise in rhetorical hypocrisy. But unwittingly he paraphrased his increasingly impatient masters; as they see it, dragging out Nixon is dragging down American capitalism and its politics.

Quick coup

What the ruling class must work out is a means of removing Nixon that will restore stability to the status quo, not further undermine it.

They don't want to prevent a repetition of Nixon's crimes, they want to perpetuate them in new, more successful guises.

They want to rebuild popular illusions about the government. They want to make certain that

Nixon's successor doesn't get caught.

What the ruling class requires is a coup d'état — a quick, painless replacement of the head of state, without any change in the system he represented. They simply haven't decided how best to organize the coup or who should take the lead.

Neither the Democrats nor any liberal Republicans are willing to spearhead the coup — they fear a pro-Nixon backlash, organized around the theme, "Nixon was the innocent victim of a rabid, partisan attack." For months they have been searching for a member of Nixon's own wing of the Republican Party to play Brutus to Nixon's Caesar. Goldwater was asked and refused, but right-wing Senator James Buckley finally agreed to be the first to slip in the knife — for the good of the Republican Party and the conservative movement.

Others from among Nixon's former hard core are expected to follow Buckley's lead. Washington's Night of the Living Dead may soon be coming to an end — but new monsters will take Nixon's place.

Clean sweep

In the meantime, what should be the attitude of American working people, who have no stake in the system the Democratic and Republican Party politicians are struggling to shore up? We don't need a coup — we need a clean sweep. Take out all the garbage — not just Nixon, but the capitalist politics that produced him.

We want Nixon's impeachment, not his resignation, for the same reason establishment leaders are afraid of it — we want the whole truth to come out, in a public trial: No More Lies, No More Coverups! No secrets from the American people, play all the tapes, publish all the documents! Impeach the system!

Nixon should be ousted now, but on *our* terms, not his and not theirs. First of all, we should de-

mand that new presidential elections be called for this November. The '72 elections were a fraud — they were rigged, not just by Nixon's plumbers, but by the whole two-party system. Ford, Nixon's hand-picked, carbon-copy successor, has no more right to rule us than Nixon does.

Second, the labor movement should organize to nominate and run its own ticket. The Democratic Party is as much a party of business, of wage controls and inflation, of racism, of the oil hoax — of Watergate and all it stands for — as Nixon's Republicans. The Democrats and the liberals have presented no alternative to Nixon because they can't: they represent the same politics and the same interests he does. Their differences with the Republicans are those of style, not substance.

To date, AFL-CIO President George Meany and the other labor bureaucrats have provided

no more leadership throughout the Watergate crisis than the Democratic Party. With barely enough political vision to find the ends of their noses, Meany and his colleagues have set their sights on electing a "veto-proof Congress" — i.e., on electing more Democrats, Nixons in sheep's clothing. Labor's imprisonment in the Democratic Party is what makes Watergate possible. So long as the working class has its arms tied behind its back, the bosses of America will have a free hand.

That is the basic lesson of Watergate: Working people must build a permanent party of the working class. Until the two-party system is smashed and the labor movement has its own party, Nixon politics and Nixon business will continue as usual, whatever they call their gas. ■

Kit Lyons



Mass Strike Shakes San Francisco p5



Editorial

Ritual Murder

When Richard Nixon is thrown out of office, he will at least leave behind a fitting monument to his legacy of mass murder and repression. The Nixon administration, with Congressional support, is writing the death penalty back into law.

The truth about the death penalty is well known. It is never used against the wealthy who have plenty of money to hire the best lawyers. Even when convicted of crimes they often never go to jail at all. And Lieutenant William Calley, mass butcher of My Lai, is free on appeal while his superiors who ordered the war went scot free.

The ritual murder of prisoners of the state, by means of strangling, electric frying or poison gas is carried out almost exclusively against the poor. For the most part black men are condemned to die.

The existence of the death penalty reflects the barbarism of the legal and prison system. It is one of the most brutal indictments of this whole rotten capitalist system. It will never be fully, completely and irreversibly abolished until this system is destroyed and a socialist society established in its place.

The re-introduction of the death penalty is a product of the Nixon administration and its supporters' efforts, national and local, to line up support for a harsher repressive atmosphere. They play on the fears of most people about the violence and crime generated by this society. We now know, of course, what lies behind this call for honesty and order — extortion of campaign contributions, fraud, obstruction of justice and tax evasion — at the highest levels of the "law and order" administration.

The new death penalty law is an indictment of more than Nixon. It exposes the political futility of its liberal opponents who attack it on legalistic grounds — that its application was too broad and "vague." This was gotten around by defining a series of specific crimes for which death can be imposed — and which can now be broadened whenever a more repressive climate will allow.

A lot of propaganda is put out to convince people that selective use of the death penalty will reduce crime. But those who actively pushed through its re-introduction are, in fact, for its widespread application as a means of terror, especially against the black community.

A socialist society, in which working people control their lives and communities through collective, democratic organizations, will have no need for such measures as the death penalty — or the other atrocities committed by the capitalist legal and prison system.

We will need no massive apparatus of repression to protect the wealth of an exploiting class. Nor will we have to resort to mass imprisonment of people for crimes committed out of hopelessness and despair, or for the senseless random violence created by the social decay of this rotting system. We will only need to control a few of the exploiters themselves, while we build a world without poverty, racism and oppression. A world where the hideous violence of this society will disappear forever.

Bureaucrats' Power Struggle Kills Teacher Merger

Merger negotiations between the 40,000 member American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO) and the independent 1.4 million member National Education Association broke down when the NEA walked out of the negotiations.

The action was a blow at teacher needs and hopes. Tens of thousands of teachers believe merger of the two unions is essential if the past two years' defeats are to be reversed.

Teacher salaries have been harder hit than almost any sector of the organized working class. For the past two years, annual salaries have increased only 3.5% nationally. Teacher unemployment is at 10% — only the auto union has been hit as hard.

The official excuse for broken negotiations is the NEA was unable to agree with the AFT on three issues:

- affiliation with the AFL-CIO (opposed by the NEA);
- racial minority quotas on all organization bodies to guarantee minority groups a share in the leadership (AFT opposes this);
- the secret ballot in all elections (AFT opposes this).

These differences are a smoke-screen behind which other, less principled pressures are operating. These three issues could easily be resolved by some compromise, and both sides know it.

Competing ambitions

The break was really caused by the competing ambitions of the leaders of the two unions.

Over the past five years the NEA leadership, under the dual pressures of its own members and AFT growth, converted the NEA from a "professional" organization, into a moderate union not much different from the AFT.

Merger with the AFT became difficult to oppose. But merger also meant that NEA leadership ran the risk of domination by New York UFT President Albert Shanker.

The NEA leaders were in a dilemma: how could they merge without surrendering power?

Uncertain, the NEA hoped to save the day by taking advantage of the factional differences between Shanker and AFT President David Selden. If merger was unavoidable, it would be best to strengthen Selden's hand and more or less isolate Shanker within the new organization. This is the course they settled on.

In retaliation, Shanker launched a campaign to force Selden's immediate resignation.

The Shanker-Selden fight is

more than just a personal struggle for power. Both leaders (and the NEA as well) have essentially the same strategy for teachers — influencing the Democratic and Republican parties.

But there are slight differences which forced a split. Selden represents a more liberal wing within the labor movement. He is pro-Democratic Party, but anti-war, and mildly critical of Meany.

With Shanker now an official Vice President of the AFL-CIO, even Selden's whispered objections to Shanker's ally Meany, and his relatively softer attitude

strategies which can win for teachers.

If merger is to be successful immediate problems must be tackled. One problem is the tiny size of teacher bargaining units.

There are two million teachers divided among 20,000 employers (school districts). Merger will produce successes only if it brings together isolated groups of teachers from both national organizations into joint, even state-wide, direct action and bargaining.

Merger must also recognize that state and federal governments, as the ultimate source of funds, are the ultimate employers. This mandates that the unions engage in political actions, but political action as a *supplement* to direct action, not as Shanker believes as a *substitute* for it.

Shanker's (and NEA's) type of political action within the two pro-business parties is already wide-spread. But the ineffectiveness of teacher political action to date (teachers spent 3 million dollars in the '72 elections) demonstrates that teachers need a party of working people, a labor party.

Relying solely upon any of the current teacher union leaders for the needed merger would be a double error. First it would be wrong because of the conflict of interests between members' needs and the career interest of most leaders. Second, a merger based on a program which reduces the organization to a vast lobbying machine would be an exercise in futility.

Teachers should therefore insist the merger talks be re-opened. But wherever possible, teachers should also take the initiative for joint action between both teacher groups on the local level and even higher. ■

David Miller

TOWARD TEACHER POWER

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toward the NEA, were intolerable, not to say dangerous; Selden had to go.

Shanker must have known the consequence of his attack on Selden. To the NEA leaders it was a clear message. "I am the AFT. Deal with me, or else." The NEA chose to break off negotiations.

There is a certain danger that even if merger were carried out under leaders such as Shanker, Selden or the NEA, it would create a larger organization, but not necessarily a stronger one.

The NEA alone, with its 1.4 million members, is a giant. But despite its size, it is nearly powerless. None of the merger advocates have developed new

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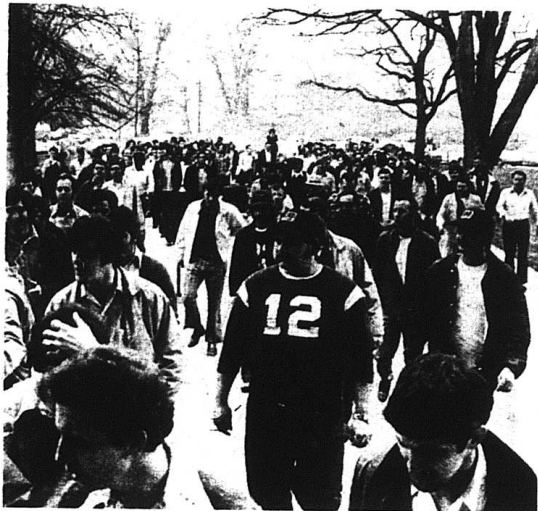
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Miners Flex Muscles, Governor Retreats



The West Virginia coal miners strike was a magnificent example of how to fight and how to win. The miners demonstrated that working people are not prisoners of the oil monopolies — that we can fight the energy crisis and that we have some very powerful weapons to use.

For three weeks the miners waged a fight against West Virginia Governor Arch Moore's gasoline rationing system. Moore had declared that no one with over a quarter tank of gas could buy more. In practice, this meant that it was virtually impossible for many miners to get to work on a regular schedule.

While the miners were restricted, the coal companies — which are largely owned by the giant oil corporations — had no trouble getting all the fuel they wanted to run their mines.

Five days after Moore issued his order, the strike began. At its height 27,000 miners were on strike, closing virtually all the coal mines in Southern West Virginia.

Steel mills began to curtail operations as they ran out of coal. Three picketers were wounded by snipers, one critically.

On March 13th, Moore lifted his quarter-tank order, at least temporarily.

Political strike

The story of how the miners won is important to understand. Their action can be duplicated by other workers in other industries. Indeed it must be duplicated if the oil monopolies are to be prevented from continuing to

would have a far more serious impact on the governor than the slickest lobbyist their union could send to Charleston.

Second, they spread the strike. Beginning in McDowell County, rank and file miners took their message to other miners until the entire southern half of the state was on strike. When Moore gave in, the strike was still expanding, involving more and more miners.

Rank and file control

Third, they ignored their so-called leaders who were only trying to lead them back to work without a satisfactory settlement. At the height of the strike, a UMW District 29 Representative told *Workers' Power*, "The International Union and the District... are attending their meetings and urging them to go back to work, but they don't seem to be heeding."

This ability of rank and file to control their own strikes has always been one of the miners' greatest strengths.

Finally, and in the long run perhaps most important, many miners realized that they would have to combine political action with their strike action.

At a miners' rally at the state capitol, one speaker declared: "We don't always have to vote for

Democrats or Republicans. If they don't give us satisfaction, we will run an independent coal miner for governor."

More and more it's becoming common knowledge that the oil monopolies and big business generally control not only the Republicans, but the Democrats as well. Running an independent coal miner for governor — a candidate representing the working miners rather than big business — would be a step in the direction of breaking the total control the two big business political parties have on the political life of this country.

The West Virginia strike may also be a preview of what might happen when the miners' contract expires this fall. The miners have put their own union leaders on notice that they are determined not to pay for the mess which the oil corporations and the rest of big business have made of the economy.

Miners show the way

Miners will be in a strong position if they are prepared to fight hard. Because the energy crisis has made coal so crucial to the economy, miners will not feel many effects of the recession which threatens the jobs of other workers.

Miners do, however, feel all

the effects of inflation which is wiping out all their past gains — and they need big increases in order to catch up. Already they have begun to show the way for other industrial workers to follow. ■

Jim Woodward



Brief Reprieve At Rheingold



Neil Borra, center, President of Teamster Local 46, at New York City Hall ceremonies as Chock Full O' Nuts took over Rheingold. City politicians Beame, O'Dwyer, and Eisenpreis hover attentively.

The brewers and drivers of Rheingold beer will keep their jobs. Or rather, some will — at least for a while.

Chock Full O' Nuts is buying Rheingold from Pepsico. Pepsico's attempt to close down the Brooklyn brewery last month led to a sit-in by the workers. But the local Teamster Union leadership called off the occupation, tried to settle the problem in court, and to find a buyer.

The union officials have made still more concessions to convince Chock Full O' Nuts to buy. A third of the workforce will be gone, and the others will be expected to take up the slack. Various work rules have also been dropped.

In other words, the Teamster officials have agreed that the men will work harder and faster — and probably less safely. Last year they gave up their 35-hour week and other working conditions to convince Pepsico to keep the brewery open. The union's concessions failed, and the brewery was scheduled to close.

When they occupied the plant last month, the Rheingold workers were saying they had a right to their jobs, a right that was more important than Pepsico's profits. Now the union officials are saying the opposite. They are begging Chock Full O' Nuts to keep Rheingold running and giving up any working conditions, pay or jobs necessary to insure a profit. These two opposite ways of dealing with the problem cannot co-exist forever.

Although those Rheingold workers who will be keeping their jobs can't help feeling relieved, that relief is mixed with uncertainty. As one steward predicted a month ago: what was to prevent some company from coming in, draining everything it could from Rheingold, and then — when the union was no longer strong enough to resist — close down the brewery?

There could have been a victory at Rheingold. Instead there may only be a stay of execution.

Ken Morgan



ETHIOPIA: Strike Cracks Feudal Regime



A general strike, an army revolt, and mounting opposition in the streets ranging from women workers to student revolutionaries have forced Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia to dismiss his government, promise constitutional reforms and grant workers a minimum wage equal to about \$1.80 a day.

The average wage for unskilled laborers in Ethiopia has been about 35c per day. Strikes, peaceful demonstrations and political parties have been forbidden by law. Already, the explosion of unrest has forced this archaic feudal regime to grant major concessions to the masses of Ethiopians.

The revolution in Ethiopia, however, has not ended — it has only begun. Most of Ethiopia's 25 million people live hand-to-mouth by farming and are required by law to give three-quarters of what they produce to the landlords — and work for them, too.

There is one doctor for every 75,000 people, one child in three dies in infancy, and 19 people out of 20 cannot read or write.

US aids repression

American companies control most of the mineral and other newly discovered wealth of Ethiopia — and over half of all US military aid to Africa goes to Ethiopia.

This aid helps the Emperor to

maintain "stability" for US interests in the Red Sea and to wage his war against the revolutionary Eritrean Liberation Front.

About 20,000 Ethiopians work as slave labor in the Emperor's private gold mines in Adola.

This regime has never had a peaceful year: peasant insurrections, strikes and demonstrations by an increasingly militant working class have been suppressed with ferocity, claiming thousands of lives.

Crumbling empire

With living conditions worsening day by day, with growing inflation and high prices resulting from the world capitalist economic crisis, and a monstrous tax system that falls on peasants and workers, with famine ravaging the country — 300,000 people have died of starvation already in the countryside — the entire structure of the Empire is beginning to crumble.

The Ethiopian Confederation of Labor Unions, which represents 136,000 workers, carried through a general strike demanding minimum wage, price controls, job security and trade union rights for all workers. The strike was joined by teachers, taxi drivers and shopkeepers.

Most recently 3000 working women marched on the Palace to demand equal pay, showing that women's liberation will also be

vital to the revolution now opening up.

In short, almost every sector of the urban population at this point supports the mass strike movement.

The army, led by non-commissioned officers, has been in effective control since February and has demanded sweeping democratic reforms — freedom of the press and speech, education for all, land reform, and release of all political prisoners.

Student demonstrations in support of workers and soldiers have raised more radical demands, including "land to the tillers," "formation of a democratic republic," and "all power to the people."

Mass struggle

The very survival of the masses in Ethiopia can only be ensured through mass struggles from below, led by organized workers, which challenge the entire social and political structure of the society.

No "moderate" reformers can transform this structure and bring Ethiopia into the 20th century — there is no progressive-minded capitalist class willing to challenge feudalism and imperialism or to lead the revolution needed to overthrow them.

In their struggle to dismantle the Haile Selassie monarchy, the Ethiopian masses are setting the stage for massive class struggles which will help bring about the socialist transformation of all Africa. ■

Britain: Wilson Goes Right

The newly elected Labor Party government in Britain has wasted little time in beginning to set out the workers who voted it into power.

Faced with his first challenge from the ousted Conservative Party, Prime Minister Harold Wilson quietly announced that wage controls would remain legally binding until iron-clad "voluntary" guarantees can be secured from trade union leaders to hold their demands within the boundaries set up by the former Conservative government of Edward Heath.

Conservative spokesman William Whitelaw wasted no time in pointing out that the Labor Party, after running a campaign denouncing Heath's anti-union program, has now made that same program central to its own policy.

This sellout, only the first of many to come as Labor tries to manage a sick and weakened British capitalism, proves that workers must keep their guard up and rely on their own fighting strength to win any new gains.

The British miners' strike forced Heath to call a general election, which he lost. Even with the passive tactics imposed on the miners by their own leaders — no mass or roving pickets, no stoppage of trucks carrying fuel to power stations — the power of the miners, only starting to flex their muscles, was enormous.

That same strength must now be used in other industries, and to build links and alliances be-

tween workers stretching across industries.

A rank and file leadership, organized and able to mobilize tens of thousands of workers, can fight the repressive measures imposed by the employers and the Labor government.

To begin building this leadership, twelve rank and file papers in Britain are organizing an important conference which will be attended by hundreds of delegates from trade union bodies all across Britain. This conference, which will meet at the end of March, will aim at the formation of a national organization to force the unions to fight the employers and to organize that fight independently when necessary.

The International Socialists in Britain also support the conference and are working to build it.



THE PRIME MINISTER

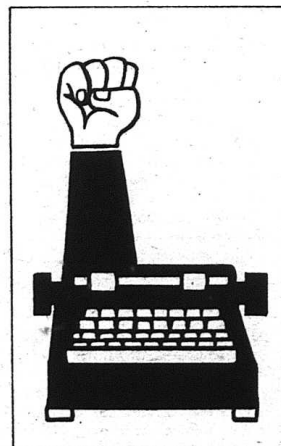
Revolutionaries Lead Paris Strike

Striking office workers have paralyzed offices of the Bank of France. One-day strikes have been hitting the big French banks for the last month.

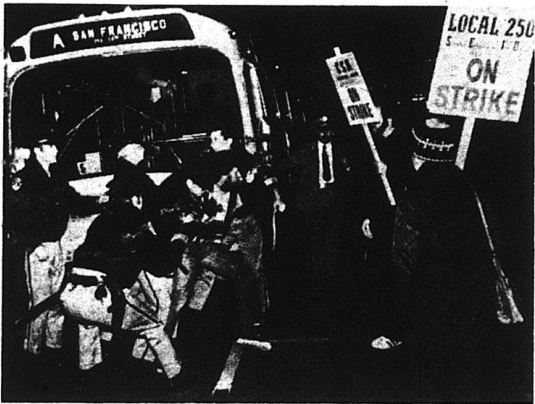
A full-scale strike was called after police moved in to throw out workers who were occupying the head office of the Bank of France.

The center of the action is the nationalized Credit Lyonnais, where the struggle is led by the revolutionary socialists of the group Lutte Ouvriere (Workers Struggle).

Largely because of their leadership, the strike at the Credit is run by strike committees elected by all the workers, instead of a committee of union officials as the bureaucrats of the Communist Party would prefer. ■



LABOR EARTHQUAKE HITS SAN FRANCISCO



The strike of city workers in San Francisco was not an ordinary strike. It was not defined by its demands, which were extremely moderate. Nor was it distinguished by its successes, which were very minor. What was exceptional about the strike was its breadth and scope.

The strike laid bare the tremendous anger and discontent that has been building up in the country against inflation, Watergate, and the "energy crisis." Each day, new groups of workers joined its ranks — demonstrating solidarity and possibilities of co-ordinated action which are destined to leave a profound impact on the American labor movement.

The strike began when a mass meeting of four locals of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) — representing hospital, clerical, maintenance and social workers — rejected a wage offer of the Board of Supervisors on Monday, March 4, by a vote of 1092 to 87.

The offer was rejected because the increases were tiny (averaging from 2-5%) and increased the already large differential between low-paid and high-paid workers. The highest increases went to the highest-paid supervisory workers.

After inflation of nearly 9% last year, far right-wing Supervisor John Barbagelata, a real estate broker, had the nerve to tell workers earning \$500 - 700 per month, "You are overpaid."

The union's main leaders, Gery Higgs of Local 400, and Tim Twomey of 250, also a vice president of the Labor Council, had a clever plan. As enthusiastic supporters of Democratic Mayor Joseph Alioto's campaign for Governor of California (Two-

meys is a co-chairman of United Labor for Alioto), they did not want a strike unless it would benefit Alioto's campaign. They reckoned without the determination of their union's rank and file.

The strike deadline was set for midnight of Thursday, March 7. Shortly before the deadline on Wednesday night, Higgs and Twomey made an agreement with Alioto behind closed doors: the strike would be postponed for one day. The script read: Brilliant negotiator Joe Alioto, the working man's Henry Kissinger, would avert labor unrest with a settlement fair to everyone, demonstrating to one and all his fitness for the governor's chair.

The rank and file learned of Higgs and Twomey's deceit from the morning *Chronicle*. The headline read, "City Workers' Strike Averted for 24 Hours." But the picket lines went up as scheduled.

Strike locomotive

The initiative had passed into the hands of the rank and file. In the end, it took Alioto and his labor lieutenants a week of smooth talking and devious action to win it back.

Alioto roared that the strike was a "wildcat." Actually, the SEIU had the full support of its own membership, its International, and the local Labor Council.

This was pointed out by workers on the picket lines, who indignantly rejected the notion of a wildcat. It would have been more reasonable to accuse Higgs and Twomey of "wildcat scabbing" for their deal behind the workers' backs.

On the other hand, Alioto's roar of pain was genuine. Contrary to his best-laid plans, the strike was definitely out of his control.

In the next few days, the strike locomotive gathered up

steam and flattened San Francisco. Thursday morning the teachers honored picket lines set up by SEIU members in the schools.

That afternoon, the teachers joined the strike. By a vote of 537-138, they preferred to fight together with SEIU, knowing they would have to fight separately later if they did not.

On Friday, the mostly black motormen and conductors of the Municipal Railway honored SEIU's picket lines and shut down all bus, trolley, streetcar, and cable car service.

However, no strike vote was taken by the Transport Workers Union, despite the unsafe equipment, gruelling schedules, and rising passenger loads caused by the "energy crisis."

Under the cowardly leadership of John T. Squire, another heavy plunger into Alioto's campaign, TWU Local 250a did nothing but complain that the Muni men "weren't getting anything out of it."

Also on Friday, union substitute teachers and farmworkers put up picket lines at the school bus barns. The strike gained more power when the school bus drivers, despite their part-time hours and low wages, refused to cross the lines.

Enthusiasm and strike solidarity were expressed on Saturday by a mass rally and picketing at Sears, where retail clerks have been on strike for 30 weeks. Hundreds of strikers and other unionists strengthened the retail clerks' lines, and fought to stop shoppers from going into the store.

On Sunday, the strike held its breath, preparing itself for the week to come. On Monday, March 11, the airport bus and limousine service was halted. Thousands of air travelers were left stranded in the uncollected garbage left behind by striking janitors.

The San Francisco stub of BART, the Bay Area's misbegotten subway line, was shut down on Tuesday. On Wednesday, A-C Transit's Bay Bridge commuter lines, which bring tens of thousands of workers from across San Francisco Bay every morning, were stopped when the Amalgamated Transit Union voted to support the city strike.

Repression threat

With Governor Ronald Reagan proclaiming his eagerness to send in the National Guard, an explosive mixture was being prepared. Violent repression could have touched the fuse. Onto the gunpowder of a mass strike, the San Francisco Chamber of Com-

merce poured nitroglycerine, with a \$1 billion suit against the city and the unions.

An injunction was granted declaring the strike illegal and ordering the police, some of whom are members of SEIU, to clear away pickets from the hospitals, the Muni Railway barns, and the sewage treatment plants.

The dynamite did not go off. The fuse was tamped for the time being by Alioto and his henchmen on the Labor Council.

In ringing words, Alioto declared, "The courts have a 70-year history of failure to solve labor disputes. We don't have a jail around here for 10,000 people."

But Alioto ordered police to obey the injunction. Although the police reluctantly agreed, nothing happened.

On Thursday morning, the A-C Transit buses, brought to life by another injunction, began to move across the Bay again. They were met at the terminal by angry pickets.

One picket, shouting "class solidarity," leapt in front of a moving bus. The bus driver braked in time, and state police moved to clear the way. More pickets leapt into the way of the buses, and were cleared away.

In the evening, more buses were stopped. Eventually, eight arrests were made. The state police had to admit they could not control the situation.

For reasons of safety, the injunction was vacated, and the A-C drivers once again honored the picket lines. But the strike was running out of victories.

The sewage plants had been opened up that morning. The school bus drivers, mistrusting the intentions of the leaders of the teachers union and fearing their own inability to withstand a strike without benefits of any kind, had voted down a motion to strike on Wednesday night

but were still respecting picket lines.

On Friday morning, March 15, the SEIU leaders announced a settlement and called a meeting to ratify it. The new package replaced the percentage wage differentials which had been rejected with an across-the-board \$45 monthly raise — which actually means a real wage cut of anywhere from 4.6% to 8.6%.

Even though the strike was still spreading with the shutdown of the port Friday morning, the mood of the workers was changing. The clenched fist of militancy was slowly giving way to the knowing nod of resignation.

Forced ratification

The *Examiner*, a local Hearst mouthpiece, didn't wait for the workers to ratify. It trumpeted, "Muni, BART Run Today."

Raoul Teitel, President of the California Federation of Teachers, showed similar indecent haste. Addressing an open-air rally of several hundred teachers, he warned them, "Monday the spotlight will be on you."

The SEIU bureaucrats were leaving nothing to chance. Ballots were passed out before the packed meeting even heard the results of the bargaining, and were collected while the speakers were talking, making any kind of debate a joke.

Many workers left without even bothering to vote, once they saw how determined the bureaucrats were to shove the settlement through.

A rank-and-file caucus in Local 400 passed out leaflets opposing the deal, but it was ratified by a 750-241 vote. Many hundreds in the huge meeting obviously did not bother to vote.

Meanwhile, at City Hall, three right-wing Supervisors were voting against the pact. Barbagelata announced plans to submit the

[Continued on page 14]



labor briefs

Another big victory for the **United Farm Workers boycott**. After months of picket-line pressure, the Shop-Rite chain in New York City and Northern New Jersey has agreed not to carry scab grapes and lettuce.

Coal miners on strike in Brookside, Kentucky against the Eastover Mining Co. continue to hold firm despite increased harassment. Eastover has cut off the water supply to forty miners' families and threatens to cut off the electricity as well. Local streams are contaminated, so the strikers must carry in water from the outside.

The 107-member board of directors of the **National Education Association** has gone on record in favor of a roll-back of fuel prices to the level of December 1.

UAW Local 6 (International Harvester, Melrose Park, Ill.) is urging UAW International officers to get off the Labor-Management Advisory Committee of Nixon's Phase III Wage-Price controls, calling it "a vehicle to promote inflation, penalize workers and enrich employers." The Local also called for a roll-back of prices to their 1971 levels, and the establishment of price and profit controls.

UAW Region 2 (Northeast Ohio and Northwest Pennsylvania) leaders are making plans for a **demonstration at the White House** on April 22 or 23, demanding the ouster of President Nixon.

Several hundred **New York Telephone workers** braving a snowstorm picketed AT&T headquarters in defense of the family of a murdered co-worker. The worker, an installer with 19 years seniority, had a good work record, but was in ill health. He collapsed and died while being given a "final warning" by the company. The company first claimed that his death was not work-related, limiting the benefits due the family, but reversed its decision after the demonstration.

Official **unemployment in Michigan now stands at 10.6 percent** of the labor force. Hardest hit are Detroit's black workers. In that city, which has a roughly equal number of blacks and whites, there are two black workers unemployed for every white out of work.

It has just come to our attention that **CWA President Joe Beirne's** column in the *CWA News* is entitled "Off My Mind." We wonder whether he means "Off My Rocker" or "Out of My Mind."

At one of the few places in the depressed General Motors empire where an all-out strike could have an immediate and serious impact on GM management — the small car **Vega plant at Lordstown, Ohio** — the UAW continues to play around, like in a sandbox. It staged a five-day weekend strike of Local 1714 (the stamping plant for Vega parts) to protest management's stalling in coming to agreement on a local contract.

The weekend strike is the same tactic used in late 1972 when management of General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) plants began a torrid speed-up campaign. Those weekend strikes had minimal effect on GM and were designed largely to channel away worker anger over the speed-up.

They used to tell us that even though inflation was bad here, it was worse in other countries. No longer. **Now it's bad here and worse here too.** The US inflation rate in the last year has soared ahead of all other major industrial countries with the exception of Britain, Switzerland, Italy, and Japan. It's 9.4% now in the US, compared with 7.8% in West Germany, 8.4% in France, and 8.0% in Sweden. Moreover, workers in virtually every other industrial country have won wage increases far above those granted workers in the US.

The **Washington State AFL-CIO Labor Council** has estimated that workers will need a 15-20% wage increase this year to make up for last year's loss in real wages, and protect against this year's inflation. But it would be a step forward if even one major union were willing to fight for that much.

What's happening where you work? Send items for this column to: **Labor Editor, Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, Michigan 48203.**

ST. LOUIS GMAD, CHRYSLER PUSH LAYOFFS, OVERTIME

Auto companies are hitting members of the United Auto Workers with a two-sided attack. Auto workers suffer both layoffs and high unemployment, while at the same time efforts are made to squeeze more and more from the work force.

At the St. Louis GMAD plant (General Motors Assembly Division) there are over 15,000 outstanding grievances. Many of these are work standards grievances, known as 78's.

The GMAD plants spread all over the country three years ago and are noted for ruthless productivity drives.

Yet the Woodcock regime has come up with long strikes, "Apache" mini-strikes, many sorts of strikes — except a strike against all GMAD last year when it could have been effective. Norwood and Lordstown were forced to go it alone — even though there were high numbers of grievances in all the GMAD plants, and even though other locals were clamoring to strike at the same time.

The union's International Executive Board refused to let other GMAD locals strike with Lordstown and Norwood.

At the same St. Louis GMAD plant, there have been layoffs of about 2500 people out of a workforce of 8600. The layoffs went back 5 1/2 years seniority. Of these, about 70% were black.

Meanwhile speed-up and harassment are words of the day. They have already announced plans to increase the speed of one line by 20%.

Local 25's leadership in St. Louis has often disagreed with the policies of the Woodcock leadership. Members of Local 25

called for a strike against all of GMAD a year and a half ago when the union and the company were picking off one militant, but isolated, local after another.

Yet when the contract was negotiated, the representatives of Local 25 on the GM council did not voice objection to the sell-out proposals. This lack of leadership dedicated to issues important to the rank and file leads to lousy contracts and sell-out unionism.

Meanwhile, not too far from the St. Louis GMAD plant is Chrysler's Missouri Truck Plant. Here the workers face a different problem: the new "voluntary" overtime provision.

Some departments of the Chrysler Truck Plant are running up to seven days a week, eight, nine or ten hours a day. This with high unemployment throughout most of the auto industry.

Woodcock must go!

Woodcock sold the last national contract to the UAW membership by lying about the voluntary overtime agreement. Now auto workers are paying for the leadership's lies.

With 100,000 auto workers on the street, some plants are still working tremendous overtime. At the Missouri Truck Plant the loophole the company uses is the one about launch — that is, until the line is going at the speed set by the company, the workforce must work over.

It could just as easily be done by other loopholes — like calling the plant a critical plant or charging concerted action. It is clear there is no voluntary overtime in the auto industry today.

The slowdown in the economy

is worsened by the phony energy crisis, and auto workers are bearing the brunt of it.

Meanwhile, United Auto Workers president Leonard Woodcock and the rest of the International leadership go merrily on their way talking about common interests with the Big Three auto companies.

The officers up for re-election at this year's UAW convention must run on the basis of their record and proposals for dealing with the actual problems auto workers face, just like anyone else. And in this Woodcock cannot do well.



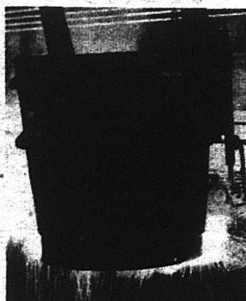
Woodcock has said those who do not accept his policies were not smart enough to understand the last contract. In truth they understood it too well — they knew they were getting screwed.

What's happening at GM and Chrysler in St. Louis proves that Woodcock's policies leave no room for a fight to improve the lives of auto workers on the job or on the streets. If he goes unchallenged at the UAW convention this year, his hand will be strengthened.

Woodcock will most likely win re-election, but a demonstration of opposition to his policies by militants in many different locals could be the first step towards dumping him and the sell-out brand of unionism he represents. ■

Bill Hastings

STEEL UNION LEADERS BARE LOCKOUT CLAUSE



Officials of the United Steel Workers have admitted that they changed the terms of their no-strike agreement with the steel companies after the agreement was ratified by local union presidents last March 29.

The change consisted of the addition of a clause which would allow the employers to lock out the workers.

Under the no-strike agreement, steel workers are prohibited from striking when their contract expires this year.

Until now it had been thought that the companies were prohibited from locking the workers out as well.

Bernard Kleiman, general counsel for the United Steel Workers, described the change as "cosmetic" and of an "editorial nature."

The change was discovered during testimony in federal court in Pittsburgh on a suit by rank and file steel workers to invalidate the no-strike agreement. A decision on the suit is expected by April 15. ■

TELEPHONE BARGAINING PROGRAM A STEP BACKWARD

Like most working people, telephone workers have been hit hard by inflation and growing economic chaos. In July contracts covering three-quarter million Bell Telephone workers expire. A half million of these workers are represented by the Communications Workers of America (CWA).

In January, the CWA's Bell System Bargaining Council met to draw up its recommendations for 1974 negotiations. The negotiations will be conducted by CWA President Joe Beirne and five Vice Presidents, but the local union leaders who make up the Bargaining Council "recommend" what the union is to demand.

The Bargaining Council's statement points to "economic mismanagement which has resulted in rampant inflation, inequitable wage and price controls, unnecessary shortages, and an unacceptable rate of unemployment," but offers little to reverse these familiar features of the Nixon era. Indeed, a good deal of their statement is lavish, totally undeserved praise for the old contract, apparently a justification for demanding so little in the new contract.

The CWA's program follows the pattern already set in automobile, aluminum and can industries. Those contracts include 5-7% first year wage increases, inadequate Cost of Living Allowances (COLA), no improvements in working conditions, and minor gains in most benefits. Only in pensions were any serious gains made — with the can and aluminum workers getting a COLA for pensions.

Like the other unions, the CWA simply calls for a "substantial" wage increase that should "take into account productivity increases in the telephone industry and the increases in prices during the last contract year." At best, this sort of formula is vague. At worst, it ties any wage gains to productivity increases; that is, to speed-up or the potential loss of jobs through automation.

Wipe out inflation

To get ahead, telephone workers need a large across the board increase, perhaps \$50 a week for the first year and a one year contract or annual wage reopeners. An increase of this type and size would wipe out the effects of past inflation and would put everyone ahead.

A \$50 a week increase would help narrow the wage gap between the various job classifica-

tions and between men and women. It would also wipe out the growing gap in living standards cause by inflation — price hikes take a bigger proportion of an operator's \$120 weekly wage than from a deskman's \$200.

The Bargaining Council calls for some adjustments in the current COLA, but not for a basic change in the COLA formula. As it stands, a telephone worker gets about \$1.00 a year for each point the Consumer Price Index (CPI) rises. For the entire three years of the old contract, telephone workers got \$12.50.

So far in that period, prices rose about 20%. So, if it cost an "average" family \$200 a week to get by in 1971, it would cost \$240 in 1974 just to keep up. With the CWA contract, however, a worker would only have \$212.50 for Cost of Living in 1974. A basic change in the COLA formula is needed. For each point the CPI rises, a monthly increase of \$3.4 is needed to cover inflation.

Ranks must lead

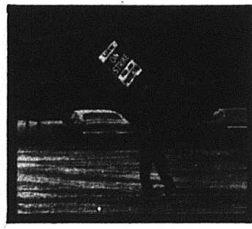
Pension and health demands are covered in great detail in the Bargaining Council's statement, but the actual demands are those already won by other unions. CWA should be using those victories to demand even more. This not only helps telephone workers, but aids unions bargaining after CWA to demand more.

If, on the other hand, the CWA settles for the peanuts proposed by the Bargaining Council — or with Beirne at the wheel even less — it will hurt all workers. Along with the inadequate contracts signed in auto, aluminum and can, a lousy CWA contract will be used to justify further resistance to the steelworkers, miners, and longshoremen's demands when their contracts expire in the late summer and fall.

Bargaining demands that speak to the needs of workers today will have to come from the ranks. CWA members can start by demanding that open contract committees be set up in their locals, where members can discuss bargaining proposals. These committees should insist that the CWA fight for their proposals.

They should also demand that these proposals be forged into a new, militant bargaining program at the CWA convention in June. Neither telephone workers nor anyone else can afford the puny package proposed by the CWA Bargaining Council. ■

Brian Mackenzie



Which Side Are You On?

Kim Moody

GETTING AWAY WITH IT, Pt.2

Time after time, the top union leaders push through rotten settlements over the objections of the union membership. Time after time they get away with it.

With the help of various kinds of experts and social manipulators, these top officials have worked out their own tactics for "selling" settlements to the ranks.

Labor expert Donald Cullen points out that blustering at the bargaining table is one such technique:

"A slam-bang negotiating session can provide a healthy outlet for these tensions and frustrations that build up between managers and the managed."

"... if these pent-up emotions are not given a chance to come out at the bargaining table, then... they may emerge on the job in the form of slow-downs, wildcat strikes, and generally miserable labor relations." (Donald Cullen, "Negotiating Labor-Management Contracts," Bulletin 56, New York State School of Industrial Relations, Cornell, 1970.)

The union leaders hope that a militant posture can help sell a contract and keep down militancy on the job. It is doubtful, however, that many workers fall for this one.

Two kinds of strikes

A more important trick is the use of particular forms of the strike or strike threat as a means of wearing down worker resistance to a lousy contract.

The strike is a real weapon in the hands of the workers. Almost any kind of strike hurts the company to one degree or another. The same expert quoted above noted, "In the vast majority of cases, however, management is ahead in the bargaining game as long as its employees continue to work."

In other words, the strike is still the most effective way to equalize the power between the workers and the bosses.

Also, it would be one-sided to forget that unwilling union leaders are often pushed into a real fight with the company by pressure from the ranks. In those situations, a strike can force the company to give up more than it had planned on.

Nonetheless, various labor leaders have used strikes to get acceptance of a contract by the ranks and to wear down militant opposition. These cynical labor fakers understand that rank and file workers take strikes seriously.

For example, the leaders of the Steel Workers have agreed not to strike the big ten steel companies at the national level when their contract expires in August.

Top Steel Worker officials realized, however, that to get the no-strike agreement (called Experimental Negotiating Agreement — ENA) at the national level, they would have to give the workers some way of expressing their resentment toward the company. On the basis of interviews with union leaders, here is how the pro-employer Bureau of National Affairs described their reasoning:

"In their private and public discussions of the ENA's major facets, the union's negotiators and some of the industry's negotiators indicated that the emotional safety valve of the local strike may be indispensable under ENA. As union Special Counsel Elliot Bredhoff noted, the employees' psychological need to know that there will be specific times when they have the right to close down a mill cannot be safely ignored." (Daily Labor Report, "Bureau of National Affairs, 12/26/73.)

[The publishers of the "Daily Labor Report" do not write for the eyes of workers. They write for the bosses and the top labor officials and staffers, all of whom share the view that workers are guinea pigs with psychological needs that must be manipulated.]

"Letting off steam"

The leaders of the United Auto Workers (UAW) expressed a similar view of local strikes some years ago. UAW leaders used to say about short local walkouts following national settlements: "This is good for the Boys; it gives them a needed chance to let off steam."

They changed their mind when these local strikes got out of hand in the late 1960's. In recent negotiations with General Motors and Chrysler, the UAW

leaders reversed their strategy. Now they call token national strikes "to let off steam" and put the lid on local strikes. The tactic is a little different, but the idea is the same.

The story about how the UAW leaders applied these tactics to the 1970 auto negotiations can be found in *The Company and the Union*, by William Serrin.

Mass strike action

The strike is the most powerful weapon the workers have against the employers. Without it, the workers have little or no bargaining power. Union leaders have tried to take the strike away from the ranks and turn it against them. The only reason they can get away with it is that the ranks are not organized to turn the tables back on these bureaucrats.

When the ranks are passive in a strike, the union officials can sit it out, then call it off and push through the same old offer. Seeing no way to force the negotiators to get anything better, many workers ratify the contract out of despair.

With organization, a mass strike movement can place itself beyond the control of the bureaucrats. By showing the boss that the workers mean business, they can force the boss to offer more than the union leaders really planned to demand.

Simply prolonging a strike is not enough. The workers must be able to organize mass actions, publish their own demands and arguments, and put forth their own spokesmen. That means organization: strike committees and rank and file opposition caucuses to keep up the fight after the strike.

The coal miners have shown repeatedly that they know how to do this — and they will keep on doing it. Other workers can do it too. ■



How Capitalism Manu

PROFITS vs. PRODUCTION: MAKING MORE BY MAKING LESS

steel supply drops... prices, profits soar

We don't go out and buy a ton of steel. So when we hear about a boost in steel prices, we don't usually notice, much less worry. But if any industry is key to inflation, it is steel. When the price of steel goes up, sooner or later nearly everything else will go up too.

Of course we pay the higher costs when we buy products made of steel, on everything from forks to automobiles. But we also pay more for all sorts of things we don't connect with steel, like food for instance.

The farmer pays more for his machinery, and passes the cost along to us. The real estate company pays more for construction costs, and raises rents. And so on and on.

The ripple effect is endless, especially when it starts with the inflationary bomb the steel industry has thrown at us this year.

The Cost of Living Council (CLC) has been raising the price of steel all along. In the last boost at the end of January, the CLC allowed price increases totalling about \$65 million a year for 26 big steel producers.

Although a request for \$422 in additional price boosts was temporarily rejected, the CLC

ruled that a further \$691 million in requested increases had already been granted.

But the steel industry has never been satisfied with its higher prices; it wanted no limits. So we have a steel shortage.

The CLC's latest price boost for the industry was in direct response to the shortages. CLC Director John Dunlop said the action "should reduce possibilities of domestic shortages" of steel products crucial to other sectors of the economy.

He announced complete decontrol of some items, such as concrete reinforcing bars, mine-roof bolts, and baling wire, which some companies had cut back or stopped producing because they claimed such items were no longer profitable.

Yet the steel industry responded immediately with lawsuits, angry denunciations of the Council's action, and more blackmail. Bethlehem and U.S. Steel announced that they would file lawsuits against the Council.

Steward Cort, chairman of Bethlehem Steel, said the Council's action "virtually assures that there will be an increasing shortage of steel in this country over the next few years." (*Wall Street Journal*, 1/30/74)

George Stinson, chairman of third-largest National Steel Corp., threatened that steel shortages

would "persist and worsen" if controls were continued. He said, "... we are well beyond the stage of early warning of a future steel shortage which could rank in significance, if nothing is done, with the energy shortage which besets this country today." (*Wall Street Journal*, 2/5/74)

Allegheny Ludlum Industries, Inc., the largest of the specialty steel producers, went even further in defying the Cost of Living Council. It immediately announced a 10% cut in its 1974 capital spending budget and a halt to production of certain bar items used largely in the production of electrical generators.

It said it knew that these cutbacks would aggravate shortages and increase unemployment, (but that's tough). Furthermore, the company said that the Council's action would force a rollback in some of its bar prices, and it flatly refused to cut prices! (*Wall Street Journal*, 1/30/74)

Mr. Cort of Bethlehem also let the Council know that his corporation had a lot of money to invest in capacity expansion — \$2 billion in fact — but wouldn't lay out any of it until steel was freed of price controls.

It's quite obvious that the steel industry needs additional price relief," he said. And he cited as proof the fact "that the

market place would have supported substantially higher prices for our products." (*Wall Street Journal*, 1/31/74)

The same steel companies that demanded relief from the government made their biggest rake-offs ever in 1973. There simply never was a better year for the industry. U.S. Steel's profit jumped 108% for the year (to \$325.8 million from \$157 million), 91% for the fourth quarter of 1973.

Bethlehem had a flat fourth quarter but its profits soared 54% for the year, a company record (*Wall Street Journal*, 1/31/74).

Republic Steel, the nation's fourth largest producer, netted fourth quarter profits up 157%. Wheeling-Pittsburgh, ninth in output, said fourth quarter profits tripled. McLouth Steel Company's fourth quarter profits leaped 177%; for the full year profits skyrocketed 258% (*Wall Street Journal*, 1/29/74).

Now all price controls will be off, and steel prices will soar. The steel industry expects another boom year in 1974, and expected it before decontrol was announced. It expects a surge in exports as well, and continued shortages.

Make no mistake about who will pay for the booms, the surges, and the shortages. And try demanding a 108% increase in wages. ■

Not everybody gets hurt in a recession. While we dread layoffs and shrinking paychecks, business and trade journals are betraying occasional signs of glee, as in one recent headline, "High Food Prices Cause Hardship for Many but Fertilizer Industry Booms."

If businessmen have learned anything from the current "energy crisis," it is that there's money to be made in shortages. Oil companies have seen their profits soar and restrictions fall away because of shortages of their own creation. By now many other manufacturers of raw materials and basic food supplies have cashed in on the same tactic.

Corporate blackmail

Here's how it works. Last fall representatives of several major industries approached the Cost of Living Council (CLC) with blustering threats of what would happen if the government continued price controls.

Although they were already reaping record profits, they claimed that price controls would "force" them to cut back production, stop laying out capital for expansion, cut out production of "low profit" items, and export basic materials.

As the Cost of Living Council raised prices step by step and industry by industry, the capitalists carried through on their threats, holding out for complete decontrol.

An international situation favorable to U.S. imports helped them. High prices and shortages of fuel hit Europe and Japan much harder than the U.S. That, together with dollar devaluation and higher inflation abroad, meant that U.S. goods were able to compete more favorably with foreign goods, and draw scalper's prices abroad.

Record exports

Exports soared. A *Journal of Commerce* analysis of exports in October showed that the favorable balance of trade in that month was entirely due to increased exports of commodities in short supply in the U.S.

Exports of crude materials, including cotton, soybeans, metal ores and scrap rose to \$749.8 million compared with \$500 million in October, 1972.

Exports of mineral fuels, including coal and oil, rose to \$177.1 million from \$137.1 million in October, 1972.

In the same period chemical exports increased to \$553.1 million from \$392.9 million a year earlier and exports of manufactured goods, including textiles, iron, steel, and non-ferrous base metals, rose to \$709.2 million from \$445.7 million.

By December, heavy exports

Factures Shortages

Marie Pielka

produced a record U.S. trade surplus, enough to give the U.S. a favorable balance of trade for the first time in three years. Exports increased 44% for the year, mostly due to heavy increases in exports of agricultural goods, industrial supplies and materials, and capital goods (*Wall Street Journal*, 1/29/74).

These exports swelled profits while creating shortages that continue to plague the American economy. Exports were exempt from price controls. Furthermore, profits on exports did not have to be taken into account in computing margin of profit under CLC standards.

Production cutbacks

The major industries also cut back on production by eliminating the lower profit items from their lines, thus increasing unemployment and forcing buyers to pay more for higher priced models of the same item.

Businessmen stopped expanding domestic industries. A survey made by one national association, quoted in the *Journal of Commerce* (12/20/73), showed that one out of three companies had already cut back on capital spending by December, because of price controls.

The first effect of all these pressure tactics was to create shortages of critical raw materials. The U.S. government was aware of what was going on but unwilling to interfere. The soaring prices of imported oil would have created a serious balance of trade problem for the American economy had it not been for the surge in exports.

The bosses won. One of the chief reasons cited for the removal of price controls was the mounting shortages of materials. When the controls expire April 30, says Cost of Living Council chief John Dunlop, we may expect a "further price bulge."

We may expect it in, among other things, paper and chemical prices, oil products, food, steel, rubber, textiles, apparel and non-ferrous metals.

Runaway inflation

The increases are justified, according to Dunlop, by the need to keep supplies in the United States and off the world markets, or by higher costs. We might add that the higher costs of many industries are due to these selfsame artificial shortages.

The Cost of Living Council had been making a few gestures in the direction of controlling inflation. It had been extracting promises of "restraint" in pricing and capacity expansion in exchange for early decontrol.

Now all brakes are off. The industrialists need not even make promises. They are starting another round of runaway inflation and we have yet to feel the full effects of the shortages they have created. ■

Fertilizer & Food ...And Plans For 20 Million Dead



[Dorthea Lange]

The fertilizer industry was the first to be freed of controls by the Cost of Living Council (CLC). Taking advantage of a severe and world-wide fertilizer shortage, the industry had drastically increased exports before controls were lifted. By the end of October, exports of anhydrous ammonia, a key ingredient, were running more than 50% ahead of year-earlier levels (*Barron's Weekly* 12/3/73).

The fertilizer industry was not running at full capacity, although shortages were growing. When the Cost of Living Council removed price controls last October, it did so in exchange for promises that the industry would increase domestic supplies and "explore the possibility" of reopening closed plants.

The CLC also hoped that higher prices would "provide incentive" to expand capacity.

Since decontrol fertilizer prices have soared. In mid-January CLC chief Dunlop said the increases "are about double" what he had expected. Prices for ammonia climbed to \$100 a ton in mid-January from \$65 a ton before decontrol. Prices for phosphorus acids, another key fertilizer ingredient, jumped to \$119 a ton at the end of the year from \$78 a ton

October 24 (*Wall Street Journal*, 1/17/74).

But the fertilizer shortage is still with us. Both nitrate and phosphate fertilizer shortages are expected for April, according to UPI, and that will mean crop cutbacks. "It's the most depressing situation I've ever known," said the president of the Fertilizer Institute in Washington, "and it's global. Famine is threatened by the critical fertilizer shortages in underdeveloped countries like Vietnam and India." Dr. Norman Borlaug of the Rockefeller Foundation told a conference in New York recently that the shortage could lead to 20 million deaths from starvation and malnutrition in the world in the next year.

Yet neither the "incentive" of skyrocketing prices nor the demand seems to result in much expansion of the industry. Again according to UPI, only two new ammonia plants are being built in the country at present.

Price boosts in fertilizer and wheat mean higher prices for all food eventually. And you can bet the price of wheat is going up too. On January 22nd representatives of the Independent Bakers Association held a press conference to warn that bread may be \$1 a loaf by late spring, because of shortages and rising prices in wheat.

Where did the wheat shortage come from? Officials of the Independent Bakers Association

claim that the current wheat crop has been over-sold by 14 million bushels. The president of one baking company said that Dept. of Agriculture officials had predicted this shortfall to him.

The Department of Agriculture, like ol' Man River, must know something but don't say nothing. The *Wall Street Journal* of Feb. 4 reports that USDA officials are working frantically so that the U.S. won't have to buy back at a much higher price the wheat it sold to Russia last year.

Russia's deputy minister of foreign trade, Vladimir Alkhinov, let slip the news that Russia might help out the U.S. in a wheat pinch. He mentioned reselling the wheat Russia bought for \$1.65 a bushel last year.

Estimates of what the Russians might sell it for range from \$6 a bushel to five times the purchase price. So now, reports the *Journal*, USDA officials are trying to persuade the Russians to defer shipment on their outstanding orders in order to save face for the Nixon administration.

One thing both countries seem to agree upon is the need to keep supplies from becoming too plentiful. An international grain dealer, quoted in the *Journal*, said, "It is this tight supply that is also keeping world wheat prices at top levels and the Russians may possibly be eyeing some sales of wheat from their 1973 record harvest."

So they may cooperate to

prevent a drop in U.S. prices, indicated one Agriculture Department official. (Ain't that touching.)

As if the wheat and fertilizer industries weren't creating enough problems, the meat industry is up to last summer's tricks on a larger scale. When last year's meat boycott resulted in price ceilings being put on meat, the suppliers were angered and retaliated by withholding their animals from market.

They released the supplies when ceilings were removed, but then prices fell. So the meat industry cut back on production to force higher prices.

Record prices

The *Wall Street Journal* (2/6/74) reports that fewer cattle were placed on feed to be fattened for market during the fourth quarter of 1973 than in the year earlier period. As a result, says the *Journal*, "beef production could decline 1% in the first quarter from a year earlier and drop an additional 1% or more in the second quarter. Pork production in the first half is expected to be about 5% less than in the 1973 period."

Sure enough, it works. Beef prices are expected to rise by 10% from current levels to record levels by spring or early summer, pork prices by 15% to 20% to new highs in late summer. Last August's record prices for meat are expected to be topped in the next few weeks; by next summer they will be much higher.

The *Wall Street Journal* finds a light in the tunnel, however. There's "at least a chance" that beef and pork prices will start slipping by next fall, says the paper, because near-record prices for livestock "ordinarily... would be enough to spur increased production."

It should come as no surprise by now to find that the dairy industry is also dissatisfied with its profit levels and is cutting back on production. Corn prices are up too. The overall effect of these price rises will make last August look like steak-and-potatoes every day.

The index of prices received by farmers climbed 9% in the month ending Jan. 15, 39% higher than the year before, and the rise is only beginning. (*Wall Street Journal*, 2/1/74)

The news media attempted to blame some of these price rises and shortages on the truckers' strike. Since it takes some time for higher prices paid to agricultural businesses to reach the retail level, some of the long-term inflationary trends happened to coincide with the short-term effects of the truckers' strike.

No doubt when we ask for wage increases to keep up with food prices, we will be told that wage gains "spur inflation." ■

BANGLADESH: THE BRINK OF THE ABYSS

Nigel Harris



Four candidates in the recent council elections in Dacca, the capital city of Bangladesh, were found beheaded in a back street. Six days later, two candidates were hacked to pieces and three students injured in a bomb explosion.

Then Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman's eldest son was shot helping the police patrol against attacks on Russian-owned buildings. The following day two political leaders were shot dead, and two others beaten to death in the city of Chittagong.

These are no more than the random fragments of news com-

ing from Bangladesh, but they give some idea of the terror stalking the streets. Sometimes the terror is directed by the government's supporters against the left — sometimes it is directed against the government from the extreme right. Each side has its armed thugs, gangs and hired murderers.

Gangsterism rules the land hailed as the "world's newest country" after the India-Pakistan war of 1972. But this is no tiny Haiti. With 75 million people, Bangladesh is the eighth largest country in the world.

The condition of Bangladesh is even more tragic because it is the direct result of the failures

of the left — in Bengal, Pakistan and India.

When East and West Pakistan were united under an oppressive military regime centered in the West, the left gave support to that regime because it was in alliance with China.

In West Pakistan, the left failed to mobilize in opposition when the regime launched a bloody military action to crush the Bengali struggle for independence in the East. Thus the Pakistani left ensured its own defeat and the maximum military damage in Bangladesh.

Meanwhile, the left in India supported the attack by Indian troops on the Pakistani Army.

This assured that a weak, corrupt puppet government under India's domination would be installed in East Bengal (Bangladesh) — and that the Indian left in West Bengal (a province of India itself) would be isolated and beaten.

Thus the military remained in power in West Pakistan, with a new civilian figurehead President. The position of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in India was strengthened, and the most corrupt groups in Bangladesh came to power.

Economic catastrophe

Now, after only three years of independence, it is becoming clear just how catastrophic the failure of the left really was. There is nothing but naked force — backed by India — to hold the ramshackle state of Bangladesh together.

The economy has still not recovered. Exports are down a third from 1969-70. Although land has been shifted from export crops to grow food, famine is still a grave threat.

While rice production remains 15% below the pre-war level, there are now seven or eight million extra mouths to feed.

Inflation has only made a bad situation appalling. In 1972-73 the cost of living shot up 53% — and the price of rice increased 75%, in a country where the overwhelming majority exist only just this side of starvation.

There is still big money to be made. One method is to smuggle out of Bangladesh high quality raw jute and sell it in India. Rumor has it that the Prime Minister's family is tied up in this prosperous exercise that further ruins their own country.

There are other good things to be smuggled out to India —

rice, kerosene, anything that is in short supply in Bangladesh's giant neighbor.

Specter of famine

But for most people conditions can hardly get worse. Already some small variation in the weather that could hit crops would mean death for thousands. The prospects are that inflation will worsen, that unemployment will climb even higher, and that only the petty gangster with a gun will do well.

The Biharis — the 750,000 non-Bengalis, some of whom supported the Pakistani regime — remain an ideal scapegoat for the anger of masses of people with no clear political way out.

The government's response has been to try increasing spending on the police, to ignore the largely meaningless Assembly, and keep up the rhetoric. Hostility to India will likely increase rapidly, which will embarrass the Mujibur Rahman regime which is famous for its servility to Delhi.

China aids reaction

But Mujib is not defeated. He has sent emissaries to Hong Kong to discuss matters with China. Just as the military mafia that ran the united Pakistan was able to weaken the left by its alliance with Chairman Mao, so Mujib wants to play the same card.

In its turn, China is now supporting so many rotting regimes against the hostility of their own people that it will no doubt come to the political aid of Mujib — and this has now been made easier since Bhutto (the ruler of Pakistan) has recognized Bangladesh.

While the diplomats bargain, the terrifying crisis of Bengal continues. ■

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

New Wave of Repression Against Namibia

South African police have arrested 394 black people in Namibia in mass arrests against the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) and its Youth League.

The chairman of SWAPO was arrested with 155 others at a police roadblock for not carrying an identity card or travel pass required by the white supremacist regime.

The new wave of repression followed soon after a decision by the United Nations to recognize SWAPO as "the authentic

representative of the Namibian people." SWAPO then began a campaign of mass demonstrations to force South Africa to end its occupation of Namibia.

The SWAPO Youth League helps open rallies flying the Namibian flag of red, blue and green. Three speakers at one rally attended by 3000 people have been jailed for eight years for "political incitement."

Despite the arrests SWAPO has elected new leaders and pledged to continue the campaign openly as before. Said the new chairman of the Youth League: "The police will have to jail the whole of Namibia to break us." ■

France Competes for War and Death Industry

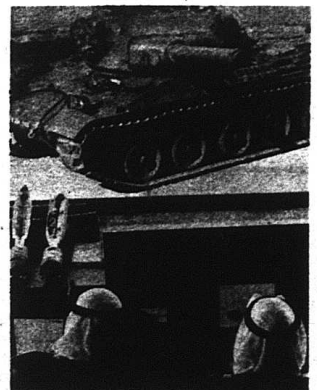
Under the head-line "Beautiful days for the merchants of death" the French paper *Le Monde* offers some comments on the war and death industry. France is now competing with Great Britain for the third place (after USA and USSR) in the export of war material.

About 65,000 workers (one-fourth of the labor force in the armament business) work for these exports. Although it represents only 5 to 7% of the total value of French exports, the war material represents

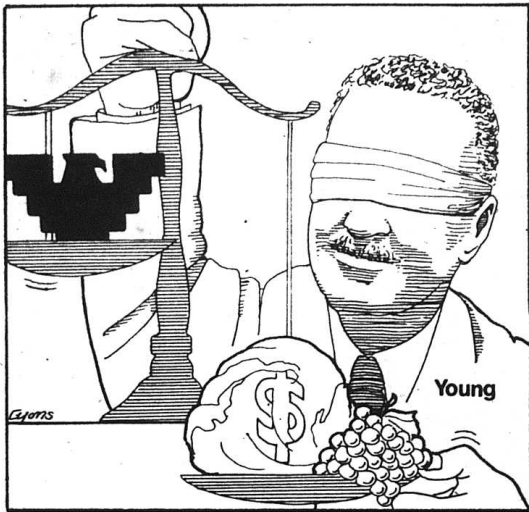
about one-fourth of the goods considered as durable goods or equipment.

The year 1973 was excellent and the industry has already enough orders for the next three years.

As in the past, many of France's arms exports are bound for the Middle East. But while France used to be a major source of weapons for Israel (a role which the US has now completely taken over), today many billions of dollars worth of French weapons are going to Saudi Arabia and other right wing Arab oil kingdoms — where France is now competing with the US for domination over oil supplies and spheres of influence. ■



KUWAITIS SIZING UP FRENCH TANK



Coleman Young: Teamster Sweetheart

Detroit Mayor Stabs UFW

DETROIT — The liberal Democratic mayor of this city has proven his friendship for Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers Union by repudiating his promised support for the UFW grape and lettuce boycott.

Coleman Young, Detroit's first black mayor, was elected last November with strong support from the UFW. Chavez made a special trip to Detroit to personally campaign for Young in the large Chicano community.

After his election, the Farm Workers received Young's promise of support. Although it was not immediately made public, Young agreed to support the grape and lettuce boycott. He promised that no city agency would buy non-UFW lettuce or table grapes.

When the leadership of the Joint Council of Teamsters heard of this agreement, they threatened to call a strike of garbage truck drivers. While it was highly unlikely the Teamsters would have made good on this threat, within two days Young had backed down.

Strikebreakers Chorus

A spokesman for the mayor explained that Young didn't want to choose sides in a union battle, and that he couldn't "subject the people of Detroit to the threat of a garbage strike."

Mayor Young is well acquainted with the facts of this case. He has a great amount of experience in the labor movement, dating back at least thirty years. He knows quite well the difference between a jurisdictional

dispute and a raid. His implication that the dispute between the UFW and the Teamsters is a jurisdictional struggle is — in plain words — a lie.

Young's betrayal comes at a time of mounting attacks on the UFW. Nationally, Geroge Meany has publicly attacked the Union in an attempt to stop its secondary boycott of super-market chains.

In Detroit, Wrigley's supermarkets, the Joint Council of Teamsters, and Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 539 have done the same. Young, in essence, has added his voice to this chorus. By proclaiming his neutrality, he has chosen his side.

Young's action, however, is the bitter fruit of a policy Cesar Chavez and the UFW have nourished all along — the policy of alliance with Democratic Party politicians.

Party of betrayal

The same policy worked no better in California, when Democratic Governor Edmund Brown ran that state with a Democratic legislature — that is, between 1958 and 1966 when what is now the United Farm Workers was getting its start.

Brown was elected with labor support in 1958, promising a minimum wage, unemployment insurance, and collective bargaining machinery for farm labor. After one feeble attempt to pass a minimum wage bill in 1959, the new governor gave up, announcing that the growers' lobby was too strong.

What Brown did do was develop a \$2½ billion state water project — at taxpayers' expense — to provide free water for irrigation to the large growers. This project was the main reason that William Randolph Hearst, the anti-labor newspaper magnate, endorsed Brown over Reagan for governor in 1966.

Cesar Chavez also endorsed Brown that year — several months after Brown had promised the growers he would go to Washington to get the *bracero* program restored.

During the 1966 campaign, Chavez and UFW Vice-President Dolores Huerta traveled around California in Brown's private plane speaking on his behalf to Chicano audiences. When a number of Farm Workers' organi-

zers at Di Giorgio's Arvin ranch wanted to attend the Californians for New Politics Convention in September of that year — a convention which refused to endorse either Brown or Reagan — they were told they could not go, even though they had arranged their schedule so the convention would not interfere with their work.

Such support for Democratic Party politicians is logical only from the narrow point of view of looking at their Republican opponents: Brown's opponent in 1966 was the reactionary Ronald Reagan. In last fall's Detroit elections, Coleman Young ran against the racist law-and-order Police Commissioner John Nichols.

But while Republican candidates are usually reactionary and racist, and always pro-big business, Democratic candidates represent the same thing, but with some protective coloration from their labor and minority supporters.

In California, many of the very growers the UFW is fighting are staunch Democratic Party

supporters. Bob Di Giorgio was for a long time a good friend of Edmund Brown. Ed Merzozian, owner of ELMCO Vineyards near Delano, is another big Democratic supporter.

The situation is the same in other parts of the country. In Belle Glade, Florida, the Farm Workers have been engaged in a bitter battle with United States Sugar — the largest sugar company in the US. One of the prominent directors of US Sugar is Stewart Mott, the major bankroller of that most liberal of the liberal Democrats — George McGovern.

Many of the California growers got their beginning through various New Deal programs such as the Agricultural Adjustment Act. (The AAA is now called the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service. It is the agency which pays the richest farmers millions of dollars for growing nothing.) As one of the growers is fond of saying, "The New Deal helped those who couldn't help themselves."

But in relation to its labor

supporters, the Democratic Party is the party of small favors and massive betrayals.

A real alternative to the Democratic Party — a party of labor, fighting for the interests of working people — is yet to be built.

Build a labor party

Particularly in California, the United Farm Workers could take the lead in the task of building a labor party — of creating an opposition to the two big business parties. Breaking the hold the Democratic Party has over the labor movement won't be easy, but it's an infinitely more realistic policy than expecting serious help from the Democrats. Among Chicano, breaks from the Democratic Party have already been made, such as La Raza Unida Party.

In the era of Watergate, a bold political act by the UFW, such as a serious call for a labor party, could have profound effects on the entire labor movement. ■

Jim Woodward

Cesar Chavez, the President of the United Farm Workers Union, will be in Cleveland on April 6th. He will be speaking at a rally in support of the grape and lettuce boycott and the upcoming strikes in California.

The rally will be preceded by a march through downtown Cleveland. Eliseo Medina, Cleveland organizer for the UFW, expects more than 1,000 people, promising it will be "the biggest ever in Cleveland."

Thus far, nearly 100 political, religious, and labor organizations, including the International Socialists, have endorsed the march and promised to support it. These include more than 50 local unions.

The demonstration will begin at 10:00 am at Library Park (Fulton and Bridge Streets) with a march to Public Square. Other speakers at the rally will be John Yates, UAW CAP Council, Dorothy Day of the *Catholic Worker*, and Msgr. George Higgins of the US Catholic Conference.

Everyone is urged to attend. ■

Chavez Rally In Cleveland



The Hearst Kidnapping - Terrorism As Reformism



When people express doubts about whether violence can bring about social change, the image foremost in their minds is usually a certain type of violence — namely individual acts of terrorism or sabotage.

Terrorism as a political strategy is much in vogue as a topic for discussion at this time. The kidnapping of Patricia Hearst by the Symbionese Liberation Army has been front-page news for two months.

This is the first political kidnapping in the US, and the worthiness of this strategy is being hotly debated by those sympathetic to the SLA's goals.

Acts of violence, when carried out by individuals in isolation from any mass movement, express the politics of frustration. It's no accident the ideology of terrorism — first discredited more than 50 years ago — has been resurrected at a time when the mass movements of the

sixties have disappeared.

Terrorism is the last resort of those who see no way of altering for the better a society they correctly perceive to be in crisis.

A chief stumbling block preventing the growth of mass movements is the conviction of ordinary people that no matter how bad things are, there is no way that they can improve their condition by their own self-activity. This conviction of powerlessness is inculcated by capitalist society, reinforced by schools, the media and work.

For its own protection, capitalism attempts to instill in the vast majority of people a sense of docility and passivity. For example, electoral politics is structured in such a way as to induce the populace to rely on charismatic heroes, rather than their own initiative, for the solution of social problems.

Terrorist acts carried out by

individuals as a substitute for mass action reinforce people's feelings of impotence. The political message conveyed by such acts is: don't struggle for yourselves, struggle passively by identifying with this heroic individual act.

But passive struggle is just a formula for not struggling at all. That's why Lenin always referred contemptuously to terrorists as "liberals with bombs."

What is the difference between a George McGovern who says "vote for me, and I'll solve your problems" and the SLA, which says a free food program will? The differences reduce to a matter of style.

Both political strategies are based on elitism — that people cannot or will not realize the problems before them and organize to change those conditions.

Both strategies assume people are not clever enough to build their own organizations and pro-

vide their own leaders.

Both strategies assume leaders must hand down the word from above — and, indeed, that freedom can be handed down from above.

None of these assumptions — and beliefs are revolutionary. In truth, they are reformist. The SLA attempts to substitute itself for the power of the working class — armed and organized in its own interests — in the battle against the ruling class. An impossible venture.

Elitism and despair

Acts like the SLA's are born in despair. The only reason the FBI has not already blown them away is because their hostage is a daughter of the ruling class.

At any time the FBI may decide her life is the price to be paid to stop this threat from spreading. If and when the SLA is mowed down people who sympathize with SLA goals will

conclude that those who struggle, die.

Rather than being galvanized into continued struggle their response will be to relapse into passivity and hopelessness.

Marxists have always pointed out that it is the social system that's the problem, not the individuals who staff that system. If you assassinate the czar, you don't get democracy, you get another czar. If you assassinate Nixon, you get Ford, and so on.

An even more telling objection to individual acts of frustration is that they presuppose the futility of mass action. The idea lurking behind terrorism is that since there is no chance of winning the vast bulk of the American people to the side of a movement, the only available mode of protest is individual heroism.

Some have said the SLA leader who masterminded the Hearst kidnapping is a genius because the politics of the SLA have been placed before American people in complete and unedited form.

But words in print or on TV have never brought about a revolution — revolutionary ideas must be reflected in a mass revolutionary organization to carry through a huge fight for social and economic change. And however much publicity they receive, the ideas of the SLA are alien to mass struggle and therefore contribute nothing to building that organization.

The actions of the SLA have not brought American people into motion for their real needs — they were not intended to. The creation of a workers' party — let alone a revolutionary party — is not one step closer than it was two months ago, before the Hearst kidnapping.

The SLA's terrorism is no way forward in the struggle for socialism. These actions deserve no support; they deserve no sympathy. ■

Public Outrage Forces Ban of Prison Program



In an attempt to stem public investigation into the cesspool of US prison systems the government has partially banned behavioral modification programs. In one case the Federal Bureau of Prisons shut a project down for "economic" reasons, specifically stating it was not rejecting the principle of behavior modification. This action was the result of a successful suit brought by Missouri prisoners involved in the program.

The programs involve the systematic manipulation of behavior along psychological principles, such as rewarding what is termed "good" behavior, and (more frequently) punishing bad behavior. Manipulation includes electric shock, psycho-surgery, isolation and drug therapy.

The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) will end its funding of these

programs. The ban covers only LEAA funding, allowing similar programs to continue through the Bureau of Prisons and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW).

The ban is the result of mounting public outrage over lack of control of programs that are a major tool for prisoner repression. They have been attacked from both moral and constitutional angles. The constitutional rights violated include the right to privacy, to dignity, to due process and to equal protection of the laws.

When taken to court for these inhuman abuses, the LEAA found itself in an indefensible position. It was unable to say how many programs were involved or what kinds of techniques they used. It could only say there were 400 programs which "might" involve such procedures. It does not know how it will halt

the abuses, since it doesn't know which programs in its \$1.5 billion budget are involved.

Contrary to LEAA claims, the *New York Times* was easily able to show that psychosurgery was a widely used prison technique. Psychosurgery involves destroying portions of the brain through surgery, electricity, radiation or ultrasound.

These procedures have been consistently carried out on prisoners who rebel against rotten conditions in the penal system. Done by force, by the dregs of the medical profession, with poorly trained assistants, under unsafe and uncontrolled medical conditions, the treatments often permanently cripple inmates' minds.

Their "control" inmate behavior by wiping out the ability to think or act beyond the capacity of a child. This vicious treatment is only imaginable in US prison systems, where inmates — most black, most poor, most poorly educated — are considered and treated as less than human.

The Iowa prison system was recently charged with cruel and unusual punishment for a drug

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reviews

movies BLOOD, GUTS AND DEMONS

Tickets sold out weeks in advance, nightmarish traffic jams, viewers fainting in their seats, and a few entering mental institutions all because they went to see the movie that is slated to become the biggest money-maker ever made. Why is *The Exorcist* creating these responses? What brings thousands of people out to see a film that might make them ill?

Horror movie makers know there is a market for their wares. People want to be shocked, scared, thrilled. But in this case there is more to it than just thrills. For the film adds a new dimension to the traditional horror film. Blood and guts, sex and obscenities, are by-products of the elemental struggle between the powers of good and evil.

The story is simple enough. An extremely sweet 12-year old girl, Regan, begins to act strange, eventually becoming a literal

monster. Here is no mere case of a spoiled child to be spanked and sent to her room, her soul has been possessed by the Devil himself. She is finally returned to normal through the ancient rite of exorcism.

The special effects are quite well done, and much of the power of the film comes from the shock of seeing a sweet little girl shouting obscenities, masturbating with a cross and being changed into a monster more horrible than any Hollywood has yet produced.

But the characters do not seem real, with one exception: the young priest who assists in the exorcism. It is he who is the central figure of the film, not the child, and it is through him that the forces of good vs. evil are played out.

As the film opens we see that this priest is a man typical of many of the younger clergy today: dedicated to helping people through secular means, "getting involved" in curing society's ills instead of just say-

ing prayers. For in addition to being a priest he is also a clinical psychologist, whose job is to help the poor and oppressed deal with their everyday problems.

But he is despondent because he is unable to do much for them, and also is feeling responsible for the recent death of his aged, ailing mother. Disillusioned by both his religion and his profession, he is on the brink of total despair. Enter Regan's mother, looking for a priest to perform the exorcism. The young priest agrees reluctantly, and with an older priest performs the rite.

The general message of the film is that the gods of modern society: science, reason, knowledge, have no answers for today's problems. This comes through most clearly in one impressive scene: Regan's mother, seated at a huge round table with some seventy representatives of the various medical professions, screams out: "All

[Continued on page 14]



books

False Promises

[False Promises: the Shaping of American Working Class Consciousness, by Stanley Aronowitz, McGraw Hill, 442 pages, \$10.]

It is difficult to imagine a book more disappointing than *False Promises* by Stanley Aronowitz. It is a combination of pretentiousness and superficiality, and more important, it is hardly about workers at all.

Aronowitz begins by explaining that his purpose is to "understand social and political questions from a perspective that embraces both history and culture, politics and everyday life."

Yet what follows is most often a bewildering trek through the worst pastures of academic history, sociology and psychology, punctuated with Aronowitz's opinion on everything from health food to Archie Bunker.

And it is all held together with such gems of analysis as this:

"The distorted communications that are transmitted and received in our society are consequent upon the development of symbols that not only reflect

existing social divisions and reify them as the only possible objects of cognition, but construct a new reality that appears eternal."

From these clouds, Aronowitz rarely descends. The first time is when he ventures out West into Ohio to discover at Lordstown a "generation of workers... qualitatively different from any in the history of American capitalism."

These workers are different because they resemble hippies more than hard-hats, and because they like "long hair, marijuana and rock music." At the same time, this "new generation" has shown a "growing reluctance to put up with authoritarian shop discipline." And, to top all this, they like neither company nor union.

Well, as any reader of "Time" magazine would have told him, Aronowitz could have saved his busfare and stayed in New York. Even Walter Cronkite discovered all this years ago. The crewcuts are gone.

If there is a theme to this book, it is that American blue collar workers, despite their "enormous power" and "workplace militancy," have been enslaved by "mass culture." Consequently, "it is impossible for any

challenge to the corporations to succeed as long as it is restricted to conflicts within the industrial order."

This conclusion is backed with the proper references to Herbert Marcuse, including the professor's assertions that "capitalism... has succeeded in transcending scarcity," thereby

making repression in advanced western countries "socially unnecessary." It's all in the mind.

And this, of course, is where youth enters, in particular the remnants of the New Left and their more senior allies, including Stanley Aronowitz. Free from the tube and Reader's Digest, the first and most im-

portant task of youth and its friends is to "create the conditions for the separation of popular culture from mass culture."

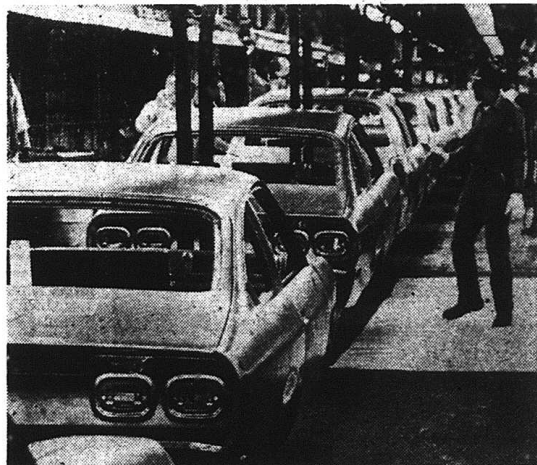
The final conflict, it seems, will be launched from an "autonomous culture" and hence all the references to Bob Dylan and Gracie Slick, not to mention Lordstown again. It is as if there were still be-ins and flowers in their hair.

The next time that Aronowitz gets down to earth is when he discusses his own life, including the years he worked in factories of New York and New Jersey. Some of this is actually quite interesting, and the point is well made that the class struggle far from vanished in the "silent fifties."

On the other hand, it is impossible to tell just what Aronowitz thought he was doing in those days. His accounts of membership in the UE and then work at Worthington Pump in New Jersey seem entirely timeless and thoroughly without perspective.

The same must be said for the book as a whole. There is not a word to say about where capitalism is going, let alone where it has been. And not a

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On the line at Lordstown

Prisons

[Continued from page 12]

aversion program the LEAA didn't even know it was funding. Drugs that caused violent and prolonged vomiting were being injected into inmates without prior knowledge or consent for infractions of the prison rules.

The agency's funding also included \$130,000 to the University of Puerto Rico for research into the relationship between criminal behavior and brain damage. The University had reached a point in its research where it wanted permission to practice on a community "control" group — mainly adolescents.

Much of the opposition to the programs has come from individuals and groups who fear the extension of these techniques from prisons into society at large. With extensive refinement, the techniques developed could be used in youth programs, welfare programs, in ghetto clinics and other programs involving people who live under the most brutal and oppressive conditions in society — the poor, the old, juveniles, blacks, women, Latinos — all those most likely to commit what is termed "antisocial" behavior.

The failure of the government to reject these racist and inhuman practices — its refusal to end all funding — is an indication that it is merely embarrassed at the abuses that have taken place. By closing down the largest funder of the programs it hopes to sweep the mounting public outrage under the carpet. By keeping alive other similar programs financed by HEW and the Federal Bureau of Prisons it will be fairly easy to divert the unused LEAA funds.

Already the American Association of Psychologists are screaming that the cutbacks will sink science back into the Middle Ages. It says the banning of behavioral modification techniques "will result in a regression to outmoded, unsystematic forms of inhumanity in prisons. . ."

On the contrary, ending the forced torture of the drug aversion programs, the forced idiocy of psychosurgery, the brutality of long periods of isolation would be one tiny step away from the inhuman depravity of US prisons today. ■

Kay Stacy

Quake

[Continued from page 5]

whole thing to a city-wide referendum.

These hard-line supervisors represent the big businesses in the Financial District, organized in the Chamber of Commerce,

whose thousands of non-union clerical workers make even less than the city clerks do.

Why did the city workers accept such a rotten settlement, after having spoken of the first general strike since 1934 just a few days before?

When long-unused muscles are powerfully flexed in one day's sudden exertion, they are sore upon the next morning's awakening. But although the old tissue hurts, having been stretched and broken, the new fiber, when it grows in, is the stronger for the exercise.

What was missing was the new fiber — a new leadership from the ranks to take the struggle away from the bureaucrats. That leadership cannot yet pull its lead, but it is learning and growing.

The fight is not over yet.

CLEVELAND TEAMSTER STRIKE SMASHED

CLEVELAND — Rank and file Teamsters have suffered a bitter defeat in Maple Heights, Ohio, a suburb on Cleveland's southeast side.

After a three day wildcat strike, thirty truck drivers, the entire crew at Cook United, Inc., have been fired, as well as a number of dockmen and warehousemen.

The strike was called to demand reinstatement of eleven employees fired during a company campaign of harassment and intimidation. The campaign was directed at employees demanding the company honor the contract on emergency pay and other issues.

The week before the strike, stewards at Cook's took these issues to their local union, Teamsters Local 507. Jackie Presser, the man who draws more than \$175,000 a year in union salaries, is the president of 507.

Demons

[Continued from page 13]

of you damn doctors, and not one of you can help my daughter!" It is at this point that a doctor suggests exorcism as the answer.

The exorcism itself is successful, but interestingly, not because the power of God and religion win out over the Devil. In a fit of rage and hopelessness, the young priest grabs the girl and demands the Devil leave her and come into him.

In an instant the transformation takes place, and the priest

natural, religion and astrology as a means of coping with today's world. The recent growth of the "Jesus freaks," the many pseudo-oriental religious sects like the Hare Krishna, and even Scientology are all part of this phenomenon. Possession, and exorcism as the cure, is only the latest form of the trend.

A super horror film including religion, mysticism and sex is an unbeatable combination for people who don't understand why everything is going wrong, who fear the future, and who are desperately searching for some explanation. The film is a thriller all right, but it will do little good to blame the Devil when you wait in line for gasoline. ■

Marilyn Danton

But, in the words of fired steward Gregory L. Hawthorne, "The union just ignores us." "While I was steward," says Hawthorne, "they never answered one grievance and they yelled at me when I submitted them. No one was ever reinstated."

The strikers held out for three days, and while the strike lasted, it was a powerful display of courage and solidarity. There were mass pickets around the clock, and very few truck drivers ventured across their lines.

The company, as might be expected, hired dozens of extra security police to harass, insult and threaten the strikers. Several pickets were almost run down by whisky-swiggling guards.

Then, on Sunday morning, March 17, the top officials of Truck Drivers Local 407 came to the company's defense. They organized union truck drivers from Local 407 to drive through

the picket lines for pick-ups at the company's warehouses.

And, with the help of several carloads of union goons, they joined the security guards to keep the strikers at bay.

On Monday, the local courts joined in to kill the strike. Injunctions ordered the men to stop the strike, and threatened their leaders with jail sentences if they refused.

The lessons of this defeat must not be lost on rank and file Teamsters. They found no friends in the police, the courts, the NLRB or the union leadership.

Their only support came from the hundreds of other drivers who refused to cross their lines or yelled encouragement. Until these supporters are organized to get rid of the monstrous Teamster bureaucracy, defeat will follow defeat.

The idea of a general strike is awake again. The task of revolutionaries is to keep it alive.

A general strike in San Francisco, coming on the heels of the independent truckers' walk-out, would have caused a shock wave to travel through the entire US labor movement.

Even the people who walked to work all week could have been won over by a general strike which demanded, for example, an immediate roll-back in gasoline prices and an increase in allocations such as the West Virginia miners won.

The city workers' strike in San Francisco was not a victory. But they did not break their ranks in defeat. A new confidence has been gained in the power of class solidarity, and in the meaning of the words "an injury to one is an injury to all." That is the inspiring lesson of the strike. ■

Loretta Martin

dives from the second floor window, taking his own life and freeing Regan from the Devil's clutches. The priest had finally found someone he could help, and found his own release from despair in a death that held more meaning than life.

Thus modern science was shown helpless before evil just as the social sciences were useless to the priest in helping the poor. The film attempts to explain all the horror and insecurity people feel today in a world turned topsy-turvy by ever-changing crises.

Maybe the Devil is to blame after all — science and reason were supposed to bring progress and look where we are now. Mysticism, religion and individual, personal solutions — even suicide — are presented as answers to the world's problems. One young woman after seeing the film commented, "It'll make you believe in God again."

This film is part of a growing turn to mysticism, the super-

False

[Continued from page 13]

word about the rank and file of the labor movement. . . its prospects and problems.

He does seem to think that struggle will continue, and he even advises the creation of "independent workers committees," though this seems really to be a hedge. For he proposes nothing for them to do, except everything from "defending wages" to "transforming all social and authority relations in society."

Aronowitz is perplexed that workers, despite their economic militancy, rarely search for a real alternative to capitalism. Yet, he has nothing to say about socialism, except that he is not

fond of the Soviet Union. Cuba, however (we learn in a footnote), is socialist. No doubt to discuss any of this would be old left, but the fact is that more than one generation of workers has seen its dreams shattered by Stalinism. And, until revolutionaries can come to terms with what socialism actually is, and free themselves from the defense of the bureaucracies, there is little chance that workers will be attracted to their banners.

At the same time, Aronowitz is skeptical about movements for "workers' control," though he says developments in Yugoslavia are "hopeful." The point is that there will be no "workers' control" (nor any "autonomous culture," for that matter) as long as the state remains in the hands of an exploiting ruling class, whether capitalist or bureaucratic. But this too, no doubt, is old left.

Finally, something must be said of his treatment of blacks. The fact is that blacks find no real place in this book. And no wonder. How are blacks to be part of a cultural revolution led by the Rolling Stones and Bob Dylan? How are they to find a place in a movement which has set itself beyond scarcity and repression. Aronowitz's cultural revolution is thoroughly white.

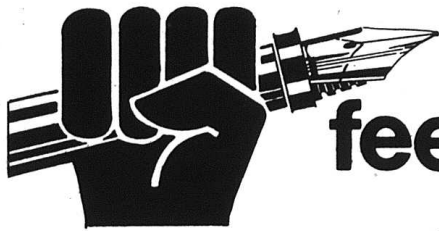
A book about the "shaping of working class consciousness" should be about workers, their lives and problems. It should not begin with Professor Marcuse, and it should go beyond Lordstown. Instead it should begin with the miners and the truck drivers, with the women in the factories as well as the waitresses, and with the young blacks such as those who seized Jefferson Assembly in Detroit last summer.

Workers would dominate such a book. This is not only common sense. It is also recognition of what Edward Thompson noted in his masterpiece, *The Making of the English Working Class*. The working class is neither an "it" nor a "thing" which exists "either to have an ideal interest or consciousness, or to lie as a patient on the Adjustor's table." Class consciousness concerns the ideas of workers as they are formed in relationship with other workers and other classes. It is formed "as they live their history."

As it happens, young workers may well lead the American revolution. After all, youth is always more energetic, and the least tied to tradition. As it also happens, the revolution will not be confined to the domain of industry, and it may well be that in the struggle for a new society, the seeds for a new culture will also be sown. But this is neither a perspective nor a strategy. Neither is it new. ■

Calvin Williams





feedback

Capitalist nationalization

Your lead article in No. 92 was very direct and concise: "The (oil) industry should be nationalized by the government — the first step towards ending this hot-housed (energy) crisis." Because the energy industry "is too important a resource to all people to be left in the hands of a greedy few."

I'm sure Gay Semel means what she says; so I'm sure that if she were a Congressman, she would vote for a bill introduced by Nixon to turn the energy industry over to the Interior Department. So I'll ask her the same question I addressed to another state capitalist (CPUSA, in this case), who offered the same solution in identical words in a letter to the bourgeois press.

When Nixon is covering for the oil magnates already, what is gained by making him the real oil power — rather than just its mouthpiece? Does nationalization by the national capitalist state serve "all" US citizens? Does it equally serve, say Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing and a pensioner in a cold area.

If capitalist nationalization is a first-step — what is the second? Is it workers' control, or the creation of a workers' party to administer state power?

If either, how is nationalization by Nixon (Ford, Jackson, Young or any bourgeois politician) a step in that direction?

David Shoemaker

Excellent job

I'd like to compliment the staff and the editor for doing an excellent job in *Workers' Power*.

I really dug the articles on Miss Jane Pittman played by Cicely Tyson and Malcolm X 1925-1965 in issue no. 90 of *Workers' Power*.

Through your prisoners fund I was able to get a free copy of "By Any Means Necessary — Malcolm X" and some of the things he said kind of come out in the film that Cicely Tyson played in. These kind of movies and *Workers' Power* show me and others the way things were and still are jumping off. Not only these articles but I found the whole paper very interesting and well put together.

So keep up the good work there and take care.

Bro. Frankie

Right wing hysteria

Your editorial on the SLA really hit home. You mentioned how the ruling class-owned media are using this incident to detract from the real problems in this country and to produce a "hysterical atmosphere to be used for a campaign against the entire left." Well the "campaign" is on.

The police force in Louisville has publicly announced its intentions to step up its surveil-

lance systems, to keep a closer eye on its "list" of local radicals and potential "trouble-makers" and to protect the families and children of the wealthier citizens — particularly those of top news media executives!

And as an example of the "hysteria" being created, the following letter to the editor appeared recently in the paper:

"The heinous crimes of violence, especially kidnaping, will continue to increase in this country unless and until there is a body of one of the so-called revolutionaries hanging limp in every country seat.

"Electrocute them, shoot them, hang them or fry them at the stake in their own evil-smelling grease. This type of punishment only can fit their vicious, inhuman, mad-dog souls and anti-social values."

I'm against the actions of the SLA for the reasons you mentioned — it's a "down from above," sensationalist action which is effectively heightening right wing hysteria and fascist repression on the part of the ruling class and its State "bodyguards."

We have to denounce what the SLA is doing, but on the other hand we have to loudly oppose the neglect of the media to acknowledge and publicize the unquestionably much greater violence and inhumanity perpetrated on the masses of poor people, oppressed minorities, exploited workers, and incarcerated victims in this country.

Keep up the good fight!

M. M.

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WOMEN IN THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

Laurie Landy



Women in China have for centuries been placed in a position subordinate to men. During much of this time women were reduced to virtual slavery, without economic power and political or social rights. Despite the Mao regime's claims, the 1948 revolution did not liberate women, but was rather the latest episode in this tragic history.

This important pamphlet, which has just been reprinted and is again available from I. S. Books, surveys not only the policy of the current regime but also the relation of women to Chinese society in the decades of the twentieth century prior to the 1948 revolution.

The struggle of Chinese women for liberation has not occurred in a vacuum. It must be viewed within the perspective of the social struggles which were challenging the basic economic and political fabric of the society. *Women in the Chinese Revolution* provides a historical background which is important for analyzing the position of women in China today and the road to their emancipation.

60c, plus 15c postage

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We Stand For:

*** INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM:** The displacement of decaying capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism ("Communism") by a revolution from below, controlled by the working class and aimed at democratic rule over all social institutions.

*** WORKERS' POWER** as the solution to America's ever-deepening social crisis: rank-and-file committees in the unions to struggle for democratic power and to fight where and when the union leaders refuse to fight — independent political action by workers' organizations to fight for labor's needs, in opposition to the Democratic and Republican businessmen's parties — toward a workers' party to fight for a workers' government.

*** The LIBERATION OF ALL OPPRESSED GROUPS:** independent organization of blacks and women to fight discrimination — an end to all racial and sexual oppression — the uniting of separate struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

*** WORLD-WIDE OPPOSITION TO IMPERIALISM AND EXPLOITATION:** for the self-determination of all peoples — for an end to U.S. domination of the world's peoples in the interests of corporate power — for workers' revolts against the bureaucratic-collectivist (so-called "Communist") regimes — **FOR WORKERS' POWER EAST AND WEST TO BUILD INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.**

RECESSION 1974: BLACK WORKERS HIT HARDEST

The state of Michigan has done its little bit to counter the effects of the recession — it hired 200 people to help process unemployment checks.

Two days after President Nixon assured the nation "There will be no recession," unemployment took its steepest jump upward in four years.

In December the number of jobless workers was "seasonally adjusted" at 4.4 million. The number of workers involuntarily working part-time was 2.2 million. The jobless rate among blacks is officially double the rate among whites.

And government figures cover up how bad things really are. Unemployment figures among women and young people are just a fraction of the real unemployed. The closer to the inner city the more the figures lie.

In good times the jobless rate among blacks under 22 approaches 25% — when jobs get tight it climbs to a whopping 60%. And many more blacks this age than whites are responsible for homes and families.

Layoffs in the auto industry

caused the biggest crunch because of the impact of the fuel shortages — the mid-west states are the hardest hit. In Flint, Michigan — a GM stronghold — in six short weeks people applying for unemployment rose from 3,000 to 18,000 to 31,000 — a 900% increase.

The airline industry is reeling, as are other fuel-related industries. But claims that high unemployment is an unfortunate result of the energy crisis just don't gibe with the facts.

In New York City, relatively unaffected by energy crisis layoffs, the jobless rate in December, 1973 was the highest rating for that month since 1958 — only 3½ million people held jobs. The energy crisis had nothing to do with it. One of the hardest hit industries is clothing — and most members of the industry's union, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, are black and Latino women.

The recession was beginning before the energy crisis set in, it's here now, and, it will, contrary to Nixon's bluster, get worse. Right now, it is cutting back on the standard of living in

the black community. And that too, will get worse.

What has happened in the past? How have conditions in the black community been changed by other recessions?

In the sixties, when times were good blacks made real gains. Economically the US was in good shape, but just as significant were the effects of the civil rights and black power movements in challenging some of the racist assumptions that ensured blacks would be last hired and first fired.

But at the end of the sixties the ratio between black and white unemployment was the same — about double. Black youth fared considerably worse than the rest of the workforce. And black women fared better.

In February, 1961, black unemployment was 12.4% — the US was in a recession. By the end of the sixties, in February, 1969, and in an economic upswing, it was half that — 6.3%. The comparison for white workers was 6.1% and 3.3%.

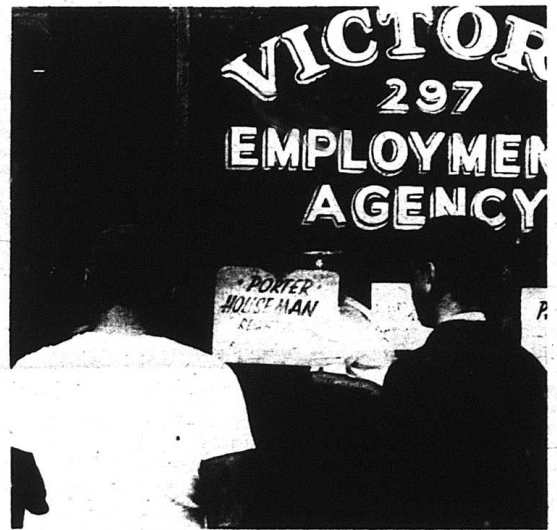
Even though black people were better off, the basic racist discrimination underlying American society remained — black people were unemployed at double the rate of whites.

Racism and recession

Racist discrimination is part and parcel of American capitalism; its effects are vicious and brutal. The significance of the gains made in the sixties is two-fold. First, when there is a boom, a lot of gravy gets spread around — and black people get some of it. But when times get rough, black people are the first to pay.

Second, political struggle in the sixties — the black liberation movement — resulted in real gains for black people. Black people were organized and challenged the vicious racist assumptions of capitalist society. But that movement has fallen away, and the power of black people is weakened because of it.

Beginning four years ago, in twelve months the US went from the height of an economic boom to the depths of a recession — November, 1969 to November, 1970. At the height of the boom, when jobs were most plentiful



black unemployment was double white unemployment: 3.3% of white workers went jobless, while 6.3% of black workers walked the streets. It was more than three times worse for young workers, between 16-19 years old: 10.6% among white youth, and 23.6% among black youth.

By the time the recession "bottomed out," conditions were worse for all — but unemployment overall affected black workers 50% more than it did white workers. There was a 2.1% increase for white workers, bringing unemployment to 5.4%. For blacks the increase was 2.9%, bringing unemployment to 9.2%.

Again, young people fared by far the worst — black unemployment an incredible 32.3% and for young white workers 15.4%. Young black unemployment grew faster than white. A crucial part of the last recession was that layoffs hit hardest in industries where there are few blacks — like aircraft.

Even though black workers lost their jobs at a 50% higher rate the effects of the recession on the black community were dulled by its peculiarities.

What is this recession going to

mean to the black community? Already the effect on black workers is more dramatic. Industries where black people are concentrated have been hardest hit.

Clothing in New York, auto throughout the mid-west. In St. Louis 25% of the workforce of one plant, laid off; 70% of the workers, black.

Today, the necessity of black organization to fight for black needs and rights is vital. In the UAW, black workers could form the heart of unemployed committees and black caucuses to fight for their rights in the union, on the job, in the community.

Black organization and action spearheaded gains in the black community in the sixties. It must do that today. ■

Kay Stacy

[Information and statistics for this article came from the Monthly Labor Review, published by the Labor Department; the Bureau of Labor Statistics; Ebony, an eleven part series on black employment in the United States; the New York Times; the Detroit Free Press; and interviews at a Michigan Employment Security Office.]

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