

Workers' Power

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Working People Must Defend Indian Militants

As this issue of Workers Power goes to press, federal marshals have been withdrawn from the area of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, which has been occupied by militants of the American Indian Movement for the last twelve days. Although the immediate crisis has been resolved without bloodshed, the government refuses to grant the militants' demands and has convened a grand jury to issue indictments against the occupation. Socialists, working people and all movements of oppressed peoples in the United States must respond to this situation by building united demonstrations to defend the occupation and support the Indians' demands.

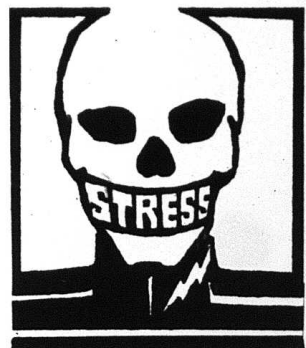
Only the determination and discipline of the Indians, and the fear of unfavorable popular reaction to a "second massacre at Wounded Knee" (the first occurred in 1890 when 300 unarmed Indians were killed by federal troops) prevented the FBI and over a hundred US marshals at the scene from moving to crush the occupation with armed force.

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Heavily-armed Federal marshals converging on Wounded Knee

Free Brown, Stop STRESS!



The deaths in Atlanta last week of two young black men, at least one a long-time black revolutionary, brought to an end a nation-wide manhunt centered in Detroit, Michigan.

During the hunt, the most wide-ranging in Detroit's history, there were innumerable flagrant violations of the law as police entered homes without search warrants, threatened, harassed and beat black citizens, and arbitrarily stopped black motorists in their cars for questioning and harassment.

Citizen outrage at the behavior

of the police force has led to the formation of several community organizations to investigate police terror in the black community. Their stated aim is to pressure the city government to eliminate the police department's controversial under-cover decoy operation, STRESS (Stop The Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets).

It was a confrontation between Mark Bethune, John Boyd, and Hayward Brown and four members of a STRESS unit that sparked the bloody manhunt. That gun battle left the four police officers wounded, while

the three blacks escaped without injury.

A later gun battle, allegedly involving two of the three fugitives and two more STRESS agents ended with both officers injured, one fatally.

A few weeks later, a fire-bombing of the record rooms of a Planned Parenthood clinic in Detroit's New Center area led to a third gun battle and the capture of one of the fugitives, Hayward Brown.

By this time, approximately six weeks after the original inci-

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Kicking out Tony Boyle was a great victory for miners, but the fight isn't over yet, according to Bill Worthington and Rick Diehl, Miners For Democracy members who spoke at a recent Workers Power Forum in New York City.

Worthington, a black former miner who spent 33 years in the mines before black lung disease forced him to retire is now president of the Harlan, Kentucky Black Lung Association.

A union militant since the early 1930s, Worthington began his speech by recalling the desperate struggles to build the United Mine Workers and the later sellouts of UMW president John L. Lewis.

"We built a strong union, but then we went to sleep," he said of the rank and file, "and when we woke up we had a corrupt union."

Worthington went on to describe the long campaign of the Black Lung Association to awaken miners to health and safety hazards in the mines and the recent election campaign that put Miners For Democracy leader Arnold Miller in the Presidency of the UMW.

Worthington finished with a warning to the trade unionists in the audience. "Putting an honest man in office isn't enough," he cautioned. "You have to watch them to keep them honest and let them know what you want."

This theme was continued by Rick Diehl, a young white member of the People's Appalachian Research Group

who worked in both the Yablonski and Miller campaigns in the UMW.

Diehl stressed the fact that miners' strength comes from their unity and militancy at the point of production — in the mines.

He criticized MFD's dependence on court cases and said that the election of Miller is a step in the process of building a rank and file movement, not the end of the process.

Both speakers affirmed that miners' continued support of Miller and other MFD officials depends on their ability to carry forward the struggles that brought them into office.

It's not clear yet what plans Miller has for the Miners For Democracy organization, but Worthington and Diehl both agreed on the need for continuing rank and file groups in any case.

The Black Lung Association, Worthington said, plans to press its fight against the cynical tricks the coal companies and federal mine inspectors are using to avoid cleaning up the mines.

Most current inspectors, he said, are ex-foremen, and inspections are carefully rigged in advance to be sure violations are never seen.

The Black Lung Association is thus urging the UMW to train fulltime union inspectors, and plans to keep up the pressure on Miller to make sure he delivers on this life-and-death issue.

As Worthington pointed out, the upcoming 1974 contract negotiations will be a major test for the new UMW leadership and the rank and file movement that put it in power.

A fight must be waged for far-

reaching contract changes on many vital questions, including job security and automation, pensions, and benefits for widows and disabled miners.

But until then, miners must adamantly oppose any attempt by the Miller leadership to hold down strikes or other actions because of the existing contract. The fight over health and safety in particular, cannot wait for 1974.

Right now, miners also face the crucial task of rooting out Tony Boyle's flunkies on the district and local level, a job that is being made more difficult by Miller's apparent willingness to come to terms with some of them.

The UMW has to be rebuilt into a democratic, militant union if it is to be in shape to take on the companies and the government next year.

"If we don't accomplish a lot by 1974," said Worthington, "we'll be set back four hundred years."

Miners and their supporters are optimistic, however. This year they have unseated one of the most corrupt entrenched bureaucracies in the labor movement.

In 1971 they were the only union to break through the Nixon wage freeze. Their 25,000-man wildcat strike in 1969 resulted in the Mine Safety Law and the first serious attention to occupational health and safety in the nation.

Diehl and Worthington recognize, however, that a long fight lies ahead.

Diehl stressed the need for the UMW to link up with other unions to combat the energy monopolies — the large oil corporations that now control most coal companies as well.

Worthington also raised the crucial question of fighting the government in the political arena. In 1972, he related, he ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic nomination for Congress "to show poor people and blacks that they had a right to run too."

Now, he says, he doesn't see much difference between the Democrats and Republicans and he is considering running an independent campaign.


Kim Moody, speaking for the IS, pointed out the trap of trying to work through the Democratic Party.

Moody argued that the Democrats represent the interests of the corporations and that workers need to form their own political party.

As Moody said, "the miners have been an inspiration to all workers in the United States." Their militancy and unity have shown that it is possible to defeat the labor bureaucrats.

Once again, the miners have the opportunity to lead the US labor movement in a fight against the employers and the government as well.

The victory of Miners For Democracy opens up tremendous possibilities for struggle, and it's now up to the rank and file miners and the rest of the labor movement to push the struggle further. ■



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PHILLY SCHOOLS ON, GENERAL STRIKE OFF

David Miller



FRANK L. RIZZO

After 50 blood-letting days of strike — a strike deliberately provoked by the Philadelphia School Board — the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) and Board agreed to a contract on Feb. 27. In one sense, the strike was undoubtedly a success. As a defensive battle, it turned back the brutal determination of the school board, backed to hilt by Mayor Frank Rizzo, to crush the union by demanding increased length of the school day, increased class size, and no salary increase.

On all these fronts the board was defeated by the final retention of essentially the status quo. *But the teachers paid a heavy price for the board's "retreat."*

* (1) The lost teachers' salaries (\$600,000 per day) balanced the school board's budget.

* (2) The PFT was forced to accept an unprecedented 4-year contract.

* (3) The salary gains were very modest. In the first school year the contract provides for an average increase of 4% (but the raise will not take effect until April — i.e., only 1.5% in cash this year).

In the second school year, the teachers will not receive an increase until April '74, and that will be only 2%.

In October of '74, a second 2% raise will be given. In April '75, a further 4%, and finally, in Dec. '75, in the middle of the fourth year, another 4%.

In view of the spiraling inflation, the union's salary gains will in fact not prevent a drop in real income during the period.

* (4) Class size will be cut by two, but only in the fourth year of the contract.

* (5) The 600 teachers who annu-

ally receive \$1000 stipend for summer courses will no longer receive them.

Coming on top of Detroit's zero increase, Chicago's 2½%, and New York City's 5% (at the cost of accepting a 10% cut in staff over the past 18 months without a fight) the Philadelphia strike was clearly a watershed for union teachers.

The dreadful cost of the strike (loss of one-quarter of the annual salary, plus close to \$500,000 in fines) will have been in vain if we do not seek the lessons this strike has to teach us.

(1) The Weakness of Isolated Strikes: Everyone in the Phila. labor movement was aware that the attack on the teachers was just the prelude for an attack on all city employee unions, particularly AFSCME and the transit workers (TWU).

Following the first phase of the PFT strike, in September, when the city's determination to crush the union was already crystal clear, the PFT should have begun working for a joint strike by the PFT, TWU and AFSCME (similar to the successful city-wide general strike in 1970 in San Francisco).

Clearly, today, such a policy would stand a far greater chance of success than a go-it-alone policy.

The fact of a common employer (the city, and, indirectly, the State) make the consideration of such a policy by AFT nationally a matter of the highest priority.

The current union action by New York unions, representing over half a million workers, in response to Rockefeller's attack on our pensions was a limited step in the right direction. Unfortunately, its impact was deliberately sabotaged by UFT President Shanker's refusal to bring the 175,000 teachers in to the coalition.

(2) The general strike: The response of the Central Labor Council (under the prodding of the public employee unions) to Rizzo's union-busting was slow in coming.

But when the threat posed by the \$10,000/day fines, and the arrest of 800 pickets finally became too great to be ignored, a half-day general strike

was reluctantly set for Wednesday, February 28.

The bewilderment of the labor movement's "leadership" at the need for the strike was expressed by Jerry Wurf, President of AFSCME, when he complained at a mass rally, "I don't understand why a settlement cannot be reached. This is the only trade union movement in the free world that does not call for the overthrow of the system. Why are they doing this to us?"

Wurf's confusion is shared by most labor leaders. They cannot see, or they refuse to see, that the Establishment is determined to solve the economic difficulties of the country (inflation, a collapsing dollar, lagging exports, unemployment) by taking it out on wages, through the freeze — especially on the wages of the unorganized and of the "unproductive" public employees. (Teachers' salaries rose last year by just 2½% nationally.)

Some labor leaders of course have made their peace with Nixon by agreeing to a wage-freeze — FOR US — while hoping to maneuver "exceptions" for their own unions.

Even these are illusory concessions, since they will and have come only at the price of accepting a murderous speed-up of the production lines. This is the parallel of increasing teacher pay at the price of increased class size.

Whatever the labor leaders' motivation and ambivalence, however, as expressed by their failure to really organize for the general strike ("we're generals without an army" protested a leader of the pro-strike wing of the labor council), the fact that the strike was called at all has enormous implications.

It points to the growing need for "unity-in-action-of-all-who-work" (not just all members of one union) against the common adversary — the banks who own the school debt, Big Business, and the local and Federal government, who front for them and their "cost-cutting" drives by granting subsidies to the corporations and a wage freeze for us.

Municipal workers in New York face a proposed takeover — and mutilation — of their pension plan by New York State. The old plan would be retained for old members, but workers hired after July 1, 1973, would get lower benefits.

As the result of earlier collective bargaining, the present plan is fairly good. A worker with enough years in the system can retire on full pay by combining pension and social security benefits.

The State system seeks to drop this to 80% of full pay by including social security benefits into the figuring of city-paid pension, not adding it afterward. In a period of rapid inflation, pension cost-of-living increases — not cuts — are in order.

For years, city officials persuaded unions to accept pension rather than

AFT should in the future be in the forefront of a movement for unity in action of all who work.

(3) The PFT and the Politicians: Rizzo the strikebreaker, former "law-and-order" police chief and "friend" of Labor, was a vast embarrassment to the AFL-CIO council (and the PFT). The PFT leadership endorsed and campaigned for him. Will the PFT and AFL-CIO learn their lesson — that Labor has only itself to trust? The politicians of both parties are, despite tactical differences, ready to turn on Labor in a crisis. (Just last year, all the Senate liberals voted for a compulsory arbitration bill against the dock workers.)

Unfortunately, from their post-strike statements, it already appears that Labor, instead of preparing its own slate, is getting ready to repeat, for the nth time, a policy of choosing between tweedledee and tweedledum.

(4) Prior to the mass arrests, for many weeks, community support for the strike was minimal. In part about this was due to Rizzo's demagoguery about "no tax increases" (while he cut bank and corporate taxes).

The PFT, unfortunately has a poor record of inaction on the question of taxes on the poor. Its record on the needs and aspirations of the Black community (60% of the student body) is not much better.

Once again, a serious campaign of action for taxes on the corporations instead of sales taxes and small home-owner taxes, is quite impossible without a united effort by all public employee unions and others.

(5) Teachers, the Law, and the Courts: Despite the fact that teacher strikes are expressly permitted by Pennsylvania law, the courts granted school board requests for injunctions against the strike which led to the monumental fines. So much for the impartiality of the court.

Equally important, however, this should lead us all in AFT to recommit ourselves to the absolute necessity for a massive strike and defense fund, to be used especially in cases such as Philadelphia where the strike was a precedent-setting, national test between teachers and school boards. ■

wage gains in an attempt to avoid city budget crises. (Wage payments come out of current budgets, but pension payments don't appear in the city budget for two years after they are negotiated.)

The city government got into the habit of using pension increases "instead of money" to meet workers' demands. Now that many workers are becoming eligible for pensions, these magic tricks begin to backfire.

Workers needed both wage gains and pension improvements and mostly got pensions. . . now the city wants to take that away from new employees.

Local union bureaucrats are quite vocal about how bad the new plan is. They do not, at least in front of their own members, take credit for trading away wage increases when they were needed. ■

Unions Fight Pension Takeover

Clara Mits



Editorial

Sudan: Imperialist "Justice"

The shocked outcry over the kidnapping and execution of three career diplomats (two Americans and one Belgian) by commandos of the Black September organization in Khartoum, Sudan is a striking example of the self-serving hypocrisy of imperialism.

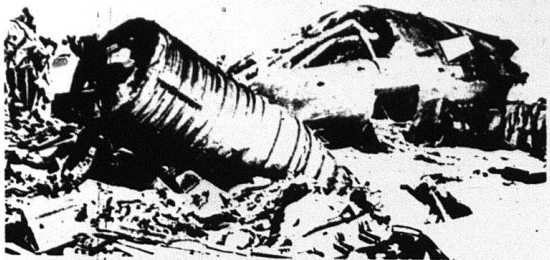
President Nixon and his number-one mouthpiece, Secretary of State Rogers, were quick to denounce as "blood-curdling savagery" (not to mention that well-worn phrase "international banditry") the desperate attempt by the Palestinian guerillas to win freedom for their imprisoned comrades by taking political hostages. These humanistic sentiments were expressed in tones of moral outrage hardly befitting these butchers, who ordered the deliberate terror bombing of the cities of North Vietnam last December.

Not content with this display of horror at the taking of life by the terrorists, Rogers went on to formally demand, on behalf of the US government, that the captured Arab commandos be summarily executed. Given the realities of world diplomacy today, this demand can be read as an automatic death sentence, without trial or appeal, for the eight men. The trial itself will only be a showpiece.

It goes without saying that no such ultimatum was issued when an Israeli military plane deliberately shot down a Libyan passenger airliner with 113 civilians aboard. The lives of two diplomats, thoroughly committed to preserving American imperialism, far out-weigh the importance of a hundred non-combatant airline passengers in the scales of imperialist "justice."

The International Socialists give no support to the Black September group, whose exploits have produced only one disaster after another for the cause of Palestinian liberation. As we have argued consistently in Workers Power, neither the assassination of diplomats nor the kidnapping of athletes offers a road forward in the struggle against US imperialism and its Zionist junior partner.

Our strongest condemnation, however, is reserved for the spokesmen for imperialism, and for the imperialist system itself. It is this system which creates the conditions that lead to terrorism. The imperialists have no right to exclaim in horror when the fruits of their system strike back against their own diplomatic representatives. They have no right to impose their murderous "justice" on the eight commandos or on any other Palestinian prisoners.



Wounded Knee

[Continued from page 1]

In September, 1971, the massacre of prisoners at Attica, New York served notice that the capitalist state is prepared to resort to mass slaughter to suppress uprisings of oppressed people demanding decent treatment and the rights of human beings. There is no doubt that the government, caught off guard by the recent upsurge of militancy among the Indians, is already laying plans to deal with future "incidents" with the same measures that were used not only at Attica, but also against the Black ghetto rebellions in Watts, Harlem, Newark and Detroit in the 1960's.

Whatever "settlement" is reached, it is clear that the Indians involved will face arrests, prosecution and massive repression. A movement must be built now to assure that they will be defended, and that they will be able to continue their struggle for basic, democratic rights.

A smokescreen of confusion, distortions and conflicting reports has been created to hide the events at Wounded Knee in recent days and to distract attention from the demands of the Indians. After days of sporadic shooting and issuing several ultimatums, the government claimed that an "agreement in principle" (meaning that in practice, the government would not be bound to anything) had been reached. This occurred only after the failure of the government's attempt to intimidate the Indians into surrender by cutting off talks and threatening to move in with military force. The Indians deny that any such agreement has occurred and claim that their original demands continue to stand.

The Indians' demands are extremely moderate and should have been met immediately. They include an investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a cesspool of bureaucratic corruption and racism which was exposed by the documents liberated the November sit-in at the Washington BIA headquarters; a Senate investigation to expose the breaking of hundreds of treaties by the government; and the right of the Indians to elect their own leaders.

The present tribal president of the Oglala Sioux, Richard Wilson, has condemned the Indian demonstrations and threatened to use violence against Wounded Knee militants.

For many decades American Indians have been kept largely outside the "mainstream" of American politics. They are regarded by most Americans as historical curiosities - an image which the government and the press carefully seek to maintain, in order to prevent their demands from being taken seriously by working people generally.

The history of the American Indian has been portrayed as that of a "race of bloodthirsty savages" who were overcome by the heroic efforts of the pioneers and farmers who "won the West" for democracy and civilization.

In real life, however, the destruction of the Indian population was a series of acts of genocide, carried out in the process of American capitalist expansion.

Most of the Indian tribes were hunted down by the US Army and other armed forces supported by the

fur companies, railroads and large ranchers.

The Indians' culture, history and racial pride became objects of contempt as they were forced into degradation and squalor on concentration camps known as "reservations."

Not surprisingly, much of the current Indian revolt has taken the form of a re-discovery and reassertion of the Indians' history and culture of resistance against the white oppressors.

Unquestionably, many Indians see the struggle at Wounded Knee as an up-to-date revival of a vital part of their heritage. There are important parallels between this movement and the upsurge of Black racial pride in the last ten or fifteen years.

These parallels include the division within the community between the militants and the "moderate" leadership whose power depends on maintaining good relations with the oppressor.

These leaders, like Wilson, use some external trappings of Indian culture to maintain their own rule. They condemn militants as "outside agitators" who threaten the "purity" of the community, in order to cover up their own role.

There are, however, deeper underlying forces which are driving Indians to revolt - the same economic forces which are shaking the stability of all American society. The historic oppression of Indians as a people is now re-inforced by the current economic offensive against all oppressed and working people.

Even as unemployment worsens, social welfare, job training and other programs which have maintained the Black, Latin and Indian communities at a bare subsistence level are being destroyed.

These measures will have a devastating effect on American Indians, many of whom suffer all the problems of marginal laborers as well as racial discrimination. The effects will be even worse for the Indians because (unlike Black people) they have not had a well-organized movement capable of winning concessions in the past.

As Workers Power has argued in the past, these attacks reflect the deepening crisis and instability of American capitalism, and will be followed by full-scale attacks on the more powerful organized industrial working class.

American workers, especially Black workers who are already feeling the razor edge of these attacks, must take the lead in defending the Indian movement and helping to unite it with the struggles of other oppressed peoples.

The formation of an independent working class political party, to defend the interests of workers and oppressed minorities and to fight for a government of and for all working people, is an urgent necessity in this period.

In the coming days and weeks, branches of the International Socialists in many cities will be attempting to collaborate with Black, Latin and working class organizations to build demonstrations and actions of support for the militants at Wounded Knee and the Indian movement.

We urge all such organizations, as well as our readers, to join us in this effort. ■

Women Workers: History of Struggle

Shelley Landau

March 8th was declared "International Women's Day" in 1910 at a world congress of socialist women. The proposal to designate a day to honor the heroic struggles of working women was made by the American women present at the congress, who had been inspired by the mass demonstration of women garment workers in New York in 1908.

The New York garment workers did not stop with marches alone. In 1909-1910 they launched the "Uprising of the Twenty-thousand," a general strike against ladies' dress manufacturers. This was the largest strike of women workers in American history.

The strike was militantly fought in spite of innumerable disadvantages. The strikers were young and inexperienced in organizing. Many had only recently arrived in the States and were still unaccustomed to the language and ways of American life.

The workers had to carry out their struggle with minimal support from the AF of L, whose bureaucracy was not interested in organizing women workers.

Finally, the women had to take on "public opinion" which, while never favorable to workers' struggles, was even more threatened by a struggle of women workers adamantly rejecting in practice the passive "feminine" roles society had assigned them.

The employers and the state viciously attempted to smash the strike, fearing its effect on other women workers who served them as an underpaid, temporary labor force. Picketers were brutally attacked and beaten by the police.

When capitalist relations are threatened and the "code of chivalry" (which was never intended for working women) no longer is of any use in keeping women under control, that "code" is quickly discarded for a more direct approach.

Despite all these handicaps, the "Uprising of the Twenty Thousand" not only won significant reforms but spread to women garment workers in Philadelphia and to Chicago clothing workers of both sexes.

This, then, was the inspiration for International Women's Day. But the story does not end here.

On March 8, 1911, socialists in Western Europe organized mass demonstration for women's suffrage. Their theme was: "The vote for women will unite our strength in the struggle for socialism."

The turnout for these demonstrations was beyond all expectations. Alexandra Kollontai, a leader of the Russian Bolshevik Party, described the first Women's Day in the following way:

"Germany and Austria... were one seething, trembling sea of women. Meetings were organized everywhere — in small towns and even in the villages. Halls were packed so full that they had to ask workers to give up their places to women. This was certainly the first show of militancy by the working women."

"Men stayed at home with the children for a change, and their wives, the captive housewives, went to meetings."

In 1914, International Women's Day was the setting for yet another women's demonstration. This time, Clara Zetkin (a leader of the international socialist women's movement) called thousands of German women into the streets to protest German war plans and to demand the release of Rosa Luxemburg, a revolutionary socialist jailed for speaking against the coming imperialist war.

This demonstration of socialist and working-class women was extremely significant. It came at a time when middle-class suffragists and feminists were cozying up to their war-bound governments in the hope of winning some rewards for their "patriotism."

Those middle-class women had insisted for years on a very narrow definition of "women's interests." Now, when they did broaden their concerns, they became fervid champions of the interests of their individual ruling classes.

A prime example was in Great Britain, where suffragists proved their national loyalty by mercilessly baiting men who refused to fight in the war.

Zetkin and her followers followed a different road. They spoke up against the needless slaughter and suffering which war would bring to the working classes of all nations.

By mobilizing against the war, German working women became the most courageous defenders of the interests of the international working class and thereby the best defenders of the rights of women.

They carried out their struggle throughout the war, despite the defections of "official" socialist parties all over the world.

The only meeting of the Second International during the war years was called by Zetkin — an International Socialist Women's Conference including women from warring countries who demanded peace and international working-class solidarity.

Zetkin and her co-thinkers showed the way to really broaden the women's struggle: by continuing the class struggle and the fight for socialism even in the most trying times. These women knew full well that without socialism there would be no liberation for women.

International Women's Day, 1917, was the most significant celebration of this day to date. On that day women textile workers in the Vyborg district of Petrograd decided to bypass the traditional holiday meetings and speechmaking.

Disregarding the warnings of their unions and parties, these women walked out of their factories and marched through the city carrying banners demanding bread, an end to the monarchy, and an end to the war.

Housewives joined with them, and thousands of men followed the women's lead. This demonstration catalyzed the events of the February Revolution, which in its turn led to the Bolshevik Revolution in October.

The Bolshevik Revolution was the only revolution to count the liberation of women among its objectives, because it was the only truly socialist revolution the world has ever known. In fact the Bolshevik Revolution brought women in Russia closer to their liberation than they had ever been, even in the most "enlightened" and "democratic" Western countries.

After the Revolution of 1917, until the early 1920's, women in the Soviet Union continued to organize to ensure and deepen the rights they had won in the revolutionary struggle.

Actively encouraged and organized by the Bolsheviks, working women fought not only to defend the Revolution against imperialist attack, but also for full rights as workers and for their special needs as women, and to liberate the peasant women in the countryside from illiteracy and bondage.

The beginning of the Stalinist counterrevolution in Russia brought with it the suppression of this militant independent women's struggle. The women's organizations became appendages to carry out the orders of the bureaucracy.

By the mid-1930's, the counterrevolution had wiped out the gains won by women, destroyed the workers' state and the cadres of the Bolshevik party which had led the Revolution, and established a bureaucratic dictatorship under which women were once again super-exploited as workers and oppressed as housewives.

The decades following World War I also saw the capitulation of the middle-class women's rights movement and the decline of working women's

movements in the western capitalist nations.

Women workers remained either outside the work force or trapped in low-paying, difficult jobs with little hope for improvement.

The revival of women's liberation ideas in society generally, along with the increasing difficulties that working class women face in a period of economic decline and instability, have begun to affect the consciousness of working women. Once again the development of a movement of working women is a possibility.

Today working women in every country of the world still suffer from the double-edged sword of oppression (because of our sex) and exploitation (because of our class). In the United States, Blacks, Chicanos, and other minorities suffer the added burdens of racism.

Prices are shooting up while the government imposes wage controls. Working conditions are getting worse and worse as the corporations grab for profits. Schools are deteriorating and closing down altogether.

Working-class women are going to feel the worst of the economic crisis. We always have. We are largely unorganized at work, so easy targets for the government and employers' wage and productivity offensive.

Where we are unionized, we don't have a leadership which will fight for our interests. As the corporations try to cut costs through lay-offs, we will be the first to go.

Childcare, welfare, healthcare, and other social programs are already being cut back.

All the goals which we still have to win — equal work for equal pay, free abortions, free 24-hour child-care, and other needs — will be harder and harder to squeeze out of a shrinking economy.

To win any lasting gains at all — for ourselves and for our entire class — will take more massive and militant struggle than ever and will bring us into confrontation with capitalism itself.

Because our suffering is so great under capitalism, we have often taken the lead in the battles of the whole working class. New York 1909, Germany 1914, Russia 1917, are only a few examples.

Many of our sisters in the past realized their urgent need (as women and as workers) for the destruction of class society and the construction of socialism.

This lesson must not be lost on us today. The battle lines are again being drawn between the working class and its allies and the capitalists. We can and must be in the frontlines of the battles to come. ■

Waitresses On Strike

[The information in this article comes from the Working Women's Association of Vancouver. For further information, contact the Working Women's Association, No. 3-45 Kingsway, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.]

On February 12, waitresses at a Denny's franchise in Vancouver, British Columbia, staged a walkout and set up picket lines outside the restaurant.

Employees of the all night restaurant were protesting work rules and the lack of job security. Most of the 45 workers have not returned to work, although management announced anyone who did not report would be fired.

A week before the walkout, management informed waitresses that there would be a 20-minute time limit for customers ordering only coffee.

Relatives were to be banned from the premises, and there would be no pay for compulsory company-called staff meetings.

Management refused to post public notices of these new policies, requiring waitresses to enforce them.

Waitresses were also protesting management's persistent refusal to deal with their grievances and the lack of job security. Often employees were asked to work on their days off and when they refused their jobs were jeopardized.

Picketing has been effective. On

the first night's picket, Denny's total till take was \$85, down from an average night's take of \$375.

Denny's obtained an injunction against the workers, but supporters including the Working Women's Association, SORWUC (Service, Office & Retail Workers Union of Canada), and members of other unions—have continued the picketing.

They plan to keep up the picket lines until the waitresses are rehired and their demands are met.

Prior to the walkout unionization had not been discussed, but the overwhelming majority are now determined to unionize in order to win better working conditions and job security. ■

Oil, Chemical Union Launches Shell Boycott

Alice Watts, M.D.

Thirty-six hundred members of the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) are striking Shell Oil Company refineries in the South and West. The issues of the strike are pensions and health and safety conditions in the refineries.

The union has asked for Health and Safety Committees involving the union, which would "inspect" the workplace regularly on company time. Such committees could also invite outside, independent, industrial health consultants paid by the company to inspect the workplace.

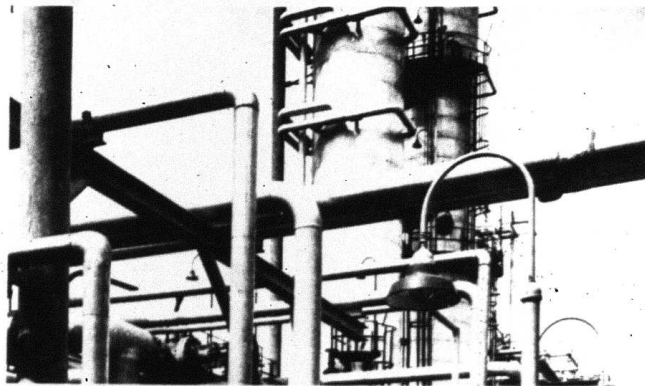
The union also wants "appropriate" medical examinations for all refinery workers. The examinations are to be paid for by the company but performed by a recognized outside independent medical consultant.

By "recognized," the union means an honest group of doctors from an academic institution who are specialists in the occupational health problems of refinery workers.

Previously the Shell company has had "outside consultants" who performed examinations which found the workers to be healthy.

The consultants took care not to look for any of the diseases to which refinery workers are subject due to exposures to the numerous chemicals in the refining process.

Skin cancers, bladder cancers, possibly lung cancers, leukemia, chronic bronchitis and emphysema, and asbestosis are some of the diseases which specialists in occupational health would look for in such examinations.



Examinations of people healthy enough to work, however, are usually unrevealing. Therefore the union has asked for the company's records of the causes of illness and death among former employees of the refineries. Such information is available through insurance and pension records.

The union will do its own analysis of these records, comparing the patterns of disease and the work exposures with the health statistics of the general population of the United States.

If oil refinery workers are found to have an unusual incidence of certain diseases, the work records will help to define substances which cause such diseases.

The union has asked for the right to see results of all inspections and health examinations. The Occupa-

tional Safety and Health Act of 1970 only gives workers the right to the examinations required by the Asbestos Exposure Standard set in 1971.

In the area of pensions, the union has asked for an end to deduction of social security benefits from pension benefits.

Other oil companies, including ARCO, Mobile, Texaco, Gulf, American, Union, Sohio, Exxon, Conoco, Phillips and City Service have agreed to these conditions.

These companies do not believe that the union will teach oil refinery workers to take full advantage of the health and safety provisions of the contract.

Shell is holding out against the union with a flat refusal to negotiate over health and safety or other conditions of work. Shell also objects to being

forced to use third-party, objective consultants. Their practice in the past has been to use "scientific" consultants who could be trusted to whitewash all of their commercial products and work practices.

The union is, unfortunately, not in a strong position. The only ways to strike a refinery effectively are to "take it down" -- stop its operation prior to striking, or to organize a full fledged sit-down strike.

Shell is using a handful of supervisory personnel to run the refineries and will be able to keep up production for several months.

The union has asked for official support from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. They want the teamsters to stop delivery of Shell oil for gas, industrial fuel, and heating of offices and homes.

If the oil keeps rolling, it will be a long time before Shell feels enough pressure to yield to the union's demands.

The IBT has given no support to the Oil Workers, so it will be up to rank and file teamsters to aid the refinery workers by refusing to deliver Shell products.

The union has also asked for and received support from various environmental groups. This coalition is trying to build a national boycott of Shell products. Individual consumers can help by boycotting Shell gas stations and commercial products. **BOYCOTT SHELL!**

[The next issue of Workers' Power will present an up-to-date report on the Shell Oil strike on the West Coast.]

Phase Three Hits Snag

Jim Woodward

Phase Three of Nixon's economic plans may be in serious trouble. Skyrocketing food prices, the international monetary crisis, and the approaching round of labor-management contract negotiations are squeezing the government's room to maneuver.

Ironically, what the Administration wants and needs most if Phase 3 is to work is "flexibility."

Nixon's decision to end Phase 2 was based largely on the corporations' desire to abolish price controls altogether. In part, however, the end of the Phase 2 wage policy also reflected the fear that a rigid 5.5% wage guideline would not stand up during the major contract negotiations which begin this spring, especially with any pretense of controls on corporate profits removed.

With this in mind, Phase 3 was designed to allow the government to make tactical retreats when necessary on individual wage increases while maintaining an overall offensive against wages. This policy underlies the seemingly contradictory recent statements of various government functionaries.

Cost of Living Council (COLC) Director Dunlop and Treasury Secretary Shultz declared that the 5.5% guideline was still in effect on the same day that Nixon's economic assistant John Ehrlichman said 5.5% "was being gently but firmly removed from the folklore of wage and price controls."

The COLC's Labor-Management Advisory Committee, which includes Meany, Woodcock, Fitzsimmons, and other top labor bureaucrats, issued a

vague statement which did not mention a specific figure at all.

What it means, in effect, is that the Administration wants to impose a double standard. *Strong unions, which could seriously cripple the nation's economy, will be allowed larger wage increases, while small, weak unions and the unorganized workers will get screwed.* It's sort of like the high school bully picking only on the little kids.

Can it work? Before the sharp food price increases and the sudden dollar devaluation, such a policy might have had a good chance of success. After all, COLC Director Dunlop had been able to drastically cut wage increases in the construction industry with a similar policy.

The continuing instability of the dollar, however, puts increasing pressure on Nixon to hold down wages and increase productivity in an effort to make U.S. industry more competitive with foreign companies.

At the same time, increasing prices will tend to prevent labor bureaucrats from collaborating with the government's wage control scheme as smoothly as they would otherwise. Labor leaders know that their rank and file members are upset about the sharp inflation and will demand wage increases to protect their standard of living.

Consequently, some labor leaders have begun to sound slightly "militant". The 5.5% guideline, says Francis Filbey of the American Postal Workers Union, provides "a contest to see who shoots through it the farthest."

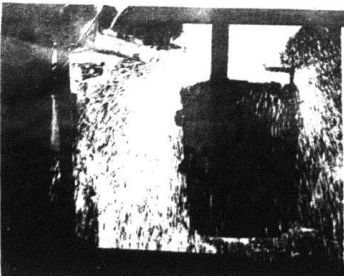
If working people are not to be the ones to pay for the government's economic crisis, the labor movement must mount a sharp attack on the Phase 3 wage controls program.

This means absolutely no cooperation in setting or administering government policy — Meany, Woodcock, Fitzsimmons, Abel, and Hall must be forced off the Labor-Management Advisory Committee!

Further, labor's attack on Phase 3 must conclusively break the 5.5% guideline, not only for the large unions, but for the weak and unorganized as well.

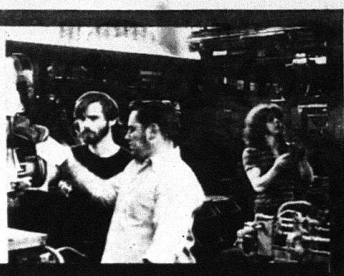
Otherwise, the Nixon administration will be able to get out of its current dilemma and step up its attack on the entire labor movement.

To save his economic program, Nixon desperately needs the collaboration of the labor officialdom. But it is precisely at this time that collaboration must be denied him and an offensive policy adopted if workers are to defend their living standards and working conditions from further erosion. ■



Labor In Brief

Jim Woodward



UAW President Woodcock gives up on speedup without a fight

United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock has virtually assured the Big Three auto companies that the UAW will not wage a serious fight over contract negotiations this fall.

At a press conference following the union's production workers' meeting in Atlanta last month, Woodcock announced that he plans to stagger local strike deals if a national strike can be avoided.

Local strikes (over supplemental agreements) occurring simultaneously could tie up auto production as effectively as a national walkout.

This strategy means that Woodcock plans absolutely no fight against the speed-up and deteriorating working conditions associated with GMAD in particular, but affecting all auto plants.

Woodcock's policy means that workers at individual plants will face the power of GM, Ford, or Chrysler alone — a situation he cynically vowed "would not be repeated" after the UAW lost a long strike at the Norwood Ohio GMAD plant last year.

1199 wins union representation vote at Columbia-Presbyterian

After 10 years' effort, Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers Union, was elected on March 1 as union representative for service workers at Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center in New York.

Columbia-Presbyterian had been by far the largest non-union hospital in New York. The vote was 878 to 507 for Local 1199.

However, a larger struggle looms ahead. When 1199 goes to negotiate its first contract, it can expect fierce resistance from hospital barons and government alike.

Already the Cost of Living Council (CLC) has cut a scheduled pay raise for 1199 members at other New York hospitals from 8.3% to 5.5%.

Although the managements of these other hospitals were pressured by mass meetings into asking the CLC to rescind the cut, there is little likelihood it will be fully restored.

In this situation, 1199 leaders are unwilling to press the issue. They are hoping they can recover the cut and more in July, when 1199's contracts with most New York hospitals run out.

How 1199 bureaucrats hope to press the issue in July is not at all clear. At this time they have no winning strategy.

But what is clear is that 1199 members have given 1199 a reputation as a fighting union, and that in July they will face both the New York health lords and the Cost of Living Council.

With capitalism in such a crisis that the state must intervene nakedly in the class struggle, 1199 members

must be mobilized for what may be their biggest battle.

Meanwhile, the victory party for 1199 at the Audobon Ballroom across from Presbyterian was really fine.

As this reporter for *Workers' Power* walked in, he could instantly sense victory as the sounds of Stevie Wonder rolled together with the shouts and conversation of hundreds of happy people. Even this was only an anticlimax.

"You should have seen this place when they announced the results," one 1199 organizing committee member said.

— Eugene V. Lee

Workman's Comp. rules Chrysler must pay for racism, speedup

The State of Michigan has ruled that Chrysler Corp. must pay psychiatric treatment and back wages for workers it drives insane through racism and inhuman working conditions.

The Michigan Bureau of Workman's Compensation issued this ruling in a review of the case of James Johnson, a black worker at Detroit's Eldon Avenue Axle Plant who shot and killed two foremen and another worker after he was fired from work in 1970.

Johnson had been fired when he refused to perform an unsafe assignment without proper safety equipment. His trial in 1971 revealed a pattern of racial discrimination by Chrysler management and conditions in the plant which drove him mad.

The trial judge agreed, finding Johnson innocent due to insanity — then ordered him confined to a "hospital" for the criminally insane.

The Workman's Compensation ruling orders Chrysler to pay Johnson \$5,000 in back pay and a weekly stipend of \$75 for psychiatric treatment. Chrysler management had no comment on the ruling.

Chicago Teamster officials make new deals with Daley machine

An apparent "trade" between the Teamsters Union leadership and Mayor Daley's Democratic Party machine points out the close ties between local Teamster Bureaucrats and the Democrats in Chicago.

Daniel J. Shannon, president of the Chicago Park District since 1967, resigned February 16 to take a job as administrator of the Health, Welfare and Pension Funds of the Teamsters Union for the Southeast, Southwest and Central States areas.

These funds contain assets of almost \$1 billion. The next day it was announced that Louis F. Peick, head of Teamsters Joint Council 25, had been appointed to the Chicago Police Board.

In addition to being well known as one of the "leading lights" of the Daley administration, Shannon's qualifications include previous experience with the Teamsters Union — as he was

formerly president of a moving and storage firm organized by the Teamsters.

Shannon has also proved himself in battle while head of the Park District. Several months ago he was responsible for breaking up a legal public meeting held by a group of rank-and-file Teamsters Union members and for the arrest of many of those present.

The meeting was called by Teamster Ranks United To Help (TRUTH), a Chicago-area group organized around the issues of pension reform and better union representation.

Workers' control of production experiment at Kaiser steel plant

Workers at the Kaiser Steel plant in Fontana, California, have taken over operation of "their" plant and increased production by 1/3 without reducing crew sizes.

The "takeover" came with the permission of the company after Kaiser announced plans to shut the plant because of Japanese competition.

The leadership of Steelworkers Local 2869, which had recently conducted a 45-day strike against the company, said they could do a better job.

And they did. Even with some pay raises, the workers cut the cost of steel pipe \$10-\$15 a ton.

These steelworkers have shown that they can run the plant more efficiently than the Kaiser capitalists.

The catch is that the Kaiser bosses are still there, sitting on the sidelines and hauling in the benefits from the workers' increased productivity. In fact they are not sure one-third productivity increase is enough for them, and are still considering shutting the plant, and locking the workers out of their jobs.

The "Kaiser experiment" shows that workers are capable of running industry without the help of capitalists. But with the capitalists still in control of the plant, the workers are just as much at the mercy of the owners as they ever were.

Rank and File Notes

Teamster trucking locals in the San Francisco Bay Area have told Teamster President Fitzsimmons that they want to bargain separately this year rather than under the nationwide Master Freight Agreement. Trucking contracts expire Jun 30. Those locals wanting to separate from the MFA include locals 70, 85, and 315, the first, second, and fourth largest Teamster locals in the area.

The welfare fund of AFSCME Local 371 (New York City welfare workers) has announced that it will begin paying disability benefits to its preg-

nant members on the same basis as any other disability. Previously, pregnancy and childbirth were excluded from disability benefits. The union's welfare fund is paid for by city contributions, but administered by the Local.

After a five-year strike at the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, the Newspaper Guild has conceded defeat by withdrawing strike benefits from the 200 Guild members still on the picket lines. The *Herald-Examiner* is now free to join the *Los Angeles Times*, also nonunion, in cutting costs and eliminating jobs in any way possible. The *Times* reported record profits last year.

The University of Wisconsin has abandoned its ivory tower for a more practical, partisan, and profitable alternative, by sponsoring a "Non-Union Employee Relations" Institute open only to businessmen who operate non-union companies. Its purpose, according to a university brochure, is to "teach attending businessmen the finer points of keeping their operations non-union."

Topics to be discussed include how to win National Labor Relations Board elections. The cost — \$130 per person — is minimal considering the potential benefits to the employer.

The university Teaching Assistants Association, the Madison Teamsters union, and student groups have denounced the university administration for sponsoring the affair.

Warning! Scab lettuce can be dangerous to your health! Iceberg lettuce from scab fields carrying more than the danger level of certain pesticides has been sold in the U.S., Canada, and to the U.S. Navy in recent weeks. Most of the lettuce could not be destroyed when the contamination was discovered, since it had already been consumed.

The United Farm Workers' lettuce boycott aims include stricter controls on the use of pesticides. Victory on this demand would protect both the consumer and the farm workers.

Peter Brennan, former union leader and now Nixon's Secretary of Labor, has come up with a suggestion to help workers fight rising food prices. Strikes? Wage increase? A price freeze? No, nothing so "impractical." Brennan suggests growing "Victory Gardens!"

Signs in the Dodge Main assembly plant in Detroit warn workers that in case of fire they have 40 seconds to evacuate the six-story building. If a worker is not out in that length of time, he or she will have to contend not only with the fire, but with carbon dioxide gas which management will spray into the plant to save the Chrysler Corporation's machinery.

Chicago: Protests Mount Against Day Care Cuts Dan Lawrence

Childcare programs are among the services hardest hit both by Nixon's Federal budget cuts and by strict new regulations. Child care is one area in which there is likely to be the most resistance, at least here in Chicago where city-wide organizing is going on to mount mass demonstrations against the attack.

The severity of the cuts is staggering. In Arkansas 60 of 82 centers for mentally handicapped children would have to be closed.

In New York, of 82,000 children now attending day care programs which would be affected, over half would become ineligible. Of 14,000 in such programs in Philadelphia, only

2,000 would remain.

In Chicago it is estimated that 100,000 children need all-day, half-day or after-school programs.

Only 26,000 are now receiving such care — and Nixon's budget cuts would halve that number.

In addition to Nixon's cutbacks, the "Revised Social Service Regulations" of Title IVA of the Social Security Act published by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare will drastically affect federally subsidized child care.

According to the new rules, private funds or in-kind donations can no longer be put forward to get federal matching funds.

Such federal funds given on a three-to-one basis provide 30 to 90 percent of the money for such child care

centers. As a result some states, like Texas which has depended entirely on private and in-kind (buildings, etc.) donations for its share of matching funds, may see their childcare programs wiped out.

In addition, eligibility standards have been tightened. Only those receiving welfare or having received welfare in the past three months, or "judged likely to need welfare within six months," (i.e., if their income is less than 1/3 higher than state welfare payments), would be eligible.

Finally, standards affecting the quality of day care service have been lowered. Day care previously provided for parents receiving job training or for work-related needs will no longer be mandatory, or will not be reimbursable on the 3-to-1 matching basis.

New regulations also delete standards for the ratio of adults to children in childcare centers, and prohibit the use of matching funds to meet state licensing and code standards.

What these regulations and statistics mean in human terms can be seen from statements made by parents at a meeting of some 100 teachers and parents at a near north side center in Chicago.

A mother of five who had formerly been receiving welfare said, "Thanks to day care, I now can hold a full-time job. I'm trying to make it now, but I couldn't do it without a place that cares for my children while I'm at work."

A bus driver who takes care of three nieces and two nephews because

The Million \$ Ripoff JOE CURRAN AND THE N.M.U. Jim Woodward

Joe Curran, 65-year-old boss of the National Maritime Union, is retiring. As he goes, he plans to take \$1 million from the pockets of NMU members in pension and retirement benefits.

Curran has been president of the NMU since it was founded 36 years ago. In that time he has become one of the most rotten, autocratic, self-enriching bureaucrats in the entire spectrum of the U.S. labor hierarchy.

His wealth has come at the expense of a relatively small number of union members. Fifty thousand NMU members pay Curran's \$85,000 a year salary and his million dollar pension.

The only union bureaucrat who gets more from his membership is Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the Teamsters. The IBT, however, is 60 times larger than the NMU.

Curran has a winter home at Boca Raton, Florida, a summer mansion on his 100 acre Dutchess County, N.Y., estate, and rides to his office at the Joseph Curran Building in a chauffeured Cadillac limousine.

NMU members, however, have not done so well under Curran's leadership. Their wages, work rules, and manning scales aboard ship are far inferior to those of west coast seamen. Curran's

"leadership" has included signing an eight-year no strike contract, and years and years of wage freezes for the rank and file.

Employment of NMU members has been declining, in part because of Curran's willingness to make work-rule concessions, in part because of automation, and also because of the large and growing fleet of U.S.-owned foreign flag ships which the Curran administration has not attempted to unionize.

This lowered employment has squeezed the union financially, to the point that it is trying to sell its headquarters building. Curran's million-dollar ripoff does not help matters in this respect.

The NMU originated during the CIO upsurge of the 1930's in reaction to the sell-out policies of the AFL's International Seamen's Union. The Communist Party at that time was very influential in the NMU. The CP needed someone to head the NMU, and it found the leader it wanted in Joe Curran.

Curran had been a boatswain — similar to a foreman — and earned the nickname "No Coffee-Time Joe" because of his refusal to grant coffee breaks to his crew.

The CP developed Curran into an able and colorful leader during the 1936 strike wave. In return, Curran faithfully followed the Communist Party's line for the next ten years.

During and even after World War II, he strictly enforced a no-strike agreement, and turned over to the draft boards any seamen who turned down a ship or "over-stayed" their time ashore.

But Curran could tell what was coming. Not too long after his war was over, he turned against his former Communist allies and within a few

years had them removed from leadership positions and run out of the union.

Since then, he has ruled with an iron hand. Oppositionists have been beaten by goon squads in front of the NMU building, blacklisted, and barred from campaigning on NMU ships.

When two leafletters were assaulted by twelve goons at the NMU headquarters in 1950, Curran explained, "They were handing out leaflets. They knew what they were doing and apparently got what they were looking for."

Curran's dictatorship and his sell-out leadership have prompted opposition in the periodic NMU elections. One source of opposition has been a small group around James Morrissey, publisher of a newsletter titled *The Call for NMU Democracy*. (One of Curran's gifts to Morrissey was a fractured skull for leafletting in 1966.)

In an industry where members are scattered over much of the world, however, organizing a successful resistance is difficult. In the 1969 election, which was supervised by the Labor Department due to previous "irregularities," the Morrissey group received 43% of the vote, including 54% in New York but only 2% in U.S.-occupied portions of Panama.

Another NMU election is scheduled for April and May of this year. Curran's hand-picked successor is Shannon J. Wall, formerly the NMU Secretary-Treasurer. Wall's principal opposition will again come from a slate headed by Morrissey.

Morrissey is calling for an end to raids on the NMU Treasury; improvement of wages, fringe benefits, work-rules, and manning scales to match the considerable better West Coast level; U.S. wage, pension, and fringe benefit scales for NMU members in the Panama Canal Zone; and a government tax on U.S.-owned foreign flag ships. ■



President's Pal: NMU boss Curran gets very friendly greeting at the White House

their parents are "scattered around" said, "If I could not take those two nephews to the day care center, I would have to get a baby sitter all the time. With that kind of expense, we couldn't eat. If the program is ended by President Nixon, I don't know what we'd do."

Such meetings are taking place at day-care centers all over the city and are planning for a mass demonstration to protest the attack on day care on March 14.

Democratic Mayor Richard Daley has officially proclaimed March 14 Day Care Crisis Day in Chicago and will speak at the rally.

The Democrats, however, will never take up a fight to meet our needs. In fact, they are equally responsible for the attack on our standard of living.

George Walker, Democratic Governor of Illinois, has already announced an "austerity program," put a hiring freeze on social service programs, and imposed massive cutbacks of his own.

If the fight against day care cuts and restrictive regulations is going to be a success it's necessary to build a fighting movement with a strategy that can solve some of the problems and better the situation for the poor, the unemployed and the working people who use these programs.

In Chicago the major groups involved — the Day Care Crisis Council, Keep Illinois Day Care Subsidies (KIDS), and the Ad Hoc Committee on Strategy for Day Care — have taken a defensive posture, attempting to protect inadequate programs.

To be successful, however, they must not only fight to protect existing programs, but put forward a demand for really comprehensive childcare, based on the actual needs of Chicago's people.

The fight should be for free, comprehensive childcare, including infant care, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, open to all without regard to sex, marital status, race, religion or income.

These should be safe, healthy, local centers, well-staffed and controlled democratically by parents and teachers. The funds must come from the employers and the state, at the expense of corporate profits.

Day care is absolutely necessary to many parents and children. Some conservative critics say that day care is an attack on the family. That criticism is not only wrong, but it's beside the point.

The family is being destroyed — not by day-care, but by the forces of industrial and city life under capitalism.

The question is not whether day care is going to take women out of the home and separate children from their parents. The fact is that women are now the heads of hundreds of thousands of households and are forced to leave home to support their children.

There are many one-parent families, mostly headed by women but sometimes by men as well, who must have child care.

In many families it is necessary that both parents work, either simply to survive or to try and provide a better standard of living for their families.

Comprehensive child care, including care for children of parents who work nights or week-ends and for infants, is a far better solution than untrained babysitters, or unattended children.

Nor should child care only be for working hours; parents need some time to themselves, to go to a show, have a beer, or just make love without a restless sleeper whimpering in the next room.

Children will be better off when they have healthy social experience, and parents will be better off and will enjoy their children's company more when their children are not a burden to them.

At the end of 1942, there were 632 members in the New York City and Newark locals of the International Association of Heat & Frost Insulators & Asbestos Workers. By the middle of 1971, 425 of them were dead.

If these workers had been part of a "normal" cross-section of their age and geographical area, 140 of these men would still be alive.

The causes of those deaths are significant. 47 were from asbestosis, a lung disease similar to "black lung" which is caused by inhaling asbestos fibers.

161 were from cancer. IAHFIAW members had 8 times the normal rate of lung cancer and 3 times the normal rate of gastrointestinal cancer (stomach, intestines, rectum).

Most of the gastrointestinal cancers were mesothelioma, an incurable cancer found only among people who have had contact with asbestos.

Until recently mesothelioma was so rare that most medical books ignored it, but its incidence has been increasing rapidly all over the world.

Death among asbestos workers is nothing new. Ancient Greek and Roman writers commented on the high death rate among slaves who wove asbestos cloth.

The link between asbestos and cancer has been known since 1935. It would have been known earlier if the death rate from asbestosis hadn't been so high that few asbestos workers lived long enough to get cancer.

More chilling yet is the fact that only slight contact with asbestos can bring death. People who lived in neighborhoods near asbestos plants or shipyards, women who washed asbestos from their husbands' clothes when they came home from work and children who played near asbestos mines have all died in the agony of cancer.

The potential deaths from asbestos-caused cancer may number in the millions. Mesothelioma usually takes 30 years or more to reveal itself.

Within the past 30 years, more than 3½ million other construction workers have been exposed to the asbestos which insulation workers handle.

It was 30 years ago that the great World War II shipbuilding program, involving over 3 million workers, got underway.

The British effort began four years earlier, and within the last four years cases of mesothelioma have begun to appear among former shipbuilders in Britain.

Moreover, asbestos has been found in the air of over 60 cities, and in the lungs of more than half the people autopsied in those cities in the past five years.

Asbestos enters the air not merely from construction and insulation



spraying, but from the dust of demolished buildings and from the particles of automobile brake linings worn off when the brakes are applied.

We are quite literally all of us in danger of death from asbestos-caused cancer.

Given all the dangers, the sensible thing to do might be to put immediate curbs on the use of asbestos, look for ways to reduce the amount entering the air from demolition and brake linings, and begin a massive medical investigation of the effects of asbestos, examining all those exposed.

Unfortunately, the logic, reason and philosophy of capitalist society may be summed up in the single word "profits."

There are over 3,000 uses of asbestos, adding up to a total of more than 4 million tons a year consumed. There's a lot of profit tied up in those uses.

Not one of the profiteers involved wants to give up his share; nor does our government of the profiteers, by the profiteers, and for the profiteers intend to do much interfering.

It's no accident that the only accurate figures on asbestos-related deaths come from union records.

Every capitalist institution connected with asbestos balked at aiding the investigation and protested their "lack of records."

When the results were released, the capitalist profiteers bitterly denied the "allegations" that there was any connection between asbestos and cancer, just as their counterparts 50 years before had denied the existence of asbestosis.

It was only the IAH&FI&AW, the union of the insulation workers themselves, which was concerned about mass deaths among its members.

The contractors who employ them care only about the profits they produce before they die, just like the employers of all the over 100,000 workers who daily deal with asbestos in this country.

Similarly, the "health industry" (as they call it these days) in the U.S. is geared more to the production of profits than the saving of lives.

The massive job of detection and treatment needed to save or prolong the lives of the thousands who will die from asbestos-caused cancer in the next few years could be done by a socialist medical system, but the capitalist one just isn't up to it.

Meanwhile, the use of asbestos increases daily. The air many office workers are breathing is circulated between floor fireproofed with asbestos.

The current deaths from mesothelioma are the result of exposure many years ago, when world asbestos production was only a tenth of what it is now.

The cancer epidemic of the 1980's and 1990's will show the effects of current use.

Over 100 years ago, Karl Marx wrote: "The choice of the future is between socialism and barbarism." The new revelations about asbestos and our growing knowledge about the destruction of the earth's life system itself by capitalist pollution show that Marx was perhaps too optimistic.

The choice of the future is between socialism and extinction. ■

PROFITS BREED NEW MENACE: KILLER ASBESTOS

Tom Condit

STRESS

(Continued from page 1)

dent, public outrage had become so widespread that mass meetings called in response to the police terror tactics were consistently attracting between 600 and 1,200 participants.

The police, however, steadfastly maintained that their search for the "mad-dog killers," as they were described on television by Police Commissioner John Nichols, justified any violations of citizens' civil liberties.

Ultimately, the police force was "handcuffed" by a restraining order by a Recorder's Court judge requiring a search warrant in order for police to enter a citizen's home to search for the two remaining fugitives.

Public attention shifted to Atlanta last week, when John Boyd and his half-brother Owen Winfield, were killed in a gun battle with a black policeman in an Atlanta residential area.

Four days later, Mark Bethune allegedly committed suicide after being trapped and wounded by police on the roof of a college dormitory in Atlanta. Police have offered evidence that it was from Bethune's gun that the shots that had earlier killed Boyd and Winfield were fired.

What really happened in Atlanta, and in the preceding days in Detroit will probably never be known. It should be noted, however, that the police have never, especially when it comes to black revolutionaries, been above killing a suspect they know they haven't sufficient evidence to convict.

Reports from family and friends have shown that Bethune was a black revolutionary dedicated to the eradication of narcotics from the black community.

Ideologically opposed to planned

parenthood because to him it represented possible genocide of American blacks, Bethune was described as having been at one time or another a member of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Black Panther Party, and the Republic of New Africa (RNA). He considered himself part of an international revolutionary movement.

Bethune was a delegate to the 1968 RNA Convention at New Bethel Church in Detroit, which ended in a shoot-out between black revolutionaries and Detroit police. All blacks in that incident were acquitted at their trial when the defense conclusively proved that the police fired on the church first and the blacks returned fire only in self-defense.

At the time of his death, in addition to charges stemming from the manhunt, Bethune was wanted by police for the killing of a Highland Park, Michigan, dope dealer. He had previously told his brother, the owner of a Detroit dope house, to go out of business or die. His brother left town.

Tactics used by the Detroit police force in 1973 against Boyd, Brown, and Bethune are reminiscent of the murderous terror tactics used against the RNA and, better known, the Black Panthers a few years ago.

Since the defeat of the black revolutionary movement that grew up in the late 1960's, a number of militants have tried to use "vigilante" tactics, either individually or in small groups, as a method of protecting the community from the destructive effects of hard drugs on the unemployed and victimized black youth.

Whatever the details were, it is clear that in no way were Boyd, Brown and Bethune the mindless "mad-dog killers" that the police portrayed them to be.

This was a deliberate lie, a myth created for the purpose of whipping up hysteria and justifying the acts of the police in tracking down and killing them as if they were animals.

Boyd, Brown, and Bethune regarded

themselves as part of an organized movement for Black freedom.

They were following a meticulously planned strategy, a strategy which focused primarily on the issue of dope — an issue which not only revolutionaries, but large sections of the black community regard as a central threat to their survival. (For a statement by a black worker on the effects of drugs and the community, see "Smash Smack" *Workers' Power* No. 67).

We believe, however, that the strategy of Boyd, Brown, and Bethune was a false one that offered no solution, either to the heroin problem or to the basic causes that underlie widespread drug addiction.



Mark Bethune

Ripping off dope dealers, while it may intimidate some, does nothing to cut into the profits that make narcotics traffic so attractive to the white controlled crime syndicates (which give the police their cut of the action while the government willingly looks the other way).

Nor will vigilante action change the fact that pushing dope appears as the most lucrative hustle available to many black youth on the street, many of whom cannot find jobs in any case.

Least of all, however, will killing pushers (either by vigilante methods or by law-and-order legislation allowing the state to execute them legally) do anything to change the desperate conditions of life that make the masses of ghetto youth prey to heroin addiction and to the life of crime which this society forces addicts to live in order to maintain their habits.

It is these conditions of life — unemployment, the welfare system, the effects of racism, the new attacks by the government against black people — that constitute the actual threat to black people's survival. It is these conditions which have caused the life expectancy of black men to decline over the last ten years.

The only actual result of isolated vigilante acts against pushers, since these cannot be effective, will be to strengthen the demands for increased police control (perhaps under "liberal" auspices) over the Black community.

In Detroit, five of the six members of the liberal Common Council stated at an open community meeting that they favor maintaining the STRESS unit! The prevalence of "dope and crime" is their most convenient and popular excuse for this.

Although black people — like white workers and middle-class people — feel threatened by the crime that goes along with dope addiction in this society, the central problem facing the black community is not dope in and of itself, but the economic effects of the racist capitalist system.

The black community and working class of Detroit must build a movement to defend Haywood Brown. The demands for this campaign must be FREE HAYWARD BROWN — HANDS OFF THE BLACK COMMUNITY!

This defense campaign must be the first step toward building a mass movement against police terror and the conditions that give rise to dope addiction.

Such a movement, based on the masses of black workers, can spearhead a political struggle against the slow death being forced on black people by American capitalism. ■

INMATE EXPOSES N.Y. D.A. HARASSMENT

[Editor's note: The following account is an excerpt from an affidavit filed by a prisoner at Clinton, New York. It describes the tactics of intimidation, and denial of elementary Constitutional rights, that the New York Attorney General's office is using to extort information about the 1971 uprising at Attica. We are very grateful to the Project for Prisoners' Rights for forwarding this information to us.]

On February 12, 1973, at approximately 1:30 P.M., I was working at my assignment in the Law Library when two officers approached me and stated that I had an interview down front (meaning the administration building).

I stated, who wanted to interview me? The officers said they didn't know. I then stated in front of numerous inmates and three officers, if it is the F.B.I. or police officers or Attorney General's office that I refuse to see them without counsel being present.

I was summarily escorted by two very big officers through the corridors to the 88 gate and again I protested about this problem, I am very sick in the stomach, and was in fear of bodily harm.

I then stated I refuse to go any further unless I am told who I am going to see and why I was called. I was then taken to the parole board room and an officer stationed himself inside the door so I couldn't leave.

A man came in carrying a briefcase, and I asked who are you, and was informed that he was a special investigator from the Attorney General's office.

I then said I don't want to see you and tried to leave. The officer placed himself in front of the door, and placed his hand on the door knob.

I then told this officer to either take me to my cell and lock me up or take me to the warden as I have no

right to be in the same room with this man without my permission or a court order with counsel present.

At this the Attorney General told the officer don't let him out until I give you permission to let him go.

I then repeated my rights to counsel, and was told I had no rights and then he tried to question me concerning events at Attica Prison.

I refused to answer, and was cursed and threatened, then he started to read from a report or something, and I refused to answer his questions.

Then he cursed me again, and I will admit that I cursed him back as I was desperate to get out of that room. He then told the officer to go downstairs and make a report and he would take care of everything and to pay no attention to what I said, that he would see the warden and take care of everything.

The officer said he would make a report and then the Attorney General left. I was entitled to notification by the authorities of who was to interview me, and also the right to refuse to see anyone without a court order and the right to counsel.

I swear under the threat of perjury that I made no statement nor did I give any information whatsoever, and I demand as a matter of law that this affidavit be investigated, and the Attorney General and the officer be disciplined.

ATTICA NEWS UNDER ATTACK

Last month two reporters were ordered to testify by the New York State Supreme Court on what they saw during the Attica prison rebellion in September, 1971.

Stewart Dan, a reporter, and Roland Barnes, a cameraman for WGR-TV Buffalo, had appeared earlier last summer before the grand jury at which time they cited a 1970 law which exempts newsmen from forced testimony.

The two men refused to answer questions concerning the alleged stabbing of two inmates by prisoners during the revolt. Dan and Barnes said that testifying would make them agents of the police and would hurt their relationship with several prisoners, now facing prosecution, whom they had interviewed during the rebellion. ■

— Ann Petronella



LADY DAY: THE LIFE THEY WOULDN'T FILM

Maggie Jackson

[The following review is reprinted from *The Other Chicago*, a local newspaper of *Black Liberation* published by the *Black Committee of the Chicago International Socialists*.]

"I've been told that nobody sings the word 'hunger' like I do. Or the word 'love' . . . All the Cadillacs and minks in the world — and I've had a few — can't make me forget it. All I've learned in all those places from all those people is wrapped up in those two words. You've got to have something to eat and a little love in your life before you can hold still for any damn body's sermon on how to behave."

"*Lady Sings the Blues*" is the first of the new movies aimed at Blacks to break away from the sex and violence theme. However, the break is only partial.

Apparently producer Barry Gordy agrees with the other black film producers that in order to sell a movie to Blacks the movie must include a few obligatory violence scenes, sex scenes, etc.

Lady's script is supposedly based on Billie Holiday's autobiography but half the incidents in the movie are untrue.

Real life incidents have been ignored, and a few gruesome extras like the lynch scene and the murder of the piano man were added presumably because the movie producers felt the movie wouldn't sell without some violence.

The script as rewritten is a misrepresentation and discredit to the memory of Billie Holiday.

Virtually the only noteworthy feature of the film is the performance of Diana Ross.

Diana, Gordy's prime Motown star, makes her film debut in the film and to everyone's surprise she is excellent.

Diana sings 20 of Billie's songs with sensitivity and respect.

Nevertheless, although Diana is a good actress, one can't help feeling that she was miscast in the role of Billie Holiday.

Billie Holiday was beautiful but she was also fat. There were times in her life when she couldn't get bookings because of her weight problem.

Diana's tiny size and appearance affect the personality that is projected on the screen.

We come away with the impression that Billie was a helpless brave little girl who was too weak to fight drug addiction.

Billie Holiday never had the luxury of being weak. Like so many black women she was forced to grow up quickly.

Her first records at twenty and her music reflected her cynicism and wisdom.

Billie's most famous record "God Bless the Child that's Got His Own" reflects the hard cynicism that Billie acquired young.

Diana, while she does a good job of

being depressed, is not really able to project the strength as well as the vulnerability that Billie had.

Gordy chose to make Billie's drug addiction the center of the movie. Here too the facts were distorted for the sake of exploiting the current anti-drug theme.

Drugs Distorted

Billie became a drug addict later in life, not at 18 as the movie shows. She was turned on by her husband and not a leering white man as in the movie.

It is true that Billie's career was destroyed by her heroin addiction.

She spent the last twenty years of her life in and out of prison, constantly followed and hounded by federal drug agents who made a practice of arresting her in public places so as to create the maximum publicity for themselves and the maximum humiliation for

Billie. She was arrested for the last time on her own bed.

The movie has numerous scenes showing Billie in drug fits. But it makes no attempts to explain why Billie became an addict at the peak of her career.

No real link is made between Billie's exploitation and oppression as a Black woman and her solace which she could only find in drugs.

Racism Minimized

Racism cut to the heart of her career. Billie was a light skinned Black woman popularizing a version of Black music for white audiences.

The fact that she was light made her more acceptable to white cabaret owners and audiences.

The fact that she was Black left her open to racist exploitation and exclusion by the music industry.

The movie refuses to deal with race in terms of her relationship to the white musicians, the white audiences, and the white club owners for whom she worked.

As the movie shows it, you would think that the racism in Billie Holiday's life amounted to a Ku Klux Klan march and the refusal of a particular radio station to let her sing.

In fact, all those white people in the movie who appeared to be her friends were her exploiters. And her death didn't end the exploitation.

New millions are being made off her records as the result of this dishonest movie about her life.

We can probably expect more Black Hollywood biographies. But don't count on learning anything about the real lives of Black people from them.

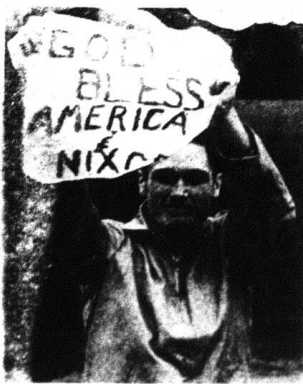
Besides the Billie Holiday in the movie, moviemakers have been creating new Black fantasy figures.

Black men have suddenly become super studs. Black women are gorgeous sex goddesses.

The truth is that there ain't no *Black Superflies* or *Shafts* (remember *Fred Hubbard*). [Editor's Note: Fred Hubbard was a Black Chicago alderman who was murdered in his office a few years ago, probably by the Mafia.] *White society wants Blacks to believe that the sex appeal, violence, and the good old individualism of a Superfly lead to success. Do they?* ■



Diana Ross in a scene from *Lady Sings the Blues*



The U.S. government, with the collaboration of the press, has gone into a self-induced orgasm of celebration over the return of the P.O.W.s.

Desperate for some shred of good news—what with the continued fighting in Indo-China, inflation and unrest at home, and the devaluation of the dollar—they have manufactured this.

After using the prisoners as an excuse to prolong the war for four years, Nixon is now trying to use them to justify it.

But who are these P.O.W.s, these new-made heroes and martyrs who grin hideously at us from every newspaper and magazine?

Basically they are of two distinct types: the airmen who were shot down over North Viet Nam and captured by the NVA, and the soldiers who were captured by the NLF in South Viet Nam.

The airmen are officers, mostly highly paid long service career officers. Before capture, most of them never saw a Vietnamese.

They flew in from Guam or Thailand, dropped their bombs from miles up, and flew back to their air-conditioned quarters. Until the final weeks of the war it was little more dangerous or uncomfortable than driving a truck back in the States.

Even in the stockade they seem to have done all right for themselves, since the Geneva Convention provides that the gross discrimination between the living standards of officers and enlisted men be maintained in captivity.

Even if they didn't get TV dinners, the officers ate better than the average Vietnamese.

The soldiers had a much rougher war. Because they were prisoners of the NLF, they had to live the life of guerrilla fighters.

That means keeping constantly on the move, inadequate medical treatment, scanty and irregular rations,

Obviously there is much clearer picture of what the war was like for the Vietnamese.

That's why all the patriotic, pro-war, pro-Nixon statements that have been played up in the press have come from senior Air Force officers; Army draftees have been threatened with courts-martial for contradicting them.

While Nixon heaps praises on the professional murderers of defenseless civilians, he vows no mercy for a different set of American "P.O.W.s": the hundreds in military stockades and federal penitentiaries, or the thousands in exile.

Only the promise of punishment is held out for those who opposed the draft, those who deserted, or those who organized the resistance movement within the military.

The liberal "opposition" to Nixon can provide no solution. The liberals do not support unconditional amnesty for war resisters. They are willing to "compromise" by throwing the deserters (who are too dirty for clean liberal hands) to the wolves if Nixon will pardon the draft-dodgers.

The liberals' real concerns become plain when one notes that most of the deserters are of working-class origin, while those who evaded the draft for moral reasons come largely from the middle-class and the universities.

There are signs that Nixon may try to maintain support for his Vietnam policies by playing up the MIA ("missing in action") issue by demanding an accounting of the missing in action.

Anyone who knows anything about the nature of war in Southeast Asia knows that it is impossible for Hanoi to give such an accounting.

There are plenty of ways for troops to disappear without an identifiable trace. A 500-pound bomb reduces a soldier to anonymous fragments, napalm turns him into a thick soup.

Many bodies lie hidden under the mud of the rice paddies, swamps, canals and rivers. As for those who fell in the jungle, rodents dispose of even the bones in a few weeks.

Yet Nixon will use even the unburied dead to promote his schemes, at whatever cost in false hope and anguish to their families.

Nor can we forget the thousands of Vietnamese prisoners languishing in Thieu's tiger cages. Saigon will not release any more of these than it is forced to. Since the truce, thousands of South Vietnamese political prisoners have been taken out to sea and dumped there to drown.

This will only accelerate the disintegration of the rotten imperialist compromise "peace" that has been forced upon the Vietnamese, already threatening to come apart at the seams. ■

British Workers Press Anti-Tory Strike Wave

Paul Benjamin

British workers are continuing to build their movement against the Heath government's anti-labor offensive. Three quarters of a million workers are now directly involved in the fight against the government's pay freeze.

The gas workers continue to bear the brunt of the government's attack (see *Workers' Power* No. 73). Heath made long and loud promises that he would shut down industry — and cause massive layoffs — rather than cut down service to domestic users.

In fact the government has chosen to cut down service to whole regions, rather than simply to industry, in an effort to direct public opinion against the strikers.

Workers in public service are also in the forefront of the fight. On Tuesday, February 27, 300,000 civil servants walked off the job in a one day walk-out.

They were followed on February 28 by 200,000 railroad workers. On Thursday, March 1, 250,000 hospital workers began a series of selective strikes against the wage freeze. In London, a joint action committee with members from unions including teachers, clerical workers, civil servants and other public employees was set up to "co-ordinate and further the common struggle" against the freeze.

52,000 British Ford workers also began a series of selective strikes and overtime bans on March 1. Shop-floor delegates immediately met with delegates

from other British auto companies, gas workers and miners to work out joint action against the freeze.

British workers are carrying on their fight with scant help from their so-called "leadership."

Some union leaders, like Tom Jackson of the post office workers and Frank Chapple of the Electricians' and Plumbers' Union have openly called for collaboration with the government. Others, like Joe Gormley of the miners, have refused to take up the battle against the controls in contract negotiations.

In every case the initiative for action against the freeze has come from the ranks, rather than from the union bureaucracy. The policy of selective one-day strikes was, in fact, forced on the bureaucracy by rank and file pressure for all-out strikes against the freeze.

Even after calling the strikes union leaders have refused to call for workers' demonstrations to accompany them, or to co-ordinate the various strikes in a united movement of the class as a whole.

Instead, the Trade Union Congress (TUC), Britain's AFL-CIO, has put forward a plan for "voluntary" wage and price controls, combined with token demands for tax reform. They have not called for repeal of Britain's repressive Industrial Relations Act, but politely asked the government not to enforce it.

Union leaders have, as a rule, indicated they will refuse to serve on the various bodies that will preside over Phase Two. But rather than co-ordinate a mass workers' movement against the Government, they have preferred to whine about the government's "inflexibility." ■

Nixon Pro Career Brass, Hits Resisters & Deserters

R.F. Kampfer



Glasgow gas workers demonstrating during one-day strike

While the TUC will "support" — verbally — strikes against the freeze, every union is in fact on its own. And, of course, every bureaucrat, tries to take the pressure off himself by pointing out that no union can fight the government on its own.

Rather than build a serious working class alliance, they have chosen to toady before the government and claim that their own workers represent a "special case."

The TUC held a special meeting on March 5 to discuss trade union strategy against the government. The TUC leadership came in with a document advocating "muted opposition" to the wage controls. This means in practice that individual unions will be free to strike against the controls, with "support" from the TUC. The meaning of "support" is carefully left unspecified.

As the London Times, a leading British ruling-class paper, smugly concluded, "This decision effectively confines the conference to words rather than deeds." The TUC leadership was clearly hoping it could still make some kind of face-saving deal with the government.

In fact the meeting took a somewhat different direction. The left-wing of the bureaucracy knows that the rank and file will not stomach such an obvious sell-out. By a narrow margin, they prevailed upon the conference to call for a one-day general strike.

This represents a significant defeat for the TUC leadership, and a turn to the left. Only a week before the conference, TUC general secretary Victor Feather had ridiculed the notion of a general strike, saying that "general strikes happen in France and Italy, not in Britain."

But a one-day general strike solves nothing. What is needed is an all-out, open-ended strike that will defeat and discredit the government as a whole. The left-wing bureaucrats have instead chosen a purely token action, which they realize is necessary if they are to maintain any kind of control over the rank and file.

New Forms of Struggle

The left-wing union officials may also be preparing to force new elections in Britain, hoping that the Labor Party can ride into power on the backs of an aroused working class. This would temporarily ease the pressure of the ranks on them.

The Labor Party, however, was the party which began the policy of wage controls as far back as 1966. It is also a pro-capitalist party, and will seek to squeeze the working class to maintain the economy, as it did in its last term of office.

British workers have begun to realize that fighting for their rights involves fighting the capitalist state itself. Thus in the past year British workers have carried out a series of political strikes in defense of their interests.

These include the mass strike led by dockworkers against the Industrial Relations Act last spring, and the more recent series of strikes led by auto workers against the Act in the past few months.

The trade union bureaucracy is incapable of leading this kind of struggle. As a result, British workers, while continuing to fight inside their own unions, have begun the creation of new institutions of struggle which can break through the forms of traditional trade unionism.

Socialist Worker, weekly newspaper of the British International Socialists, has urged the formation of these institutions — co-ordinating committees, joint action committees, councils of action.

The British IS believes that these institutions of struggle will be crucial in welding the present revolt into a collective assault on the government.

[Editor's note: The following report explains the results of the recent elections in the Irish Republic (southern Ireland), where the repressive government of Jack Lynch was recently turned out of office. The changes in government policy, however, will be more apparent than real.]

The most significant thing about the victory of the Fine Gael - Labor coalition in the recent Irish elections is the lack of real difference in the policies of the major parties or in their popular support. The nominally "socialist" Labor Party joined with the traditionally conservative Fine Gael Party to run on a platform stressing lower taxes and prices.

Fianna Fail, the government party of Jack Lynch, started the campaign talking about the North and the need for law and order in the Republic. They pointed to their record in cracking down on the "subversives", the IRA.

The Coalition realized that people in the South were more worried about the soaring prices and high taxes that were eating up their wages.

It soon became clear to Fianna Fail that the Coalition had correctly judged the mood of the people. By election day Fianna Fail had dramatically reversed themselves and stolen most of the Coalition's program.

This lack of difference was almost precisely reflected in the election returns. Although the Fine Gael - Labor coalition gained five seats in the Dail (the Irish Parliament), their share of the popular vote actually declined since the last general election in 1969.

Then their combined total was 51%, 34% for Fine Gael and 17% for Labor. This year they got 48.5% with Fine Gael increasing its support by 1% while Labor lost a disastrous 4% in the popular vote.

Sinn Fein

Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Official IRA, made the only attempt to pose a left alternative. Although they won no seats and few of their ten candidates polled large votes, they made a serious attempt to deal with some of the major problems facing working people.

Unfortunately, according to the press reports, their campaign never took on any clear focus. One statement by Seamus Costello, a Sinn Fein candidate, seemed to define the key issues around which a national campaign could have been centered.

Costello said, "We will demand the immediate termination of the present wage agreement, an immediate increase in wages and a price freeze. We will demand the repeal of the Offenses Against the State (Amendment) Act and the release of all political prisoners held in the 26 counties."

At the other extreme was the president of Sinn Fein, Tomas MacGiolla, denouncing the Provisional IRA and its alleged connection with Fianna Fail, hardly a relevant issue for working class voters in southern Ireland today.

Nor were there any reported statements by Sinn Fein telling Irish workers how to fight to end poverty and social injustice except by voting for Sinn Fein.

The new Coalition government is unlikely to do anything to solve the problems facing the Irish workers today. The two parties have made



Ex-Prime Minister Lynch during happier days

Irish Elections Dump Lynch Rule

Sandy Boyer Joan McKiernan

sweeping promises, such as to stabilize prices, halt unemployment and eliminate poverty.

They have not shown, however, how these objectives could be attained. They have promised to remove the tax on food and there is talk of a temporary price freeze.

With Ireland's Common Market partners willing to buy Irish agricultural products at high prices, such price freezes will be ineffective in the long run.

The Coalition's only solution to the runaway inflation seems to be to have better control over wages.

Fine Gael boasted that their close ties with the Labor Party and the trade union movement would help them successfully negotiate wage agreements which they consider the basis for stability and growth.

The present National Wage Agreement has already shown that this means that wages are held down while prices continually rise.

Four days after the election Irish papers were talking about working out a "bi-partisan policy" on the North. Indeed, there was never any real difference between the Coalition and

Fianna Fail on the North.

During the campaign, Jack Lynch, leader of Fianna Fail, conceded that Fine Gael "wants to produce the same kind of solution in the North I am promising." Lynch's "solution" is to preserve capitalist rule by merging Northern Ireland with the South, crushing the left in the process.

The Fine Gael leader is already planning to visit British Prime Minister Heath, probably to discuss how they can help Britain carry out its plan regarding the North.

All parties have committed themselves to suppressing the IRA. They are willing to disregard basic civil liberties, intern men without trial, and limit political activity to achieve this goal.

Irish workers will have to resist the attacks on them by this new Coalition government. Irish socialists must present a clear strategy to show the workers how they can mobilize and use their industrial and political power to achieve workers' control over industry and society.

Only such workers' control can begin to end poverty and exploitation in Ireland.

HOW GENERALS RAPE BRAZIL FOR U.S. PROFIT

Derek Briscoe

In 1973 Brazil enters its 151st year of "independence." Brazil makes up half of Latin America and is the strategic center of future developments in the region. Today this vast country is a testing ground for imperialist economic strategy in the underdeveloped world.

A harsh military dictatorship, in alliance with U.S. multinational corporations, is trying to build Brazil into a prosperous outpost of capitalist imperialism.

If this effort succeeds, imperialism will have control of enormous resources, and a satellite whose army could threaten any revolutionary or reform movement in South America.

If, however, the effort to create a new center of imperialist strength in Brazil fails, the resulting revolution could shake not only Latin America, but the world.

Brazil is a test in another sense. Capitalism has been unable to develop any major underdeveloped country since the Great Depression starting in 1929.

As a system, it is completely discredited in most of the poor countries, where even reactionaries often claim to be some kind of "socialists." If the Brazilian military dictatorship can implement an openly capitalist economic policy that leads to sustained growth, even accompanied by harsh measures, the example will become an important weapon for political reaction throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The generals threw out the demagogic "leftist" civilian President Joao Goulart in 1964. Since then, government anti-inflation policies and foreign investment have given rise to a huge boom, and growth rates rivaling those of Japan.

As we shall see, this boom is taken out of the flesh of the workers and farmers of Brazil, and is accompanied by the destruction of Brazil's natural environment, human resources and national independence.

Growth and Decline

As elsewhere, capitalist "growth" in Brazil leads to destruction and prepares the way for crisis.

Economic growth rates in Brazil have been high, even allowing for exaggeration for propaganda purposes.

More upper and upper-middle-class Brazilians than before are buying cars, traveling abroad, and now acquiring the color TV sets that have just been put on the market.

In the upper reaches of society there is a "boom" psychology. New construction, speculation and new foreign investment are all visible.

The new hucksters, who use U.S. advertising methods to "sell Brazil" through patriotic commercials on TV and elsewhere, remind everyone daily of this growth.

The advertising techniques are North American, down to the slogan, "Brazil - Love It or Leave It" that is displayed on many windshields in Rio and Sao Paulo.

There is growth, but no development. While the profits and incomes

of the rich go up, the real wages of the majority decline.

The human mental and physical capacities of future generations of workers' children are being degraded.

The southern industrial triangle of Rio - Sao Paulo - Belo Horizonte is growing, while the rest of the country stagnates or declines. There is no freedom from hunger, from oppression, from torture, from fear.

As even President Medici said, visiting the miserable, drought-ridden Northeast, "The economy is doing fine; it's the people who are doing poorly." For once, Medici was telling the truth.

The Brazilian boom, like the other short-lived booms in Brazilian history, is built on the sacrifice and suffering of the majority, while their rulers reap the benefits.

Real wages have fallen to as little as half their 1964 values, to something on the order of \$30 a month in many industries. The real loss is even greater, since government subsidies for such basic products as bread and bus fares have been removed.

This is very simply accomplished: while inflation has been cut, it goes on, and the government strictly controls

For the rest of the opposition, there is censorship of the press, police spies in the universities, and bayonets at times in the factories.

The unions, which in Brazil have mostly been run from the top down through the Ministry of Labor, have largely been turned into social clubs and social service centers.

They are run as "labor fronts" of a semi-fascist type - often by military officers acting as "interventors" to prevent "corruption and subversion."

While nasty enough, these are pretty much standard practices for military regimes on all continents. The Brazilian military have been inventive mainly in the field of political terror and torture.

For a while a "Death Squad" made up of off-duty policemen dutifully assassinated hundreds of petty criminals and political opponents of the regime, often hideously, rather than bothering to arrest and try them.

Brazil, meanwhile, has gained a name as a center of political torture. The Catholic bishops, organizations such as Amnesty International, and opposition groups have documented and protested against it, to no avail. Torture goes on, as a means of

dings of collapsing buildings and interrogations, are piped in. At time fake poison gas is pumped into the room to break the subject's will. The aim, of course, is to reduce the prisoner to an animal state.

In other parts of the country, more "traditional" kinds of direct physical torture, beatings and electric shock, are still used, often in the presence of the victim's family.

At one time there were charges that the Air Force's search and rescue service, PARA-SAR, was dumping political prisoners from airplanes into the high sea.

This bestial activity does not seem to deter the humane gentlemen who direct the investment activities of major U.S. corporations, who are having an investment field day in Brazil.

On the contrary, the "favorable business climate" created in part by the sadists and gangsters responsible for this kind of "Order and Progress" (the national motto) is an encouragement to investment.

International Repression

American workers had best think about the subject, because repression in Brazil keeps wages low and minimizes protests against pollution such as that caused by foundry smoke.

Low wages and lax pollution control are the two main reasons why Ford, for example, has begun work on a \$150 million plant to build Pinto engines, mostly for export, in Brazil.

General Motors finds Brazilian operations far more profitable than its British or German branches.

These circumstances make it that much harder for American workers to resist Ford's and GM's efforts at speed-up and wage restraint.

Thus the torture which sustains dictatorship in Brazil is not only directed against the Brazilian opposition - it is directed against the U.S. working class as well.

U.S. investment has not always brought in new money and new industry. Very often it has simply gobbled up Brazilian smaller and weaker firms, often with funds mostly obtained on the Brazilian money market.

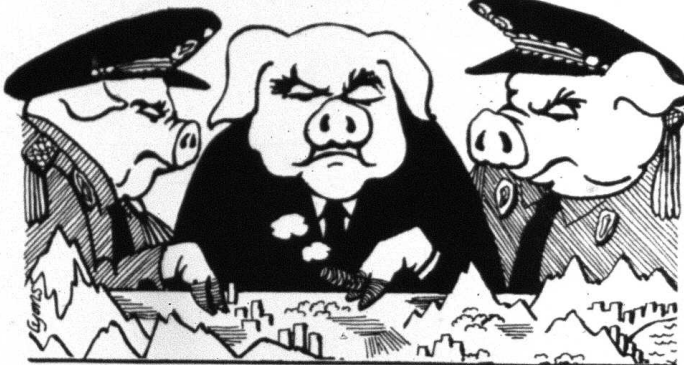
Thus Brazilian investors finance U.S. control of their own country's industry!

Most of the investment falls into two categories: the export of raw materials to the industrial countries, and the production of expensive consumer goods for the small middle and upper class minority that can afford them.

The technical skills and capital of Brazil thus go to produce luxury cars while the majority ride stinking, overcrowded commuter trains (for in Brazil it is the workers who live in the suburbs).

The minority buy color TV while the majority go barefoot, and refrigerators while millions rarely see meat, etc. The foreign companies profit, and the government smiles contentedly at the growth figures.

[The second part of this article will discuss the destruction of the countryside and its people by the Brazilian regime, and will examine the politics and the failures of the Brazilian Left].



wages so that they do not go up as fast as prices.

In the countryside, things are even worse. The coup meant, of course, the end of any real plans to redistribute land to small farmers or to raise the standards of agricultural workers to match those of industry.

Lucrative cattle-ranching (often for export) replaces cultivation. Since cattle require fewer workers, many "surplus workers" have been driven off the land.

The city of Recife in the Northeast, for instance, has doubled its population to 1,300,000 - even though, according to its Mayor, unemployment and underemployment have reached 40 per cent!

The Brazilian people are not sheep. To enforce a regime of luxury for a few and misery for the many requires force.

The only political opposition permitted is a tame parliamentary party, the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB).

The MDB is allowed a couple of governorships and some seats in Congress in return for keeping absolutely quiet. No one takes it seriously, least of all its own leaders.

terrorizing people out of even thinking about politics.

The latest twist - torture by computer - has been developed by OBAN, a police group in Rio de Janeiro, incorporating open fascists such as the former Communist Hunting Command (CCC).

The technique is based on methods used by Stalin's secret police against his political opponents, and perfected by the French in Algeria and probably by U.S. specialists as well.

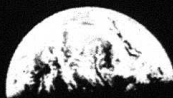
The idea is to deny the victim sleep and food, and subject him or her to discomfort of various sorts, without using beating or other methods that leave marks or do direct physical injury.

Rotating teams of experts question the victim for hours in a superhot room. Psychologists and doctors observe the process through one-way mirrors.

The victim's answers are fed into a computer and compared with previous answers in a search for inconsistencies. At times the victim is placed in a cold box called a "refrigerator" where he or she can neither lie down nor stand, nor lean on the walls, which are electrified.

Amplified sounds, including recor-

international report



France: Gaullists threatened by mass move to the left

French voters moved decisively to the left in the first round of France's legislative elections. [For background, see *Workers' Power* No. 72, p. 16.]

The Communist and Socialist parties, running under their "Common Program," won some 40% of the popular vote. (The Communist Party had 21%, the Socialist Party 19%.) The Gaullist coalition led by President Georges Pompidou took only 38% of the vote.

These results are not quite the final story. Under the French electoral system, a candidate must win a clear majority on the first ballot to gain office.

If no one gets the necessary 51%, a run-off election is held in which it takes only a simple plurality of the vote to win.

This results in a great deal of wheeling and dealing between the two rounds of balloting. Pompidou will be able to put together some kind of coalition through which he can maintain control of the legislature.

In doing so, he will have to make some concessions to the liberals who refused to support him on the first ballot.

The most notable aspect of the election is the rise in the fortunes of the Socialist Party. Despite its name, this party is firmly committed to the maintenance of capitalism.

While the composition and electoral base of the SP is middle class, its politics represents the wing of the ruling class which tries to co-opt the working class movement, rather than simply repressing it. Under the DeGaulle regime, the ruling class had no need of this strategy, and the party languished.

The great general strike of 1968 demonstrated that the French working class was once again prepared to break through the bonds of capitalist government. As a result, the ruling class began preparing its defenses.

DeGaulle soon passed from the scene — he was no longer useful. Other bourgeois politicians moved to the left. Francois Mitterand discovered he



FRANÇOIS MITTERRAND

was a "socialist" and took over the leadership of the Socialist Party.

Last spring the Socialist Party allied with the Communists under a Common Program. The program carefully avoided any demands which called into question capitalist political and economic institutions; it was a purely reformist program.

The Communists were only too glad to join in. The alliance with the Socialists was their road to "respectability," to increasing their chances of winning control of the bourgeois state machinery and using it for their own purposes.

In their campaign, the CP even urged workers not to strike or hold mass demonstrations to avoid scaring off the liberals from the CP-SP alliance.

French revolutionary socialists in *Lutte Ouvriere* and the *Ligue Communiste*, two French Trotskyist organizations, protested this strategy by running their own candidates on the first round of balloting.

The support won by this campaign indicates the growing basis for the creation of a truly revolutionary working-class party in France.

Chile: Working class defeats right-wing drive

Chile's working class has defeated the ruling class' hopes for a constitutional overthrow of President Allende's Popular Front government.

On March 4, Chileans went to the polls to elect a new legislature. The Chilean ruling class had made no secret of its hopes of winning two-thirds of the seats. With that strong a majority, they could not only veto any legislation which displeased them, but could legally impeach Allende if he failed to knuckle under to their demands.

Instead, Allende supporters won some 40% of the vote. Allende himself had won only 36% in gaining the Presidency.

The consequences of a right wing victory — an inevitable campaign against working class organizations and standards of living — were clear to the left.

As a result, even leftist groups highly critical of Allende — such as the Movement for a Revolutionary Left (MIR), which refused to support him in 1970 — rushed to his support in the elections.

But the plain fact of the matter is that Allende is unable — and unwilling — to either defend or increase the gains won by Chilean workers in the past two years.

Allende consistently betrayed the working class movement which brought him into office. He has turned government troops loose on both the landless peasants and urban workers who sought to take control over their lives by seizing land and factories.

Since taking office, he has tried to accommodate himself to the ruling class while ignoring or suppressing the independent working class movement.

This series of betrayals reached a



PRESIDENT ALLENDE

new height last fall when Allende's "socialist" government brought the Army into the Cabinet as a guarantee of his good faith.

The Army has not only an effective veto over government policy, it has life and death power over the government itself. (For instance, the Army indicated before the elections that it would not regard a simple majority victory by the right wing as an indication that Allende's government was no longer legitimate.)

The more advanced sections of the Chilean working class are of course aware of this record. Both the MIR and the left wing of Allende's own Socialist Party have been deeply critical of his policies.

But they have been unable to grasp the heart of the Allende regime — that it remains fundamentally a capitalist government, defending ruling class property and political institutions behind a sea of anti-imperialist and reformist rhetoric. Consequently, they have not begun the task of building a truly revolutionary party.

Clearly the present balance of forces cannot last long. The army is already pressing Allende for a law which declares clearly which companies in Chile will be permanently nationalized and which will be returned to private ownership.

This will gut Allende's strategy of bureaucratically taking over firms which have been hit by strikes or which have locked their doors in protest against the government.

It could also force both the workers who took over these firms and the leftists who support them to break with the government.

In any event, the economic crisis — Chile has the highest rate of inflation in the world — and a possible food shortage could bring matters to a head in the near future.

Theoretically the right wing could wait until Allende's term expires in 1975. Should they unit behind a common candidate, they could legally dispose of the Popular Front government. But the chances are that neither Chile's ruling class — nor its working class — will wait that long for a decisive battle.

Feedback: Philippines coverage must include Communist guerrillas

[The following letter was received from a reader.]

I was appalled by a section of Paul Benjamin's International Report in *Workers' Power* No. 71.

He managed to write a whole column on the Philippines' new dictatorship and its opposition without once mentioning the extensive Communist-led guerrilla movement there.

Without knowledge of this movement, Marcos' take-over is completely inexplicable, while Benjamin's discussion of the "opposition" becomes ridiculous.

J.S. Ware

Rejoinder: Economic crisis, not guerrillas, led to Marcos' coup

The question of the guerrilla movement and its relation to the Marcos dictatorship was brought up in *Workers' Power* No. 66. The International Report in that issue pointed out that the threat of the New People's Army (the guerrilla force) was not the real cause of the imposition of martial law.

Just three days before the imposition of martial law an army report to the Filipino National Security Council on the internal security stated that it was no better and no worse than it had been for years.

Nor has the Marcos dictatorship taken special steps against the guerrilla movement since the coup.

The particular issue taken up in *Workers' Power* No. 71 was not the guerrillas, but the nature of the bourgeois democratic opposition to Marcos, and an analysis of its ineffectiveness.

The real motive for the coup was not the Communists, nor for that matter the Muslim guerrilla movement, but the stagnation of the Filipino economy.

Personal ambition set aside, Marcos needed command of the full resources of the state to develop the capital and organizational capacity to save capitalism in the Philippines.

To achieve this command, he found it necessary to break through the limits of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. Other sections of the ruling class — again leaving personal motives aside — did not and do not believe these unpleasant methods were necessary.

The struggle over the new Constitution took place within these limits — a squabble between differing sectors in the ruling class. The article in No. 71 pointed this out, and established the irrelevance of this squabble to the defense of democratic rights or the building of a real opposition movement in the Philippines.

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