

NO PEACE IN STEEL

Lloyd McBride's evident victory in February's election for International President of the United Steel Workers of America is being greeted with some relief on the part of the steel barons and the capitalist class as a whole. McBride offers the capitalists "responsible leadership", "negotiation rather than confrontation" and industrial stability" in short, *class collaboration*.

CAPITALISTS LOOK TO ENA AS "PACIFICATION" MODEL

The attention of the entire capitalist class and of the entire working-class movement has been focused on the McBride-Sadlowski contest, because the direction that the country's third largest union, and the largest industrial union in the AFL-CIO, takes will necessarily have a profound effect on the course of the class struggle in the U.S. over the next years. Before the election, part of the bourgeois press was predicting that a victorious McBride could "assure peace" in steel "until at least 1980" through his support for the Experimental Negotiating Agreement. The "success" of the ENA in steel could set a pattern for attempts to tame the working class in other industries.

While Ed Sadlowski was not the "working-class radical" that

the bourgeois press played him up to be, a Sadlowski victory could at least have called into question the continuation of the MacDonald/Abel policy of selling the steel workers's right to strike, and other weapons of the class struggle, in return for a temporary wage improvement.

THE ENA IS AN UNEQUAL "PEACE"

The Sadlowski campaign did not pop up out of nowhere, but was one reflection of the need and demand of steelworkers for more democracy in the union and more maneuverability in relation to the capitalists. And the two go together: with genuine working-class democracy in the USW, the ENA could not exist. The ENA ties steelworkers to a policy of "industrial peace" and under capitalism any "peace" in industry is bound to be an unequal peace.

V. I. Lenin, one of the greatest leaders of the international working class, pointed out:

"For it is the great significance of all crises that they make manifest what has been hidden, they cast aside all that is empty form, superficial and trivial; they sweep away the political litter and reveal the real causes of the class struggle that develops in reality." (Collected Works, Vol 24, p 213)

The deepening crisis of capitalism is revealing the bankruptcy of the class-collaborationist policies of the trade union bureaucracy to ever-wider sections of the working class. The almost continuous chain of wildcats among the miners of the last year is just one of the more obvious signs of the rising consciousness of workers.

Sadlowski's failure to defeat the Abel/McBride bureaucracy is neither evidence of any "inner strength" of that bureaucracy, nor is it evidence on the "backwardness" of steelworkers. Rather, Sadlowski's Fight Back Organization is one of those "superficial forms" that has been swept aside in the real class struggle, because it served only Sadlowski and not the working class.

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CALHOUNE TRIAL OPENS

LATE NEWS: Mississippi-As UNITE' goes to press, the trial of Terry Barr for the murder of sixteen year old James Edward Calhoun, found dead in the Sunflower River, has begun in Indianola. Barr, white, is pleading not guilty by reason of insanity.

The jury was selected on the first day of the trial, all but two Black jurors were excluded on the grounds that they could not read or write, or were in poor health - a frequent means to deny poor Blacks and Whites their democratic rights in the oppressed Black Nation.

To discourage mounting attention to the trial, the Judge illegally only allowed eight observers in the trial.

In addition, all entering were frisked, and passes were required. Said one witness, "it seems that they have every Deputy Sheriff in Mississippi here." While the murder of Blacks is common in the Mississippi Delta and throughout the oppressed Black Nation, such "precautions" in rural Indianola are not.

These measures were taken to try and intimidate over 120 Blacks who arrived by bus from all over the area to lend support to the Calhoun family. Unable to enter the trial, they sat all day in the corridors and on the courthouse steps. Support for the Calhoun family is mounting. A full report on the trial will appear in the next UNITE'.



STRUGGLE FOR THE MASSES

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A CAMPAIGN OF POLITICIANS, NOT CLASS STRUGGLE

To some, Sadlowski may have appeared "too radical", but to others he revealed himself as simply an opportunist trying to ride the wave of rank-and-file revolt

He claimed to be a "class-conscious rank-and-file militant", but for one who claimed such concern for the basic questions facing steelworkers and the whole working class, he rather readily allowed the reactionary forces to turn the campaign into a childish spat of "I'm-more-genuine-than-you" declarations, charges, and "exposes"



Even U S Steel was forced to enter the campaign in an unprecedented manner, chiding both candidates for the trivial nature of their debates, for fear that no one was going to come forward to defend the ENA, which the capitalists are so anxious to make work U S S 's intervention came at a time when Sadlowski's offensive was peaking within the union, and when the steel industry was on the defensive for its recent price-hikes U S S feared it might lose the ENA by default

UNHOLY ALLIANCE OF THE "LEFT"

Sadlowski's so-called "leftist" support was another one of those "revelations" brought about by the crisis. The unity of the "Communist" Party, USA, the Revolutionary "Communist" Party, USA, the Socialist Workers Party, the dilittante "radicals" of the Jane Fonda stripe, the "limousine liberals" and other assorted revisionists (phony "communists") and reformists in giving their *unqualified* support to Sadlowski served to reveal the bourgeois ideology they all share. Even in attacking the ENA, they all put forward the lie that the right to strike is the "ultimate weapon" of workers. *All working-class experience shows that the right to strike is indispensable, but the strike is only one and not always the best, means of struggle for the working class*

Let workers observe and learn from this unholy alliance the real aims of revisionism and reformism: safe management of the struggles of the workers within the framework of continued capitalist rule

MCBRIDE VICTORY A SETBACK

But let there be no mistake: McBride's victory is a setback for the working class. The longer the ENA is supported by the leadership of the USW, the further such programs for "industrial peace" are allowed to spread, the harder it will be for workers to defend their interests in the face of the capitalist crisis and the increasing fascist assault of the bourgeoisie on the democratic rights of workers.

A Sadlowski victory would have been in the interests of the workers - but only to the extent that steelworkers stepped up their pressure on Sadlowski and forced him to implement the democratic reforms within the USW (membership vote on contracts, local control over grievances, referendum vote on the ENA), to that extent would steelworkers be better off and stronger in relation to the capitalists. At the same time, workers would have an opportunity to see "pure and simple" reformism expose itself in practice, and in that way the basis for a higher class consciousness among workers would have been laid.

THERE CAN BE NO PEACE

But the continuance of openly bureaucratic rule within the USW is only a temporary setback. McBride cannot guarantee class peace for the capitalists, the capitalists cannot count on the everlasting submission of the working class to capitalist exploitation under the guardianship of trade-union bureaucrats. The entire course of capitalist development, the permanent and deepening crisis of world capitalism, irreversibly pushes the working class into struggle.

And as the struggle of the workers gives rise to more and more class-conscious workers, organized into a truly communist party of the working class, and as that party earns the confidence of ever wider sections of the class, then the working class will move step by step toward the inevitable show down between the classes which will end capitalist rule and establish the rule of the working class, to build socialism and lay the basis for classless society.

WHAT NOW?

Now that the election is over, our tasks are not It is very important to correctly sum up the lessons of this election, both for the steelworkers and the working class as a whole. Only on this basis can strategy and tactics in steel be determined.

From the outset our task has been to develop the consciousness and rank and file organization of steelworkers. This is particularly important in the large mills of the country, where the most advanced sections of the working class are located.

The immediate focus of our work ahead must be the forthcoming contract negotiations, to concretely analyze our just demands and launch a battle inside the union to gain our economic and political demands. These must include the abolition of the ENA and the Consent Decree, rank and file ratification of contracts and other demands.

In the course of fighting for these and other demands, special attention must be given to the building of multinational unity a-

The Struggle Against the LABOR ARISTOCRACY

THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN

"...to emancipate women and make her the equal of men is and remains impossible so long as the woman is shut out from social productive labor and restricted to private domestic labor. The emancipation of women will only be possible when women can take part in production on a large, social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time. And only now that has become possible through modern large-scale industry, which does not merely permit the employment of female labor over a wide range, but positively demands it, while it also tends toward ending private domestic labor by changing it more and more into a public industry."

Fredrick Engels, THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE, International Publishers, 1973, p.221

"But while capitalism leads to the savage exploitation of women, at the same time, by drawing women into the process of production, it prepares the way for their emancipation."

WOMEN AND COMMUNISM, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1950 p.27

Women now make up 40% of the labor force in the U.S. and 25% of the trade union membership. This growth of women's participation in socialized production gives push to the demand for real equality for women. It also adds the strength, imaginations and fighting capacity of millions of women to the general struggle of the working class against the capitalist class.

But the entry of women into production only becomes a revolutionary force when the multi-national working class consciously fights for the equality of women and when women workers consciously fight for socialism. The capitalists fight the development of these struggles with the help of their paid agents, the traitors in our midst, the labor aristocracy. Through the superprofits of imperialism, the capitalists have been able to bribe a small section of the working class. This section in the main comes from the skilled craft workers. This aristocracy has sold out the long range interests of the working class as a whole for the short term economic gains of the few. One of the consequences has been the maintenance of women in unequal positions in production, even in the industries and unions where they make up the majority.

Last fall in Seattle the trade union bureaucrats of Retail Clerks local #330--Pharmacists and Retail Drug Store Employees forced a settlement on its striking members which gave substantial gains to the male, craft worker, pharmacists, but failed to make any gains for the majority, women clerks, who had no guaranteed week and made 4 to 5 dollars less an hour than the pharmacists.

Another example is among the workers at the Chicago-based Hart, Schaffner and Marx clothing manufacturers. There are about 2000 women sewing machine operators who make between 3 and 4 dollars an hour, while the male cutters make between 6 and 7 dollars an hour. All the workers belong to the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, whose clothing division is 85% women, but whose officers come from the male dominated craft sector of the workers.

The trade union bureaucrats, a part of the labor aristocracy have not taken up the struggle for women's equality in the labor movement. Even in the unions where women make up the majority they have been kept out of leadership positions and either receive unequal wages for the same work or are confined to lower paying "women's jobs".

The domination of trade unions by the labor aristocracy, whose social base is in the skilled craft section, is the rule in the U.S. today. Within the labor movement they are the largest obstacle to the struggle for equality for women and to the overall struggle of the working class for socialism.

PIVOT OF OUR TACTICS in the Labor Movement

mong steelworkers, and with the working class as a whole. Steelworkers must actively support the repeal of the Bird Amendment, and other steps to support the struggle of workers and oppressed people all over the world.

Soon, I W Able, who has sold out the interest of steelworkers for over a decade will be retiring. At this time we must thoroughly expose the class collaborationist policy of Able and the TU bureaucrats as a whole.

To carry on active agitation and propaganda in steel requires organization on many levels.

Our task is to intensify the development of factory nuclei, and fractions in the heart of the large mills and shops. Local union meetings must increasingly become an arena to expose and kick out the labor aristocrats and bureaucrats from our union.

With the formation of a vanguard communist party in the near future, the working class as a whole, and steel workers in particular, will have a concrete program of struggle as a guide to action against the steel barons, and their social props, the trade union bureaucrats and labor aristocracy. This program must be translated into a particular program of struggle in steel.

These last few months have provided many lessons to steel workers and the working class as a whole. Both those that uncritically supported Sadlowski, and those that ignored the workers altogether by boycotting the election, are being exposed. These are important steps in our protracted struggle to gain control of the trade unions and turn them into revolutionary fighting organizations against the capitalist class as a whole.