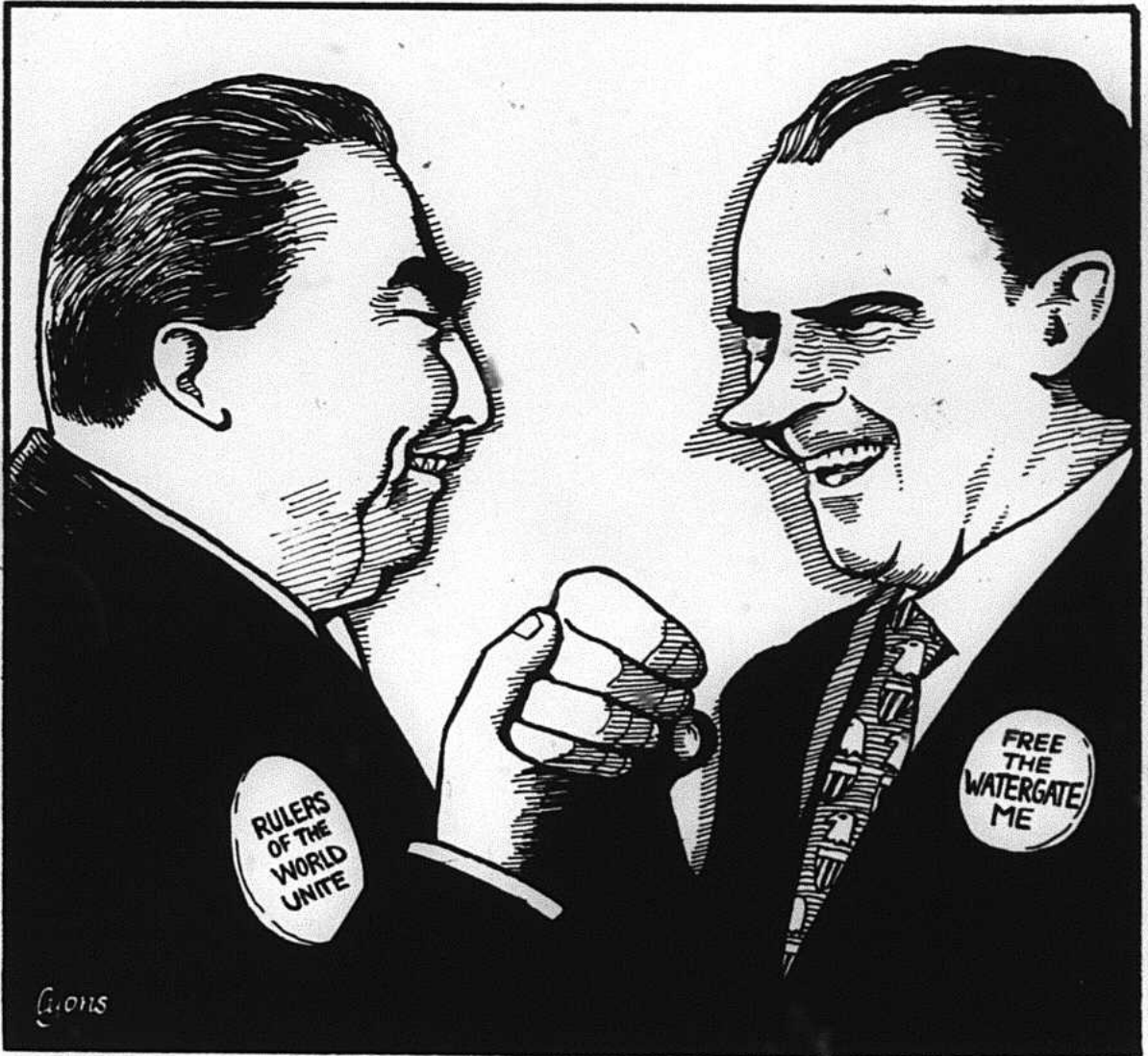


Workers' Power

international socialist biweekly 79



NIXON, BREZHNEV & WATERGATE

Workers' Power

No. 79

JULY 1973

25¢

Nixon Turns to Brezhnev To Cool Watergate Crisis

"Phase 2" of the great Washington-Moscow "detente" opened up in Washington during the week of June 18. The occasion was the visit of Russian Communist Party chief Leonid Brezhnev to the US for top-level talks with Richard Nixon, leading Senate politicians, and businessmen eager for profitable trade relations.

For the world's leading capitalist politician, Richard Nixon, the visit of the world's most powerful Stalinist bureaucrat could not have come at a more convenient time. With the testimony of John Dean in the Senate Watergate hearings delayed for one week, Nixon was free for another few days to try to revive his image of "statesmanship," now nearly forgotten in the turmoil of the domestic political crisis.

The following week, Dean's testimony on the Watergate cover-up threatened, as many expected, to blow what remains of Nixon's government out of the water for good. Almost everyone now assumes that Nixon himself was deeply involved in the cover-up of the Watergate break-in, if not the bugging plan itself.

At this point, Nixon's only hope for survival is to convince

[Continued on page 12]



The Fraud of Freeze II

The announcement of the 60-day price freeze was not greeted with wild enthusiasm by the leading organs of American business. Not one single leading analyst or business publication has ventured to suggest that this latest stop-gap measure can put an end to the inflationary pressure continuing to build in the economy.

Crippled, if not paralyzed by the still-escalating impact of the Watergate scandal, the government of Richard Nixon was in no position to carry out the demand, increasingly raised in lead-

ing capitalist circles over the past few months, that the government reimpose the full range of Phase 2 controls. This would especially have included stringent and non-voluntary restrictions on wage increases.

Instead, Nixon turned to a "solution" designed more for political effect than for any real program to re-stabilize the economy. In the face of mounting public outcries over skyrocketing prices, Nixon hit on the most expedient grandstand play. If he expected the price freeze to distract attention from Water-

gate and to restore his popularity, first indications are that he was badly mistaken.

The factors behind public outrage over inflation, of which the meat boycott was the most visible showing, are very real ones. Over the last six months, inflation and the wage controls have driven down the real wages of American workers to a significant degree. In fact, the drop in real wages during this period has been as great as the drop in real wages during the 65-70 period.

The freeze will have little ef-

[Continued on page 4]



Lutte Ouvriere, a French revolutionary socialist organization, attracted some 25,000 people to its recent annual summer outing. The turnout was substantially higher than had appeared for the event in the past.

The high attendance takes on added significance in terms of the challenge which Lutte Ouvriere, in alliance with another Trotskyist group, Ligue Communiste, hurled at the French Communist Party in the national elections in March.

In running an independent protest campaign against the Communist-Socialist Party alliance, the two Trotskyist groups openly offered militants who were dissatisfied with the reformist program the CP-SP an opportunity to demonstrate their disgust at the ballot box.

Lutte Ouvriere's analysis of the election results demonstrated the effectiveness of this campaign. Approximately one out of ten CP supporters supported Lutte Ouvriere in the first round of balloting.

Interestingly enough, the turnout of 25,000 also represents about 10 percent of what the CP draws to its own similar affairs.

The social fabric of France has been stretched thin since the elections, amidst struggles around the rights of immigrant workers, abortion, educational reforms, minimum salaries, and the draft.

In the midst of this restlessness it is possible to discern an increased willingness on the part of French working class militants to break away from their traditional party -- the Communist Party -- in search of programs and strategies which are more relevant to their needs than the reformist opportunism of the CP.

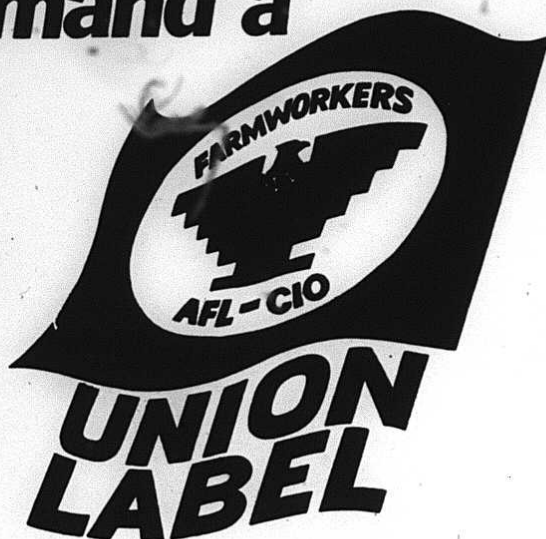
This was clear in the last elections. It was clear in the anti-militarist campaigns, in which Lutte Ouvriere made significant gains among working-class youth. In this context political events such as the Lutte Ouvriere outing take on an added importance. ■

French Revolutionary Workers' Festival Draws 25,000

PENTECOTE 1973
Rendez-vous à la fête de lutte ouvriere

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boycott lettuce!

Workers' Power 79

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RANK & FILE ACTION CAN HALT SELLOUTS



Workers' Power photo by Kit Lyons

United National Caucus members demonstrate at UAW Convention . . .

Contract settlements so far in the electrical and rubber industries have continued the pattern set earlier in the year. They provide wage settlements which cannot keep up with the pace of inflation, and will mean a further drop in real wages.

While the electrical contracts at GE and Westinghouse have both been ratified without strikes, the rubber workers have been involved in two strikes in reaching agreements with the four major tire makers.

These contract settlements come at a time of increasing crisis for the Nixon administration. The Watergate scandal has severely damaged the credibility of the Nixon government, and hurt its ability to provide strong leadership for American business and to discipline the working class.

At the same time, inflation has run wild -- completely out of control of the government as far as the average citizen is concerned.

Nixon's Little Helpers

In this time of crisis, the only thing Nixon has going for him is the unshamed collaboration of the labor bureaucracy. This partnership has been so satisfactory -- so successful in restraining militancy and holding down wages -- that Nixon said there was no need to re-impose wage controls at this time.

Indeed, the most successful part of Nixon's term in office has been this ability to hold down wages. The pattern of low wage increases in labor contracts was successfully established shortly after the beginning of Phase 2 of the controls program.

After the miners won a 30-39% wage increase in late 1971 and forced the Pay Board to approve it by continuing their strike until this was done, most wage settlements have been held close to the 5.5% guidelines.

Those contracts settled this year

have also been within or just over the official guidelines. In this they have been defeats for the labor movement, since, due to inflation, they represent a cut in real wages.

But the situation is not precisely the same now as it was several months ago. In the rubber negotiations and recently in the auto union, signs of growing rank and file militancy and activity have shown up.

These signs could point to the development of a renewed rank and file movement in this country.

The rubber negotiations illustrate this quite well. A peaceful settlement at Goodyear, the supposed "target" company, has been followed by strikes at two of the three remaining major tire makers.

The United Rubber Workers leadership had settled with Goodyear for a poor contract and was then surprised by the opposition that developed.

While being ratified by a majority of Goodyear locals, the contract was unanimously rejected by Akron Local 2, the largest and most important local. The settlement also provoked scattered wildcat strikes throughout the industry.

The Goodyear contract provided for wage increases of only 6%, with no cost-of-living escalator clause. However, the issue of retirement pay and job security was a primary one due to the job losses suffered by rubber workers in recent years.

The leadership of the URW was not prepared to make an all-out fight for job security, but as a result of the opposition to the Goodyear contract, it was forced to lead a three-week strike at Goodrich which won significant pension improvements and job transfer rights.

However, the settlement gave up a small portion of the pay increase that was to have gone to Goodrich workers in Akron and Marion, Ohio -- the best paid workers in the company.

Following a settlement at Uniroyal, the URW struck the last major tire

maker: Firestone. At Workers' Power press time, a short strike had been settled, but details of the agreement had not been made public.

The first stage of the rubber negotiations was followed by the electrical contracts. A coalition of 14 unions, headed by the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) and the United Electrical Workers (UE), reached agreement first with General Electric and then on the same basis with Westinghouse.

GE's New Strategy

A significant feature of this year's GE negotiations was a new-found spirit of "friendship and cooperation" between the company and the union. John Burlingame, GE's labor relations vice-president, is reported to have complained that he was having more trouble with his plant managers than with the unions.

Previously GE had "bargained" by making an offer and then refusing to negotiate any further. This policy was apparently killed off in the 1970-71 strike with the development of the 14-union coalition. The coalition made it more difficult to play off one union against another as GE had previously done.

GE's new policy recognizes that corporate heads and union bureaucrats have a mutual interest in preserving labor peace. The new policy of give and take with the labor bureaucrats works just as well, if not better, than the old line of principled intransigence.

This "mutual interest" in the electrical industry produced a contract as bad as the rubber settlement. While the rubber workers have no cost-of-living clause, the electrical workers do, although a limited one.

But the electrical negotiators were able, in effect, to eliminate the cost-of-living concept by agreeing to a miniscule wage increase, 3½%, and then making part of the cost-of-living in-

creases automatic, regardless of the cost-of-living.

So, if inflation is slow in the next three years, GE workers will receive a total wage increase of 72 cents an hour. With moderate inflation, they will get 88 cents.

If inflation continues to be heavy, they will still get only 88 cents -- about 7-7½% above their current wages. The whole package was sold to the membership as a 7½% wage increase.

The rubber, electrical, and other settlements thus far this year will play an important role in setting the tone for the bargaining that is to come. If a victory is won in one union, workers elsewhere will be less likely to accept a poor settlement for themselves. In light of this, what can be expected later on this year?

The next major contracts to expire are the Teamsters' Master Freight Agreement on June 30, and the postal workers' contract on July 20. Although the Teamsters settlement has not yet been announced, press reports indicate that it is likely to be in the range of 7-7.2%. [For a full discussion of the MFA contract, see Workers' Power No. 78.]

At Workers' Power press time, a settlement of the postal workers contract was announced, providing for a 6.6% first year increase and 3.6% in the second year, but with an unlimited cost of living clause and a no-lay-offs provision.

The postal contract has not yet been ratified by the membership. Some opposition has been heard, particularly from New York.

Struggle in Auto

In addition to the Teamsters Master Freight Agreement, the most crucial contract up for renewal this year is probably that of the auto workers.

The auto industry currently is the best example of the condition of the

[Continued on page 12]



While Woodcock preaches company-union "harmony"

Workers' Power photo by Kit Lyons



Editorial

The Fraud of "Freeze II"

[Continued from page 1]

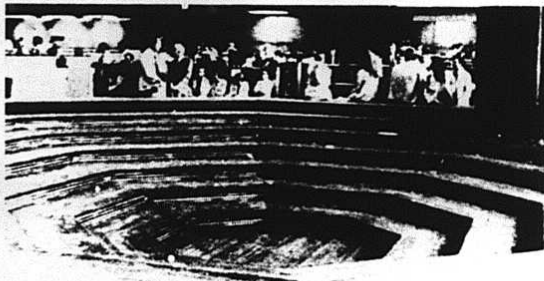
effect, one way or the other, on the tendencies toward continuing inflation. How rapidly prices rise, after the freeze ends, will depend for the most part on how long it takes the current economic "boom" to turn into a recession, as is likely toward the end of 1973. If the capitalists become sufficiently unhappy with frozen prices cutting into their profits, they can counterattack by holding goods off the market and creating shortages. At this point the government will be forced, in one form or another, to allow prices to shoot upward again.

As an essentially political measure, Nixon's latest move must be assessed as a reflection of the political measures lying behind it. If this freeze had been forced on Nixon by the strength of an organized labor movement, demanding that the workers not pay the price for the ravages of inflation produced by the capitalist system, then the self-confidence of the working class would have been further strengthened by its ability to win such a concession.

In reality, however, the 60-day price freeze reflects the weakness of the labor movement as sharply as it reflects the weakness of the Nixon administration itself. Nixon's ability to resort to this publicity stunt -- a price freeze without the formal re-imposition of wage controls -- resulted from the fact that wage gains have already been so tightly held down that new wage controls were not even considered necessary at this point.

Virtually the only factor working for Nixon at this point is the unchecked co-operation of the trade union bureaucrats with the "voluntary" wage controls, the speedup/productivity campaign and the attack on working class living standards and social services being carried out by the government. Only the success of this campaign -- which has, in fact, been largely responsible for the current economic "recovery" -- gives Nixon the maneuvering room he needs in the present crisis.

Thus, this price freeze must be understood as a new warning to American workers. The continuing inflationary pressures force the lid on prices upward -- in other words, as the current "Phase 3 1/2" ends in failure like Phase 3 before it -- pressures will also increase for ever tighter restrictions not only on wages but on workers' rights generally. It is only at the expense of the workers, economically and politically, that American capitalism can hope to resolve its problems of instability. A militant, organized response to break the wage guidelines and challenge Nixon's deals with the union bureaucrats is an immediate necessity. ■



Empty soybean trading pit reflects growing food shortage



Spencer

NCLC Thugs Attack Left

The hoodlum violence against groups and individuals on the left, launched by the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), has reached new and more vicious dimensions. Rather than attacking meetings and public events sponsored by the Communist Party and other radical groups -- attacks which can be repelled by organized defense guards -- the NCLC has turned instead to gangster-style assaults on individual members of these groups on the street.

On or about the evening of Monday, June 11, several SWP supporters leaving the New York Socialist Workers Party (SWP) campaign headquarters were set upon by thugs whom they were able to identify as NCLC members armed with lead pipes.

One SWPer was hospitalized, his arm splintered as he attempted to protect his head from the pipe-wielding goons.

The NCLC later called the SWP office to take credit for this assault. The SWP was warned that one of its members in Los Angeles had been seen photographing an NCLC member, and that further retaliation would follow if the SWP continued such activity.

The following day two members of the Communist Party were set upon by NCLC hooligans, once again on the street without provocation. It is reported that a top NCLC leader was arrested in connection with this assault.

For the most part, however, the police and the District Attorney's office have been conspicuous for their absence during these attacks and for their lack of interest in prosecuting those responsible.

The NCLC has been free to carry out its campaign of violence against the Communist Party and the left with virtually no "interference" by these forces of "law and order."

This fact gives some additional evidence for the strong possibility that the NCLC's policy is being carried out, if not indeed carefully planned and orchestrated, by police agents inside the NCLC.

It is hardly inconceivable that the police might wish to experiment with the possibility of using a disoriented and easily infiltrated radical group like the NCLC as a cover for a full-scale assault on the left.

Such a strategy would be aimed at thoroughly discrediting the entire socialist movement in the eyes of the American people as well as physically destroying sections of it.

As we have previously stated (see "NCLC Gangsters vs. Workers' Democracy," *Workers' Power* No. 77), the International Socialists regard these acts by the NCLC as the expression of an elitist, unstable and anti-working-class political tendency in the process of disintegration.

We have participated, and will continue to participate, in any and all necessary mutual defense activities to protect radical and socialist organizations from this threat.

We also condemn the police for their failure to take action against those who carry out these gangster attacks.

It is not, in general, our policy to call for any form of state intervention in disputes in the radical or working-class movement. The movement itself must organize to provide its own best and its only reliable defense.

Nonetheless, attacks on individuals on the street, where no immediate organized defense is possible, must be halted. It is legitimate and correct to demand intervention by the police in such instances.

Unfortunately, the I.S. is unable to sign a statement being widely circulated by the SWP, which not only demands action against those responsible but goes on to call for preventive legal action "to halt these attacks."

This extremely broad formulation in effect calls (and could be used as a pretext) for the political suppression of the NCLC and its ideas.

This would mean calling on the government not simply to provide police protection against physical gangsterism, but to suppress the ideas and leaders of the NCLC as being ultimately "responsible" for the gangster campaign itself.

The I.S. cannot support any statement open to such an interpretation. On ly the socialist movement itself can expose, defeat and smash the politics which lie behind the NCLC's actions.

In no way, however, does our refusal to sign this particular statement in its present form change our willingness to participate in united front defense actions with any radical organization facing new attacks by the thugs of the NCLC. ■

Labor In Brief

Jim Woodward



Gibbons forced out of St. Louis Teamster positions

In a continuing effort to consolidate his power within the Teamsters Union, President Frank Fitzsimmons has forced the resignation of Harold Gibbons from his position as Secretary-Treasurer of St. Louis Local 688 and President of Teamsters Joint Council 13.

Gibbons had opposed Fitzsimmons on a number of issues including his support of Nixon (Gibbons campaigned for McGovern). More important, however, Gibbons is a supporter of former Teamsters President Jimmy Hoffa.

Hoffa has made clear his intention of re-capturing the Teamsters' presidency, and Fitzsimmons is simply preparing for that fight.

The interesting aspect of this affair is the pretext used by Fitzsimmons to oust Gibbons from these positions.

Two years ago, Gibbons and a number of other Local 688 officials, with the tacit support of Fitzsimmons' forces, participated in setting up a local of the Distributive Workers in St. Louis. The idea, according to "socially minded" Gibbons, was to allow minority workers to unionize.

Employers at the small St. Louis shops would have had trouble paying Teamster welfare fund contributions, while the workers would not have been able to afford the high Teamster dues (at least not so long as they continued to make low wages).

So, instead of organizing them into the Teamsters, Gibbons relegated them to a union that not have the power to carry on an all-out fight for better wages and conditions.

This strategy not only kept Black and Latin workers in their low-wage positions, but also began to hurt the Teamsters more directly. Employers in similar small Teamster-organized shops began to use the Distributive Workers local as a threat during Teamster contract negotiations, saying that they would try to get their employees to shift from the Teamsters to the Distributive Workers so as to save money.

In addition to this charge of "dual unionism," Gibbons was also attacked for "neglecting local union affairs."

Curran's puppet, Shannon Wall, wins NMU election

Shannon J. Wall has been elected president of the National Maritime Union, defeating opponent James Morrissey and several other challengers by a wide margin.

Wall was the candidate of former NMU President Joe Curran, and had been acting president of the union since Curran retired on a \$1 million pension earlier this spring. Wall won 14,396 votes to 5,338 for Morrissey. Another 1,159 votes were split among several other candidates, including Gene Herson of the Militant Solidarity Caucus (for discussion of Herson's campaign see *Workers' Power* No. 78).

Wall's victory represents a defeat for the rank and file of the NMU and a victory for one of the most reactionary, bureaucratic leaderships in the labor movement.

Many of the reasons for Wall's election can be found in the nature of the campaign run by Morrissey. Morrissey failed to mobilize the rank and file of the NMU for the job of kicking out the Curran machine and revitalizing the union. Instead he placed much of his hope on law suits and other legal action.

That this strategy failed to arouse much enthusiasm is shown by the relatively small voter turnout — only about 40% of the membership bothered to vote at all.

A victory by Morrissey would have been a step forward in that the victory itself would have allowed, and encouraged, more independent action and initiative by the rank and file.

At the same time, Morrissey's campaign shows that militants cannot place their trust and confidence in his sort of campaign. Only when a campaign for union office is part of a broader campaign to restructure and reorient the union on the basis of a program that meets the needs of the members can they have some idea of what they are voting for.

Only when a campaign is run and controlled by an organized and continuing rank and file movement can the rank and file hope to gain any control over their union.

If the NMU under Shannon Wall is not to be a re-run of Curran's NMU, militants in the union will have to begin building that rank and file movement now.

Detroit sanitation workers union accepts productivity deal

The leadership of the Detroit sanitation workers union (AFSCME Local 26) has settled a contract dispute in exchange for a microscopic wage increase and an enormous productivity deal.

For a week prior to the settlement, garbage had piled up in Detroit streets as the workers enforced a slow-down designed to pressure the city admini-

stration into a settlement.

The agreement reached the day before a full-fledged strike was scheduled calls for a 15 cent an hour increase, and an agreement that the city and the workers will split, on a 50-50 basis, the savings resulting from the productivity deal.

The productivity agreement calls for the workers to increase their workload by 50% or better, from the current two loads a day to three or more. Detroit's labor relations director hailed the agreement and announced he plans to try to implement it in other city departments as well.

An agreement such as this is particularly bad since it will mean that wages are closely tied to productivity. As inflation continues to spiral upwards, sanitation workers will feel increasing pressure to work harder and faster, just to make ends meet.

The productivity agreement will probably also have an adverse effect on the workers' health. Serious back and other injuries occur frequently due to the lifting involved; cuts and scratches always result from handling garbage; and traffic is a serious hazard. With the new speed-up in effect, accidents and injuries can only multiply.



US Employment Service helps employers, not unemployed

"The employer is back in the driver's seat at the U.S. Employment Service," rejoices the *Wall Street Journal* in reporting a shift in that agency's policy.

The Employment Service's new emphasis will be on helping employers find skilled workers — now in short supply in many parts of the country.

The Department of Labor, which oversees the U.S. Employment Service, will also attempt to get its network of state employment services to adopt a similar policy.

In adopting the goal of helping employers rather than unemployed workers, the Employment Service is returning to a policy it had abandoned in the mid-1960's.

Under the pressure of the urban rebellions, the government at that time had, at least on paper, begun emphasizing training and job placement for the poor and unskilled. Many employers had reacted to that policy by boycotting the Employment Service.

Rank and File Notes

The Pennsylvania Railroad has yielded to the threat of another strike and decided to defer plans to cut the sizes of crews on its freight trains. The cuts had been scheduled to take effect June 9.

The NLRB has found U.S. Steel guilty of illegally preventing a worker from distributing a local rank and file publication, *Picket Line*, at a Los Angeles plant during the Steelworkers election last fall. The hearing officer found that the president of Local 2058 had asked management to stop rank and file activist Carl Kessler from distributing the paper in the plant.

Seattle: Women with dock jobs despite ILWU sex discrimination

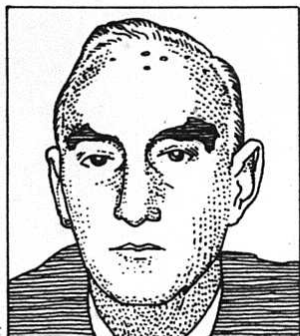
Six Seattle women have won a case before the National Labor Relations Board in which they complained they were denied jobs on the Seattle docks because they were women.

The decision required the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the employers to pay any back wages the women were entitled to had they not been discriminated against, and it also required that sex discrimination be eliminated in hiring practices.

When the women first sought jobs, the business agent of ILWU Local 52 had refused to accept them as applicants and threatened to have them arrested.

The Department of Agriculture has halted its practice of issuing a list of those foods which were in heavy supply and therefore good bargains for grocery shoppers. The Department explained that not enough foods still exist in sufficient supply to include on the Plentiful Foods list.

At Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue assembly plant in Detroit, an assembly line worker dropped dead of a heart attack on June 26, undoubtedly caused by the intense pace of work and unbearable heat in the plant. Management dragged his body into the aisle and kept the assembly line moving. Jefferson has been the scene of frequent walkouts due to the heat in the summer months.



Harold Gibbons

[Editor's note: the following article is reprinted from the Campus Worker, published by the Committee for a UT Labor Union at the University of Texas. The author is a member of the I.S. and has been a Teaching Assistant in Psychology at UT.]

Job discrimination is one of the most profitable undertakings American businessmen engage in. Hiring a whole group of people for substandard wages, they make vast quantities of money in a relatively short time.

While each type of discrimination has its own distinguishing features, some patterns are repeated against each target group.

Several occupations are stereotyped as appropriate for only one group to hold. For other occupations, the discriminated-against group is concentrated in the lowest pay levels.

Victims of discrimination find they have a much higher rate of unemployment than the general population. With not enough jobs to go around, they become willing to accept any job available.

The most vicious job discrimination is against non-whites. Blacks are hired as garbage collectors, maids or janitors. American agribusiness has largely been built on the backs of Chicano farm workers.

The huge number of non-whites in industry are concentrated in the lowest paid, unskilled jobs with little chance for advancement. Extensive unemployment of blacks and Chicanos locks them into accepting jobs on the bottom of the pay scale.

For women workers, the picture is different but the pattern is the same. Many "women's" jobs (secretary, nurse, teacher) may not look low-paid on the surface — but when you consider the extensive training these jobs require, it's easy to see their pay is below what equivalent "men's" jobs earn.

Pa Bell makes sure women are stuck as telephone operators, while saving skilled jobs for men. In restaurants it's waitressing for women and cooking for men.

Again, the vast number of unemployed women confined to the home helps keep down wages of women who find work.

Cheap Labor Boom

World War II had some results that are important for the labor force of the 60's and 70's. The post-war baby boom created a large number of young people who needed jobs.

Post-war expansion of universities and colleges signalled new expectations of upward social mobility.

Both trends are taking full effect now. Since 1965, 16-19 year-olds have been increasing at twice the rate of the rest of the population.

The labor force within this age group has expanded at twice the rate of the age group itself (*Wall Street Journal*, April 23, 1973, p. 1).

High school and college students have seen their jobs as temporary, and consequently have been willing to accept low wages and poor working conditions as something they would soon rise above.

Employers were quick to respond. The growth of service jobs (waitressing, retail clerks, etc.) has paralleled the growth of cheap student labor.

The clearest example is the rise in the last decade or so of the fast-food-specialists (such as McDonald's, Jack-in-the-Box, and others that offer their own variety of plasticburger).

They force employees to work at

such fast rates that they must hire almost exclusively young people.

Service jobs fit the requirements for part-time work for the 16-19 year-old labor force, two-thirds of whom are also students. A majority of workers in this age group earn below the minimum wage (*Wall Street Journal*, April 23, p. 1).

Other businesses, such as quickie food stores, have not relied so exclusively on student labor, but have expanded by keeping these workers on the lowest end of the pay scale.

While different from private businesses, the University has also learned from their labor practices.

More and more, the wheels and cogs of the knowledge mill are greased with the sweat of students who can barely live on their pay.

What keeps wages low for students is the same thing as for other groups: Unemployment. Hiring of students has never increased so fast that there was a threat of not having a large surplus of people willing to take any job they could find.

"The teenage jobless rate has not been below 10% since 1953; last year,

it was 16.2%, nearly three times the overall figure of 5.6%" (*Wall Street Journal*, April 23, p. 1).

Employers frequently pat themselves on the back for being benevolent enough to provide jobs for the down-trodden — at the same time they're explaining to their employees they won't pay a living wage because the workers aren't "qualified." One "qualification" for a job seems to be committing yourself to it for the rest of your life.

Many bosses justify paying students slave wages by using a line strikingly similar to the one they've tried to pawn off on women: "You'll only be here for a couple of years. You're not a real worker. Your primary role is not on this job, so you can't expect me to pay you enough to live on."

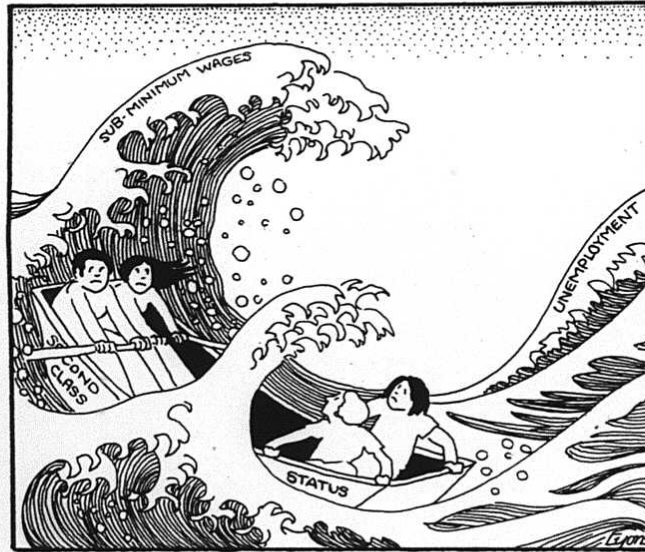
Several years ago there were many people who expected to actually use their college degrees and have decent jobs.

One semester someone dropped out of college, just for a little while, to work full time and save up enough to go back.

Now, that person only goes back

LIVING WITH REALITY: THE STUDENT WORKER

Mark Smith



occasionally and is still washing dishes in the union, cataloging in the library, or shelving books in the co-op.

The years go by and the rotten pay keeps us trimming shrubs or pecking hard at typewriter keys.

All economic indications are that this isn't a short-lived phenomenon. The lack of decent jobs is here to stay and will probably get worse.

Over 50% of America's young people are going to college, but a much lower percent of jobs require a college degree.

For example, universities are still turning out teachers at a fantastic rate, while the hiring of new teachers is dropping sharply.

"The teacher glut could reach nearly 2 million by 1980." (*Business Week*, September, 1972, p. 50).

Increasingly, people with college degrees will not be able to use them and will find they threw away their money to pay for administrators' bloated salaries.

And, increasingly, people still in college will realize there is no better job waiting for them if they graduate and are unwilling to work like crazy just to watch their wheels spin.

Until a few years ago, most students thought they could tolerate working under miserable circumstances since it would all soon be over.

Working was just incidental to going to the big U. and gaining that mystical "insight" that brings a "spiritually fulfilling" role in society.

But people are discovering that climbing ivory towers will not buy food, chasing after lofty ideas will not bring decent housing, and pursuing intellectual fantasies will not buy medical care.

Disunity Spells Disaster

When workers are divided along racial, sexual or any other lines, the most important task of organizing is overcoming these divisions. Failure to unite spells disaster.

In Austin, the Communication Workers of America (CWA) is primarily male telephone repairmen. Its unwillingness to make any serious effort at organizing women operators has resulted both in the women being stuck with lower pay and the CWA losing strikes because it cannot shut down Bell.

A pattern of racial bigotry among many of the AFL (American Federation of Labor) trade unions has led to a failure to organize non-whites, with the dual result of lower wages for the unorganized and broken strikes because of the available non-union labor force.

If industry workers divide along lines of part-time and full-time workers, the same sort of disaster will result.

Bureaucrats push for higher pay and benefits only for the full-time "real" workers and then hire two part-time instead of one full-time employee.

The effect is lower wages for part-time workers and insecure jobs for full-time workers.

The more that students who work think about getting a better deal on their jobs, the more they can begin to see their allies as other working people.

Those who work in the same department need to talk to each other and figure out whether their supervisors are using the same tricks against everyone.

The more people who respond to harassment by uniting with others, the better chance they all have of improving working conditions.

Students and ex-students are finding that if they want to get any decent standard of living they must get together on their jobs to defend each other.

In Austin, the formation of the Co-op workers union two years ago and the shuttle bus drivers' strike last year are foreshadowing of things to come. ■

The Gasoline Shortage-

In early June, 1 out of 4 gas stations had to shut down because of lack of gasoline. A week later it was 1 out of 3. As the summer vacation season approached, the whole country began to run out of gas. The Gas Shortage may become known as the Panic of 1973.

There are few thoughts more terrifying than having your vacation grind to a halt for lack of gas. The big question, however, is whether the shortage is real or whether it is a conspiracy of the giant oil companies.

No satisfactory answer has appeared, but the situation certainly looks suspicious.

The interesting fact is that the main shortage is not of crude oil, but of refinery capacity. It is true that oil production in the continental US has reached its limit, with about half of the original crude oil having been used up already.

But the rest of the world has more oil, and world oil production will not reach its peak until about 1990 or 2000 A.D. Until early this year, most foreign crude oil was kept out of the US market by import restrictions.

Now those restrictions have been lifted. A tax break has been given to encourage refinery construction, a break which is said to amount to an 18% subsidy of crude oil refining in new refineries.

The oil giants stand to gain a lot by stampeding the public with a concocted oil shortage. They can prepare the consumer to accept a large increase in oil and gas prices, an increase which would be pure profit.

They can also bring pressure to roll back the environmental movement which has halted the building of the Alaska pipeline. They can roll back the pollution control laws which they claim have stopped refinery construction in many parts of the country.

Already senators from some Eastern states have started to switch sides on the question of whether giant refineries should be built in their states.

The oil companies can drive the independent gas stations out of business, virtually eliminating competition in the sale of gasoline. The independent gas stations have been the loudest voices calling for investigation of the oil monopolies.

The independents had already driven the "majors" to the tactic of setting up fake "independent" stations (ones actually owned by the giant oil companies) to drive the real independents out of business. The gasoline shortage is the perfect excuse for fixing the gasoline market.

Finally, there is an angle few people have heard of. Natural gas prices have been under price controls, and the major oil companies want these lifted. Some of the increase of demand for fuel oil recently has come from power and heating facilities which switched to oil when they couldn't get enough natural gas.

The oil companies claim that this is because they can't get enough for natural gas to make it worth finding. Now they hope the public will support the lifting of these price controls, allowing a big price increase.

By pushing through the Alaska pipeline, the oil "majors" will be trying to pressure the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to keep them from getting an increase in oil royalties.

There has been a lot of noise made about imaginary "Arab blackmail" to force the US to bring pressure on Israel in exchange for access to Middle East oil. The OPEC countries include the oil-rich sheikhs of Saudi Arabia and the dictatorial Shah of Iran.

None of these gentlemen could care less about the plight of the Palestinians, and they certainly aren't going to take any risks for them.

They know that Israeli military power is ready to help them if it looks like their own people might get out of hand.

The reality is that the giant US oil

firms are using scare stories, about Israel as a smokescreen.

Relying on American pro-Israel sentiment, they hope to get backing for their real aim - beating back the already inadequate efforts of the OPEC countries to extract more royalties from the imperialists who plunder their countries' oil.

There is certainly no question that the major oil companies are ready, willing, and able to rig a gas shortage. These are not small companies.

When assets are considered, five out of the top ten corporations in the country (Exxon, Texaco, Gulf, Mobil, and Standard of California) are oil companies. Their history is one of collusion and conspiracy, from the "robber baron" John D. Rockefeller, through the Teapot Dome scandal, down to the conspiracy in 1954 in which the CIA overthrew the government of Iran and set up the Shah as a bloody dictator.

That move was set off by the nationalization of foreign oil companies in Iran. It was followed by de-nationalization and a new oil deal which favored the US oil companies over the British oil companies.

CIA official Kermit Roosevelt, who directed the coup, later left the CIA and was given a vice-presidency at Gulf Oil.

We may never know exactly what the oil companies have done until the

companies are under the control of the working people of this country. These are gigantic corporations (Exxon has more assets than any other US company), and their operations are worldwide and highly technical.

There is a real long-term problem of energy production which may serve to cover up the manipulations of the oil magnates. Many sources of energy are running out.

Natural gas is in short supply, and most available hydroelectric sites have been developed. Coal is more plentiful, but is a "dirty" fuel. Nuclear fission power has dangers of its own.

Fusion power is perhaps the most promising future hope - it is safe and produces almost no radioactive wastes - but the US government has not put a high priority on fusion research.

(The Russian ruling class, not beholden to private oil interests, has over twice as many researchers working on fusion power.)

The real energy crisis is not produced by the danger of running out of fuel. With adequate planning and research, humanity's needs can be fully satisfied from many energy resources.

The real energy crisis stems from the squandering and mismanagement of natural resources, the scientifically unnecessary destruction of the natural environment, by private corporations for private profits. ■



Who Is To Blame?

P. Leiner

THE CORPORATE FACE

"Why is a banker talking about Agricultural policy? Because Bank of America has a deep stake in agriculture. We are the world's largest agricultural lender with lines of credit for agricultural production running at about a billion dollars a year. Our total agricultural commitment is probably around \$3 billion. We've been in agriculture a long time and we intend to stay in agriculture for a lot longer. In a very real sense, then, agriculture is our business."

— Rudolph A. Peterson,
President, Bank of America,
in a speech to California's
Canners and Growers, 1968

The "Family Farm," that institution long held up as a symbol of such American Virtues as honesty, hard work, and clean living, is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. It has largely been replaced by the corporate farm, the giant "factories in the fields" that are much like any other capitalist corporation.

By 1950, farming already took up only a small percentage of the American work force. Since that time, almost half of American farms have disappeared. In 1969, the concentration of farming was such that 2% of all farms accounted for more than 1/3 of all farm sales.

In California, where this process is most advanced, less than 4% of the farms own about 70% of the farmland, farmland that produces a major part of America's produce. People no longer speak of "agriculture," but rather "agribusiness."

In the last decade 104,000 farmers went bankrupt every year. Farmers who work for themselves still produce a lot of food, but fruits and vegetables in particular are mainly picked by hired farm laborers. No longer is our food produced by farmers but by farm workers who work for and are exploited by the farm corporations.

There are, among the large farms, two types of corporate farms. One type is the farming corporation. Such corporations typically have one major task: farming.

The other type of corporate farm is the conglomerate, which has operations in many different industries. One such conglomerate is Tenneco, the

34th largest industrial corporation in the United States.

Tenneco has assets of over \$4 billion. Its operations include manufacture, oil, gas, shipbuilding — and 1.8 million acres of farmland.

Just within the food industry itself, Tenneco's holdings are immense: "In 1967, Tenneco acquired the Kern County Land Company, California's third largest marketer of fresh fruits and vegetables. Tenneco also owns J.T. Case Co., which manufactures, among other things, farm machinery, and the Packing Corporation of America, which manufactures food containers." (Ramparts, July 1972)

With this empire, Tenneco is attempting to build its own brand name (Sun Giant) and make super profits by selling at "premium prices."

The Safeway Snake

Another giant in the food industry is Safeway, the largest food retailer in the country with sales over \$5 billion per year. Because Safeway is the largest buyer of non-union lettuce, and in the past was the largest buyer of non-union grapes, the United Farm Workers have been conducting a national boycott of Safeway.

Safeway claims to be a "neutral party" in the fight between agribusiness and the farmworkers. But on its Board of Directors sit 5 of California's growers, along with directors of farm machinery corporations. Three of California's banks are also represented on Safeway's Board.

Even the purely farming corporations are intricately tied to the corporate structure. The most important link here is the banks, particularly the Bank of America. This Bank finances over 50% of California's agriculture.

At one point, the Bank of America was the largest landholder in California because of the land it had foreclosed on during the depression. Today its main interest in agriculture is through financing rather than through direct ownership, but its influence is still pervasive.

Thus over time, we can see that the distinction between agriculture and industry is becoming blurred. Farming is more and more being integrated into "The American way of life"; advanced capitalism, large corporations, and the exploitation of labor.

But while agribusiness gets its profits in the main directly off the backs of the farmworkers, there are additional



profits to be made through government programs.

One of the most well-known farm programs of the federal government is the subsidy for growing or not growing certain crops. One of the well-known contradictions of capitalism is that the growth of too much food causes an economic crisis.

Instead the government avoids economic crisis by paying farmers not to produce food — while at the same time, millions of people in the U.S. go hungry and hundreds of millions of people in the rest of the world are starving.

Capitalist Bonanza

As it turns out, solving this problem of the capitalist system gives a special bonanza to a certain segment of the capitalist class.

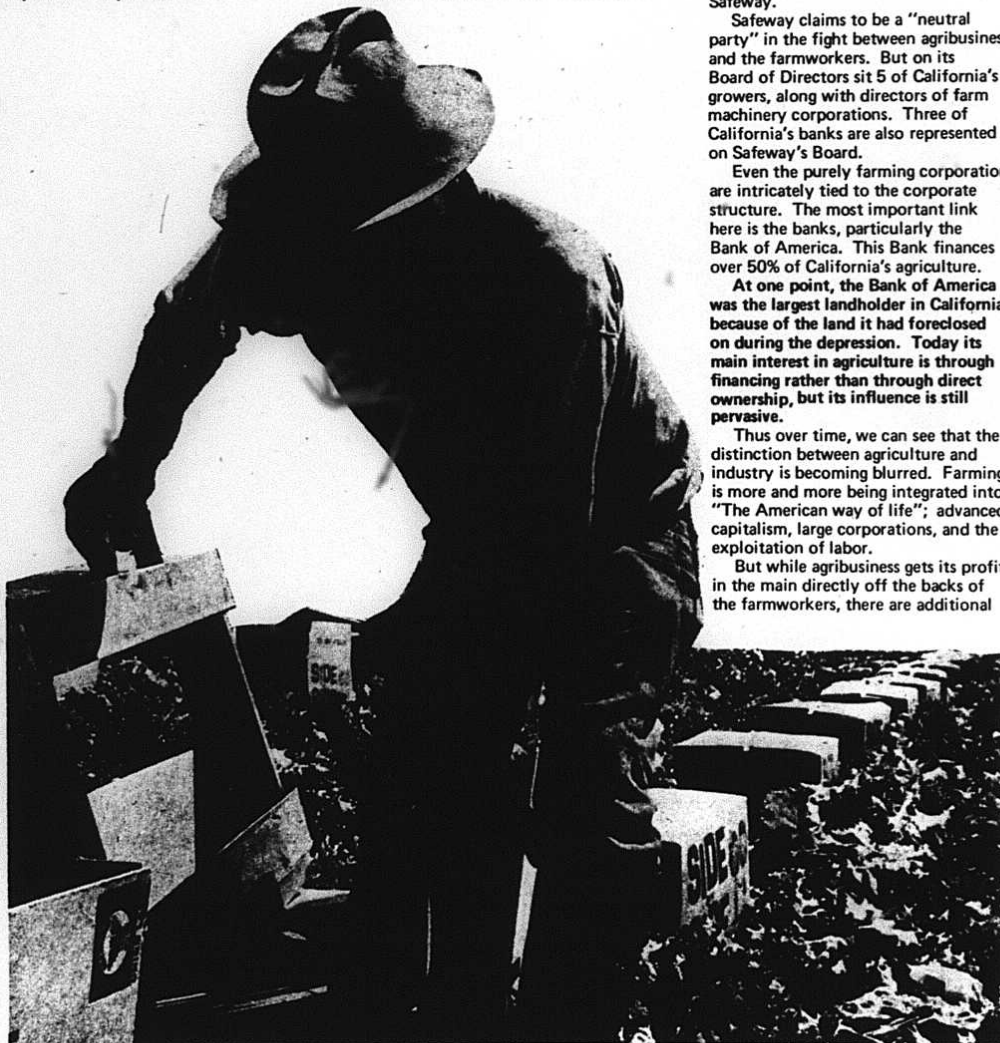
For example, Tenneco in 1970 received over \$1 million. Another needy grower, J.G. Boswell (who is one of the growers on the Board of Directors of Safeway) received over \$4 million!

The public relations officials of grower organizations can point to examples of small farmers getting subsidies. But the bulk of crop subsidies are like the rest of subsidies in a capitalist system — they go to the rich.

Each year the number of growers receiving more than \$20,000 per year has been increasing. The amount that these large growers received practically doubled between 1968 and 1971.

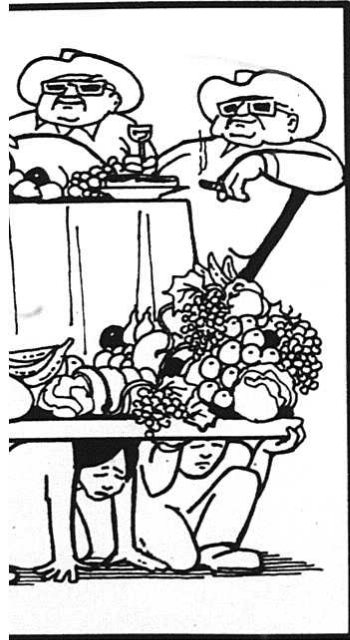
Presently there is a law that limits the amount any particular grower can receive to a maximum of \$55,000 per year. But this law has had virtually no effect, as there are numerous legal ways to get around it, such as dividing ownership, and leasing.

For example, while the Boswell Co. is no longer listed as receiving huge subsidies, Boswell is still receiving



OF AGRICULTURE

Bob Powers



the study of problems of "manpower procurement."

This latter refers to assuring continued supplies of cheap labor. Almost never has the University attempted to look at a single problem from the point of view of the farm worker.

So much for the "neutrality" of the University of California.

The Drapers' research also makes clear that the ties between agriculture and the university have been supported by both Democrats and Republicans.

It was not Reagan who introduced the growers to the services of the university. The growers have traditionally supported the Democratic Party.

All throughout the term of that well-known liberal Democratic Governor, Pat Brown, from 1958 to 1966, the cozy relationship between the growers and the "public" agencies of the government continued.

Even now, look at the role of the leading liberal Democrats in regard to the farmworker struggles. Jesse Unruh and John Tunney are not conservative Democrats, but are leaders of the Kennedy wing of the Democratic Party.

Where do these liberals stand? Unruh has been officially neutral on the lettuce boycott, so as not to offend the Teamsters, while Tunney has offered explicit support to the growers, publicly eating scab grapes. The Kennedy family gives nice speeches in support of the United Farm Workers, but where it counts, in on-going politics, their machine choose not to "alienate" the growers.

The UFW did not support either Unruh or Tunney for office. Nonetheless, the union's leadership has consciously built an alliance with

the Kennedy family and their wing of the Democratic Party. The result of this tragic policy is that the farm workers' union is tied politically to the interests of agribusiness — its deadly enemy.

The Democrats' liberalism means little in practice to the victims of agribusiness. Agribusiness must be opposed politically as well as economically.

Thus, the United Farm Workers Union should take the lead in breaking from both capitalist parties, and fighting for independent political action to build an independent working class party that will really fight for the interests of workers without being beholden to corporate interests.

As we will see, this political strategy would bring the farm workers into a confrontation with the policies of not only the growers and their government subsidies, but of the U.S. military also.

Another example of "bipartisan" support for the growers against the farmworkers is shown by the actions of the Department of Defense during the United Farm Worker consumer boycott.

During the boycott of grapes starting in the mid-sixties, the Department of Defense purchases of grapes soared. Not only that, but purchases were also at above market prices. This policy occurred under both Johnson and Nixon.

During the lettuce boycott, the Department of Defense has upheld its traditional policy. For example, when the Farmworkers were boycotting Bud Antle (subsidiary of Dow Chemical) lettuce, the Department of Defense tripled its purchases of Bud Antle lettuce at prices well above wholesale prices.

The Defense Department stands

clearly and forthrightly as it has always stood — on the side of the rich and powerful growers against the exploited and oppressed people of the U.S. as well as the rest of the world.

We call for an immediate end to all subsidies of agribusiness: whether these take the direct form of giving money to the wealthy growers, or the indirect form of cheap labor, free research and public relations, or the strike-breaking activities of the military.

Because of the fantastic advances in productivity in farming and because food is a necessity, there should be no increases in agricultural prices to pay for decent wages and working conditions for farmworkers.

If the growers claim they can't afford it, the farm workers and the entire labor movement should demand that they open their books to public inspection.

Nationalize Agribusiness!

If agribusiness cannot keep food prices down without exploiting the farmworkers, then working people must challenge agribusiness's right to exist. The production of food is a necessity for the society.

As such, this necessity should not be subject to the profit needs of rich growers. Giving money to rich growers while people are starving is intolerable.

Thus, we call for the nationalization of corporate farms, under control of the field workers, with subsidizing of food production (not non-production) from corporate taxes.

Only in this way can the vast agricultural resources of this country be placed under the democratic control of the masses of working people, and turned to their benefit instead of the profit of a tiny exploiting minority.

indirectly through leases most of the payments he had been getting.

The result is that savings from this law have amounted to only about \$2 million, which is less than 1/2 of 1% of the amount that the rich growers received from payments in 1971.

In 1937, the Federal River and Harbor Act was passed to, among other things, encourage large irrigation projects for agriculture. It was made clear that "No right to the use of water for land in private ownership shall be sold for a tract exceeding one hundred acres to any one landowner." But this limit has never been enforced.

When the California State Water Project was being considered in the late 1950's, a California AFL-CIO study reported that 11 landowners (including such "farmers" as Southern Pacific, Tenneco, and Standard Oil) owned 33% of the land to be irrigated by the project.

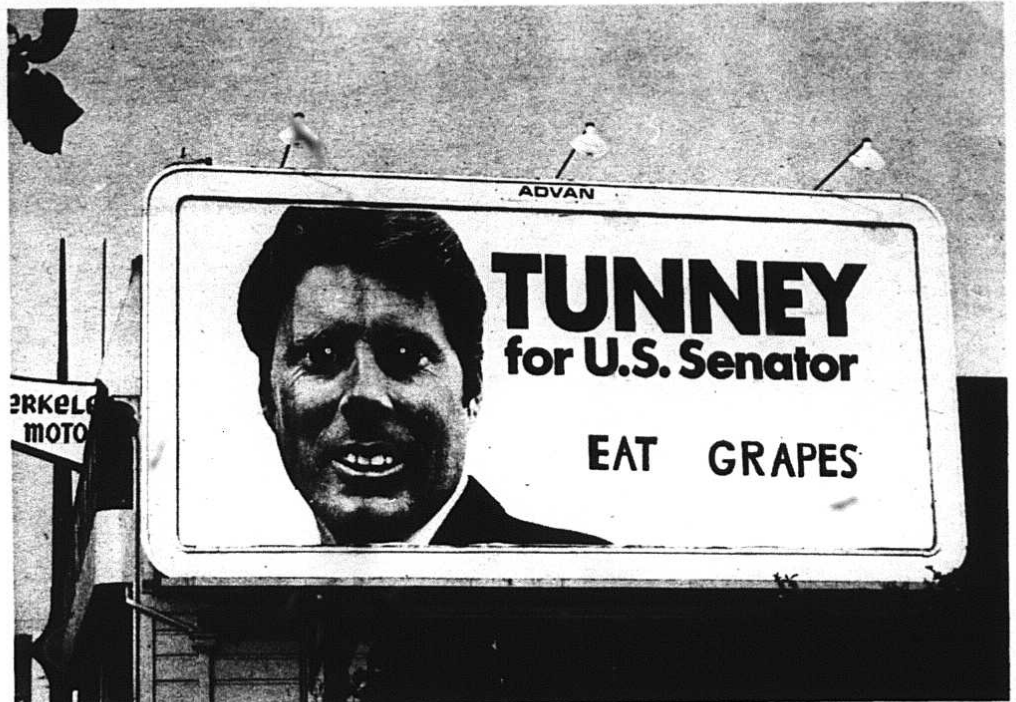
The largest donations to the 1960 campaign to approve a bond issue to finance the project were from the largest landowners. And the largest holder of bonds for this project is — as you might have guessed — the Bank of America.

The Dirt on California

In 1968, the Independent Socialist Club (a predecessor of the I.S.) published a pamphlet by Anne and Hal Draper entitled "The Dirt on California — Agribusiness." Unfortunately it is virtually out of print now, but is available in libraries and is well worth reading.

This pamphlet showed that the great majority of funds spent by the University of California (which now amounts to over \$20 million a year) in agricultural research go to solving the problems of the large corporate farms.

This research includes developing machines and techniques that can only be used on the large landholdings, and



"Kennedy Democrat" John Tunney supports growers attack on Farmworkers Union

Workers' Power photo

BEHIND THE RUSSIAN ECONOMY: STALINISM IN CRISIS

Paul Benjamin



The Russian people have been faced with some new arrivals in the past few months. One newcomer was the Chase Manhattan Bank, located on Karl Marx Square, in Moscow. A second was the seating of the head of the secret police and the head of the Army as members of the ruling Politburo.

The two events are indeed related. They represent, in varying ways, the attempts of the bureaucratic ruling class to find a way out of its current economic crisis.

The strategy of looking to the West for economic aid forced a political struggle which reached to the highest levels of the regime, resulting in the ouster of two members of the Politburo of the ruling Communist Party.

Their replacement by members of the repressive police and military apparatus is far from coincidental. The turn to the West was marked by an intensified attack on the national minorities in Russia, the stifling of the liberal opposition, and a new assault on the living standards of Russian workers.

These are not small or routine measures. They but serve to indicate the depth of the economic and social crisis now threatening the economy.

The Brezhnev regime is calling for a centralization of planning at the expense of the lower bureaucracy. It is calling for "efficiency" and "anti-corruption campaigns" at the expense of the technocracy which carries out its orders.

It is also calling for higher productivity in the context of an austerity drive at the expense of the technocracy which carries out its orders.

It is also calling for higher productivity in the context of an austerity drive at the expense of the working class.

Every stratum in Russian society faces orders to shell out. With good reason: the ruling class has been running up its bills.

The Boom Is Over

The Russian economy is not merely slowing down, it is stagnant. The economic growth rate had begun falling in the late 1960's. It fell to 3.5% in 1971, from 5.5% in the preceding period.

Last year the economy grew only 1.5%. In some areas, it came to a virtual halt. In Russia, as in the West, the post-war boom is over.

The catastrophic fall in the growth rate was paralleled by a fall in produc-

tivity increases. Productivity (output per worker) grew at a rate of 5.5% in the 1950's, but only 3.6% in the 1960's.

This lag occurred despite the large degree of capital investment — in factories, non-residential buildings, transportation and power facilities — throughout this period. Capital investment grew at a rate of 9% between 1950 and 1967, despite the fall in the overall growth of the economy which developed in the closing years of the 60's.

Somebody paid for this. An increasing proportion of the Russian GNP has been devoted to capital investment in order to maintain a high level of industrial growth. Consequently, less money is available for the production of consumer goods.

As a result, Russian planners have been forced to admit shortages in a whole range of consumer goods — shoes, housing, TV's, textiles and washing machines. They also have been forced to go to the West for the most essential consumer good of all: food.

Chronic Food Shortage

The history of Russian agricultural policy is the prime example of how the production of consumer goods is handled by the bureaucracy. Investment in agriculture has always been kept to a minimum.

Moreover, even the low level of investment included in the various five-year plans is seldom achieved, as agricultural funds are pillaged to ensure the fulfillment of the Plan in the industrial sector. In 1966-1970, actual agricultural investment was 20% below the level called for in the plan.

As a result, the level of agricultural technology is low. There are not enough tractors, harvesters, dryers or fertilizers. Consequently, investment in agriculture is only one-fifth as productive as investment in industry.

The result of this is a chronic food shortage. Targets for the first four Five-Year Plans remained stable at 130 million tons. In fact the harvest never passed 100 million tons through 1955.

In practical terms, this meant near-starvation diets for Russian workers, enforced by the guns of Stalin's political police.

In recent years, the bureaucracy has alleviated its agricultural problems by foreign purchases, opening new lands, and a series of good crops. Last year the bottom fell out of this strategy. The wheat crop fell short of its target by almost 30 million tons.

The bureaucracy's reaction was a massive propaganda campaign to get

people to eat less bread. Butter and potatoes were also rationed. But a spectre is haunting Russia, the spectre of Poland.

In 1970 the Polish bureaucracy, faced with a similar shortage, attempted to cut down demand by raising the price of bread. The result was a massive working class movement which led to strikes, demonstrations and violent confrontations with police.

The rulers of Russia had no desire for a repetition of these events on their own turf. The result was the famous Russian-American wheat deal.

Austerity Campaign

The bureaucracy has also been forced to re-order its own priorities in the light of the agricultural crisis. Industry has been starved to some extent to pay for the massive wheat imports. Moreover, plans are afoot to increase agricultural investment 6% by 1975.

Related industry (chemicals, farm machinery, etc.) will also get more funds. Finally, imports of farm machinery will be increased.

The contradiction, however, is that all of this represents a diversion of investment from industry, and will require a lower rate of industrial growth.

The approach taken by the bureaucracy to agriculture parallels its attitude towards the production of consumer goods in general. A letter of complaint written by a textile engineer in Leningrad reveals the situation: "The growth of goods output is being held back, the task of improving the quality of our manufactured articles is being accomplished slowly, and the country by no means always receives a full return on the large amounts of money invested in the technical re-equipment of Group B (consumer goods) industry."

The letter goes on to point out that textile workers receive less pay than machine workers although their work is equally difficult, and that repairmen and other workers get less pay than their counterparts doing exactly the same work in heavy industry.

Given the labor shortage in Russia, this shows how the bureaucracy uses its control over wages to direct the work force into heavy industry at the expense of the consumer goods sector.

The shortcomings of the consumer industry have come home to plague the bureaucracy. Its response is to demand that the masses be happy with less. As one report puts it, "We cannot help noting that consumer sentiments have become widespread among a certain

part of the people. For this reason, it is necessary to explain, that material well-being, no matter how high, does not in itself create a meaningful and full life. . . ."

This "consumer sentiment" was, in fact, initially fueled by the bureaucracy in an effort to increase productivity. The economic reforms introduced in the 1960's included a system of bonuses for workers who overfulfilled their quotas.

While this did lead to a short spurt in productivity, it had no lasting success, as workers discovered there was nothing for them to buy with their money.

Total personal savings leapt from 18.7 billion rubles to 53.2 billion rubles in just six years. Russian workers are now not interested primarily in earning higher wages, but are demanding more goods of better quality.

Russian leaders had promised to remedy this situation. The 1971-75 Five Year Plan was the first to devote the majority of funds to consumer goods industry. This promise has been broken.

Last December Kosygin announced that the rate of industrial growth would be cut from 7.8 to 6.3%. He also declared that sharp cuts in consumer goods production were necessary so that even this goal could be fulfilled.

The original plan called for a consumer goods growth rate of 8.1%. This has been cut to 4.5%.

Capital Squeeze

But these are only stopgap measures. Brezhnev and company must find new methods to develop a surplus for investment if they are to maintain any kind of growth at all. There are several ways to do this.

One method is to import capital from outside one's own economy. Another is to introduce new technology which will increase productivity. A third is to increase the efficiency of the economic and planning mechanism. And a fourth is simply to sweat it out of the working class. The regime is experimenting in each of these directions.

A key point in their strategy is the turn to the West. The arrangements made last year for a resolution of the Lend-Lease debt and the exchange of credit were only the opening wedge in a new trade and investment policy.

Numerous capitalist countries are leaping into the new market. Thus the Italians have a contract for an auto factory, while the Germans will build a steel plant. But the main goal is investment from the U.S.

Agreements have already been reached for the delivery of pipe-line equipment and foundry construction. Massive

desires are in the works for developing Russia's natural gas resources.

In the second half of 1971, the total value of export licenses issued by the U.S. Dept. of Commerce to firms for deliveries in Russia was over one billion dollars. In March Russia got its first loan in history from the Export-Import Bank.

The regime is also attempting to import Western technology. On the highest level, this involves importing computer technology, a field in which Russia trails the West. The bureaucracy also hopes to import "technical know-how" to make the best possible use of the funds and equipment it is in the process of obtaining.

The bureaucracy will pay for this, not only in gold, but also in political concessions. The primary example is Vietnam, where Russia — and China, which is playing the same game — forced the North Vietnamese leadership into a compromise settlement to establish their credit rating.

They are also willing to come to agreement on mutual arms agreements in Europe. This will aid the Nixon regime in cutting down its balance of payments crisis, as it may no longer have to maintain large numbers of troops in Europe.

Bureaucratic Struggle

The turn to the West was not accomplished without a struggle within the bureaucracy itself. Pyotr Chelest, a hard-liner on the question of East-West relations, was forced out of the Politburo.

The ostensible reason was his "nationalist" deviations. In fact, Chelest was instrumental in repressing the Ukrainian national movement. In fact, he was removed for his opposition to accommodation with the West.

Russian diplomats made this clear by spreading rumors that it was Chelest who ordered the invasion of Czechoslovakia while Breshnev was "on vacation"!

—The opening to the West is only one phase of the regime's economic strategy. The bureaucracy has no intention of restoring any form of capitalist economy. Its long range goal is to dredge the capital which it needs, to strengthen its industrial and military apparatus, out of the Russian economy itself.

To do this, the regime has literally "called out the reserves." Its new line is that there are untapped reserves in the economy which must be brought into use.

The rubric of "reserves" covers many sins for the Russian bureaucracy. Among these are various forms of waste. These include the construction of ill-conceived projects.

Thus a hydroelectric plant was built in Siberia, although no industrial

facilities exist to use its power and none are being built. A chemical plant in Georgia operated at 30% capacity for less than a year and was then shut down for lack of repair personnel and raw materials.

These are only extreme examples of a prevalent condition: the duplication of resources and under-utilization of already existing facilities.

Waste also exists in the use of human resources. Thus between 1965 and 1970 there was an increase of 349,000 in the number of machine operators on collective and state farms.

Yet during the same period, 3,500,000 people received training for these jobs. Only one in ten actually went to work in the job he or she was trained for.

Finally, waste exists in the form of corruption. Low level bureaucrats, technicians and factory managers all have their various forms of hustles, are constantly looking for cars, houses, political or economic advancement.

Fundamental Contradictions

These so-called "aberrations" are in fact built into the Russian economy, and into the social system as a whole.

The bureaucratic collectivist system does not lead to the creation of the stodgy, unimaginative hack which is the Western caricature of "Communist Man." Indeed, it leads to a great deal of initiative: initiative in circumventing the orders of the bureaucratic regime.

It is in the interests of factory managers, district bosses, and other administrators to be inefficient and wasteful; in other words, to keep the production norms expected from their units as low as possible, and thus "overfulfill" their quotas, thereby winning cars, housing and advancement.

This social contradiction is in large measure the cause of the underutilization of facilities. The widespread corruption and bribery, not to mention theft, are only variations on this general theme.

The goal of the technocratic stratum is not production, but material wealth for itself to the extent that it is available. Given the lack of consumer goods, this leads to attaining the scarce supply available by the easiest means.

But the most basic form of waste is the waste of the creative power of the working class itself. It is this form of waste which determines the nature of the whole rotten structure.

The Russian working class owns nothing. It rules nothing. The means of production, owned by the state, are in the hands of the central bureaucracy which controls the state. The only role of the working class is to carry out orders.



Brezhnev peddles trade expansion to US capitalists

Naturally the workers do not carry them out very "well." They have no particular interest in doing so. They do have an interest in resistance and inefficiency, even in producing shoddy goods, because this lowers their production quotas.

The managerial layer has its own measures for keeping down productivity. The most direct form this takes is overemployment: effectively maintaining a labor reserve in case of problems in meeting production.

In resisting the bureaucracy, both the working class and the managerial layer demonstrate in their own ways the contradiction of the Russian "planned economy": the contrasting interests of those who devise the plan, and those who must carry it out.

The working class continually sabotages the plan; the managers continually corrupt it. This substantially explains why in periods of crisis the regime carries two whips.

The anti-corruption campaigns led against the managerial layer are in part simply illusory — a gesture to the workers to demonstrate that the fat cats are getting hit too.

But the corruption is real. The bureaucracy has to periodically clean out the worst abusers as a warning to the entire stratum of managers.

Speed-Up Drive

The ruling class in general compensates for the high degree of waste and low level of productivity by mobilizing huge numbers of workers. By 1970, 92.4% of the population was either employed or in school. But this source is drying up.

The rate of growth of the work force has been shrinking throughout the last decade. The current Five Year Plan foresees only a 1.3% increase in the work force in the period 1971-75.

Consequently the new strategy is to crack the whip in speed-up campaigns. "The increased productivity of social labor," according to Kosygin, "is the decisive area for the intensification of production and the pledge of the successful fulfillment of the Ninth Five-Year Plan."

The reality behind this is that labor productivity in the first quarter of 1973 went up 4.8%. This accounted for fully 80% of Russian industrial growth in the period.

In addition the overemployment syndrome is under attack. Workers are being weeded out of non-productive jobs (service, loading and unloading) and put on production.

Investigations of holiday leave, vacation time, and "excessive" absenteeism are under way.

The more privileged layers of the population are also under attack. In

one sense, this involves simply the weeding out of corrupt and inefficient local managers. In a deeper sense, however, the regime is cleaning out its ideological deviants.

The turn to the West carries with it the dangers of "infection," the entrance of pro-Western attitudes into the population.

The purging of the managerial layer, with its so-called "tendencies toward private property" coincides with this ideological retrenchment. So to does the attack on the liberal intelligentsia, the various national movements, and the resurgence of Zionism.

These movements are based precisely in the layer of managers, engineers, technicians and intellectuals which are the subject of attack.

For Socialist Revolution

The growth of these diverse opposition movements in recent years represents the impact of Russia's economic crisis on those elements in the population which are denied participation in power but are materially rewarded for their role in maintaining the economic and cultural life of the regime. They now have learned that the rewards are chancy, and can be dangerous gifts.

In and of themselves, these movements have neither the muscle, the organization, nor indeed the will to develop as an alternative to the present regime.

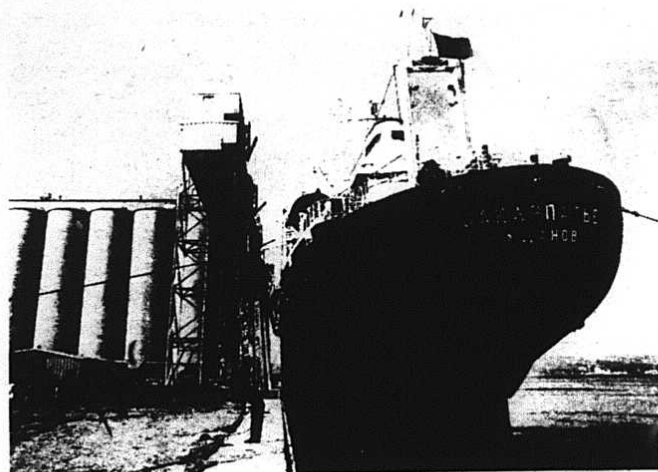
That power resides in the working class and the working class alone. The Russian working class has the power to carry out a new socialist revolution, to smash the bureaucratic class and its state apparatus, and to establish the foundations of socialist freedom. The contradiction between nationalized property and the absence of workers' democracy can be resolved only through working class revolution.

That power may be starting to assert itself. Rumors in Moscow speak of riots in the capital of Georgia, which was especially hard hit by the economic crisis. They speak of explosions, of arson, of assassination attempts against the new head of the Georgian Communist Party, appointed specifically to discipline the Party and population of the republic.

The immediate motives are said to be food shortages and latent nationalist sentiment in the population.

These rumors are as yet unconfirmed. If true, the specific nature of the resistance and its leadership are unknown. But the very existence of the rumors point to the reality of conditions in Russia.

The Stalinist rulers will not reform themselves, nor can they be reformed from without. They must be overthrown.



Russian grain ship loading in Superior, Wisconsin

Brezhnev

David Finkel

[Continued from page 1]

the ruling class that he remains, despite the virtual collapse of his political authority, the best representative of its interests on a world scale. The publicity and fanfare given to Brezhnev's visit, and the friendly and cordial atmosphere that existed between the world's two most powerful imperialist politicians, were in part Nixon's attempt to prove that he can still govern, negotiate and manipulate world politics for the benefit of American capitalism.

Just over a year ago, in May 1972, Nixon and Brezhnev met in Moscow under very different circumstances. At that time, Nixon had just carried out the mining of the harbors of North Vietnam in a desperate attempt to halt the massive offensive by North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front. As American bombs rained on Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, Brezhnev eagerly joined Nixon in proclaiming "a new era of world peace."

Once again, Nixon has turned to Brezhnev to resolve a political crisis -- this time not the war in Indochina, but rather the crisis of Nixon's regime itself.

While the story of the Watergate scandal has spread throughout the world, the government of the Soviet Union has remained silent.

Virtually no information about Watergate has been made available to the Russian people. The only statements that the Russian Communist Party bureaucracy have made are to the effect that the Watergate scandal is a "right-wing plot" aimed at destroying Nixon and undermining US-Soviet friendship!

The reason for the eagerness of the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy to strike up friendly relations with American capitalism -- especially in the fields of "arms limitations" and trade -- reflect the deepening stagnation and the emerging crisis of the Russian economy itself.

The international diplomatic aims of Richard Nixon, now intensified by his efforts to ride out the Watergate crisis, coincide in many respects with the needs of the ruling bureaucracy of the Soviet Union.

A discussion of the crisis facing the Stalinist bureaucracy, which helps to explain both its desire for economic relations with the West and its desire for world political "stability" free of

Struggle to Defend Farm Workers Continues

Beaten in their first attempt to legislate the United Farm Workers Union (UFW) out of Florida, that state's agribusiness interests have decided to make a second try.

The original bill introduced in the Florida legislature by fruit and vegetable growers was similar to those proposed in a number of other states and defeated by California voters last fall.

The bill would have outlawed the union hiring hall and voided all the contracts already signed by the UFW. It would also have had lesser effects on other unions within Florida.

Massive protests from farmworkers and their supporters as well as the untimely (from the point of view of the growers) revelation of two slave labor camps in the state, and the outbreak of a typhoid epidemic in another migrant labor camp, contributed to the defeat of this bill.

Several of the farmworkers who had been held as slaves joined the drive

against the bill by testifying before the Florida legislature. They had been held as slaves by their "crew leaders" who claimed that the workers owed them money. The "crew leader" system is what the UFW hiring hall aims to abolish.

As a result of extensive nationwide publicity of the slave camps and typhoid epidemic, some legislators were embarrassed to vote for the bill, and it was defeated 10-5 in committee in the Florida House of Representatives.

The growers, however, are determined to crush the UFW while it is small and weak -- the UFW's contracts currently cover only about 1% of Florida's 150,000 farmworkers.

The latest grower offensive is a bill that would set up an Agricultural Labor Relations Board. Among other things, this bill would require the UFW to notify the Board and the growers before beginning an organizing campaign. The UFW would then have only 45 days to

win the campaign, or lose its organizing permit.

The bill further prohibits workers from joining a union until they have worked for the same employer for 30 days. This provision would prevent 90% of the state's migrant workers from joining a union.

Strikes, boycotts, and picketing would also be banned by the latest bill.

An effective campaign against these continuing efforts to destroy the UFW will have to extend beyond lobbying and making protests to the legislature. These attacks, if successful, will not be limited to the farmworkers.

They will extend to the labor movement as a whole, and so must be fought by all of Florida labor.

If the unions bring to bear their full power to stop production in defense of the farmworkers, not only the farmworkers but the entire union movement will be strengthened as a result. ■

revolutionary upheavals which it could not control, is contained elsewhere in this issue of *Workers' Power*.

The practical results of the talks between the leaders of the "Free World" and the "socialist bloc" were quite small, compared to the rhetoric that surrounded them.

Aside from promises to conduct further negotiations over trade, with the aim of bringing the amount of US-Russian trade to \$2-\$3 billion per year, the major and most highly publicized decision was the agreement to impose further "limitations" on arms production and preparations for nuclear war.

As *Workers' Power* has explained in the past, such arms "limitations" agreements between imperialist powers have a twofold purpose. The first is ideological: to convince the world's masses of the "sincere" peaceful intentions of the warmakers.

The second and deeper meaning of such "limitations", however, is that they represent another phase in the preparations for new wars in the future.

Today, the imperialist powers, capitalist and Stalinist, make deals with each other in order to stabilize their own economies and their growing political crises.

These maneuvers, however, will not bring "a new era of peace," but

only new conflicts, new conquests, and a new world war unless the revolutionary intervention of the working class puts an end to both the capitalist and Stalinist imperialist systems.

In any event, the Nixon-Brezhnev agreements appear to contain little that is new, beyond formalizing relationships which have already been established in the areas of trade discussions, negotiations over natural gas in Siberia, and the like.

Even the widely acclaimed "end of the Cold War," supposedly resulting from the Nixon-Brezhnev summit, only formalizes the co-operation of the US and USSR in many vital areas of world politics.

The most visible of these is the assistance rendered to Nixon by Brezhnev in his efforts to maintain American imperialist domination in Southeast Asia.

Even where the two powers fail to agree -- as in the Middle East -- they pledge not to seriously obstruct each other's policies.

If Nixon expected, however, that his display of jovial friendship with Brezhnev and his new so-called "breakthrough" in international politics would distract attention from the Watergate crisis, he was clearly sadly mistaken.

The issue of Watergate, which has galvanized public attention to such a

great degree precisely because it focuses the deep discontent and dissatisfaction with all the economic and political policies of this government, has now reached the point where the impeachment or resignation of Nixon is openly anticipated -- provided that some new Administration can be constructed.

If anything could indeed distract attention from Watergate at this stage, it would have to be the threat of widespread food shortages and destruction of food sources resulting from Nixon's other publicity stunt, the price freeze.

Far from rallying behind Nixon at this time of crisis, the capitalists have threatened to go on strike to force the lid off prices. In a period of political de-stabilization, Nixon's new attempt at government intervention in the capitalist economy has only sharpened the effects of capitalist waste and inflation.

Neither in world politics or domestic affairs do the policies of the Nixons and Brezhnevs offer any hope to the working class. Only the complete rejection of those policies -- from Nixon's wage controls to the inter-imperialist deals between Washington and Moscow -- and an independent class struggle against them, can open up a road leading to the goal of peace and prosperity, the goal of revolutionary democratic socialism. ■

Sellouts

Jim Woodward

[Continued from page 3]

American economy. It is in a full boom, unable to keep up with orders. Every car on the assembly line is sold before it is assembled.

Some auto plants are working as much as 12-hour, seven day a week shifts. Speed-up is intense and profits are soaring to record levels.

But the boom will not last. As in the economy as a whole, a recession,

perhaps quite serious, is expected next year. Many auto workers will be out of jobs, and not just new hires -- this boom has been based mainly on speed-up and overtime, with very little new hiring.

The auto contracts expire in September, soon after the scheduled introduction of Nixon's Phase 4, and so will be important in indicating labor's response to what will certainly be Nixon's continuing attempt to hold down wages and make workers bear the burden of inflation.

Statements so far from the UAW leadership and from the Big Three auto makers have been fairly conciliatory -- there is no need of a strike, they both agree.

If the auto contract is to break the present pattern of the 1973 contract

bargaining round, the rank and file will have to play the key role.

In the last few weeks, the rank and file has raised its voice. A rash of wildcat strikes has hit the auto industry.

Within the space of just one week, wildcats occurred at the following plants: Chevrolet Gear & Axle, Detroit; Mack Avenue Stamping (Chrysler), Detroit; Dodge Main Assembly, Detroit; GM's Fleetwood Assembly, Detroit; General Motors Assembly Division, Norwood, Ohio; Brownstown Township parts warehouse (Ford), Michigan; Ford Assembly, Mahwah, NJ; GM's Linden, NJ plant; and twice at the GM stamping plant, Lordstown, Ohio.

In most cases, the attitude of management was to get production moving again at all costs even if this meant

making concessions. Although the wildcats did not necessarily win their stated objectives, the significance of management's attitude was not lost on the workers.

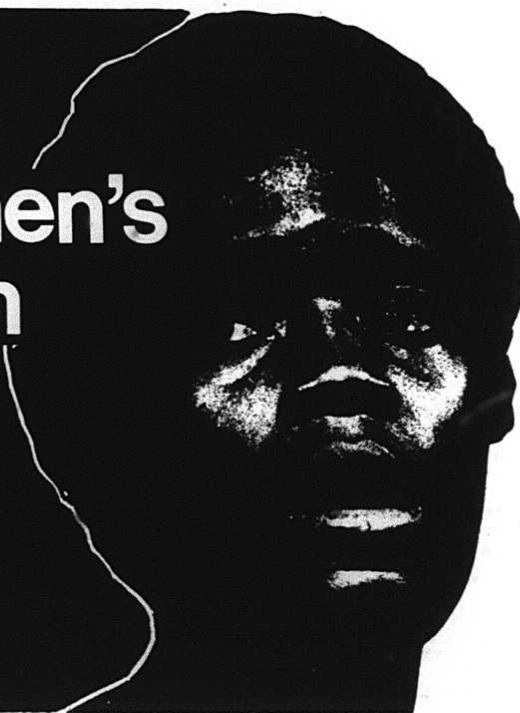
The fact that so many wildcats are occurring simultaneously indicates that auto workers are becoming more and more fed up with their conditions of work and, most significantly, willing to do something about it.

The task of militants in the situation is to give this spontaneous rank and file activity an organized and political expression.

Today there are no national rank and file movements of any significant size within the labor movement. Building such movements is the immediate task if the coming rank and file rebellions are to be successful. ■

REVIEW: Black Women's Oppression And the Fight for Liberation

Kay Stacy



The author of *Tomorrow's Tomorrow*: The Black Woman begins her introduction by saying she is black, she is a woman, and she is a sociologist, and that none of these things can be divorced from her work. As her work — a study of adolescent and pre-adolescent girls as they grow into womanhood in the urban ghetto — progressed over four years, she consciously allowed her blackness and her womanhood to play a more active role in her research and her analysis.

Joyce Ladner begins by rejecting all the major social studies of the black community, which establish a "normal" culture or community from which the "abnormal" black community becomes a deviation.

She maintains that a rational study of behavior among blacks would more conclusively show "anti-social behavior" to be a reaction to or defense against the pathology of the oppressor society.

Strength and Survival

The stereotyped black woman, supposedly "super-human" in her strength and ability to withstand physical and emotional anguish, Ladner maintains, is the result of the sociologists' inability to understand the difference between *dominant and strong*.

The major difference between black and white women, she states, is that the oppression of white society has made it impossible for black women to play the traditionally passive role that white women have played.

The women's liberation movement, she states, has been in many ways a movement for women to become creative, aggressive and independent — self-activating — in a way that black women always had to be merely to survive.

What both Ladner and the middle-class women who gave the women's movement its political content fail to understand is the difference between the pampered passivity of white middle-class women and forced passivity — as experienced by both black women and working-class

women faced with a brutalizing job and a family.

The pampered passivity experienced by middle and upper class women is debilitating enough for a woman attempting to define herself as a total human being.

To be unable to achieve even that feminine role because of the necessity to earn a living is, in this society, still more debilitating.

Further, to be unable to make a decent buck because of discrimination as a woman — to make less wages, to be expected to do "favors" for the foreman — tears at women from the other direction.

To be unable, on the one hand, to be a "real" woman because she is forced into often dirty, unsafe or difficult labor, and unable on the other hand to be a "success" at work because she is a woman, leaves no way for a woman worker to successfully achieve any of the roles held up by bourgeois society.

That role training begins early: the "carefree" childhood common in America is almost unknown in the black community. Financial strain often makes it necessary for children to assume the responsibility for younger brothers and sisters or housework while parents work.

The level of community violence, according to Ladner, may super-impose an emotional maturity on the child far beyond its chronological age.

Most important is that the necessity of parents to arm their children against the oppression of white society fundamentally changes the character of family relationships.

"Childhood implies that one grows up in a relatively insulated environment, a protectiveness that keeps her from being exposed to certain facets of grown-up life and the responsibilities that are considered adult."

Black girls are, Ladner maintains, consciously socialized into a role of womanhood by the age of seven or eight. The model of the resourceful woman — one who can always attempt to cope with or rise above the difficulties presented her by life — becomes highly influential in the community.

Parents train their daughters with the idea that they be strong, for the

odds are that in later life they would have to be.

But the dominant intellectual attitude of this society maintains that the black family and the black woman are pathological deviations from the "norm" — the white middle-class norm.

In reality, Ladner states, it is the malignancy of institutionalized racism that produces the alleged deviance and pathology — the so-called family disorganization, rates of "illegitimacy," high rates of juvenile delinquency and homicide.

Two of the most intriguing sections in the book are relatively brief and are in the conclusion. They deal with the role of black women within both the Black movement and the women's liberation movement.

Black women are doubly oppressed and yet have not played the dynamic role they could have in either of these movements.

The women's movement, as mentioned earlier, failed to attract black women because of its inability to understand and voice their conscious needs.

To the extent that the movement became ideologically anti-male, black women were faced with a false choice: whether or not to ally with women against their oppressors — the racist, sexist society and the male chauvinism of their black brothers.

In addition, many of the demands that were taken up by the women's movement did not speak to the needs of black women. The "sexual revolution" that went hand in hand with the women's movement changed attitudes in the dominant culture that had never been assimilated into black culture in the same way.

The major political campaign — abortion reform — is a campaign that the black community as a whole remains cool towards. One of the reasons is that the women's movement never took on clearly and consistently the issue of forced abortions and sterilizations of black women, and the consequent threat seen by the black community to its survival, with the result that anti-abortion forces found fertile ground in the black community.

Forced sterilizations are, and for years have been, a reality in the black community. Threatened with the withholding of welfare funds many women —

many young women — give in.

Other women put off having vitally needed surgery because they fear losing their reproductive capabilities at the same time.

On the other hand, to relegate black revolutionary women to the role of baby-makers for the movement is also abhorrent. While Ladner never takes this issue head-on, another black woman, Frances Beale, does so in an essay "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female."

Beale correctly says it is absolutely incorrect to counter-pose black liberation to women's liberation, that in fact both are necessities. The struggle to free ourselves as women, she says, must not be put off until after the revolution. The tasks of black liberation will require the active participation of all black revolutionaries against the capitalist system.

To vilify birth control methods as simply "genocide," to glorify motherhood as the creation of warriors for the revolution and the only role for women is to participate in the active oppression of black women.

Birth control — whether preventative or abortive — must be absolutely free, absolutely safe and absolutely the woman's choice.

Race and Class

Our differences with Ladner begin when she rejects the application of a class analysis to blacks in America. Race solidarity, she says, outweighs the differences between middle-class, working-class and poverty-stricken blacks.

In reality there can never be a movement which includes either all blacks or all women, regardless of social position. The economic divisions cannot be ignored or wished away in a search for unity.

Ladner herself keeps running into difficulties in her analysis by her refusal to recognize the dynamic of class background. As she describes the ways that black girls begin to define themselves as women, she is continually forced to make distinctions between "blacks" and "upwardly mobile blacks."

The truth is, of course, that poor and working-class black women see themselves and the rest of the world in a different way than middle and upper class black women do.

They have fewer illusions about what they as individual women can accomplish and about what this society will allow them to accomplish.

As long as the movement for black liberation does not challenge the limitations of the racist capitalist system, the needs of the black masses will be subordinated to the goals of the black middle class.

Even though better off than most of their black brothers and sisters, middle class black people are still discriminated against and will respond to demands limited to "full equality under the law." In practice, this "equality" means little more than "equal access" to political and economic opportunity for black professionals, managers and other middle class elements.

The struggle to win these democratic rights are struggles that socialists defend and build. We do not believe, however, that legal equality is sufficient to end racial oppression and the super-exploitation of black working women and men — nor do we believe that capitalism can, in fact, grant either real equality or liberation.

We believe the struggle against racism and sexism, to be successful, must in the end be a struggle against capitalism itself.

The economic and political oppression of women, blacks and all other oppressed peoples are built into the foundations of American society. New foundations must be built. ■

international report

Paul Benjamin



South Africa: Militant black workers win right to strike

Black workers in South Africa have won the right to strike. The racist South African government was forced into granting this right by a wave of militancy among black workers which has been growing in strength over the last few years.

Large scale strikes began in 1971 in the territory of South-West Africa. In 1972 the movement spread into South Africa itself, in a series of dockworkers' and miners' wildcats.

Its strength became irresistible early this year. Black workers in over 150 industries in the province of Natal walked out in a series of strikes in the first three months of this year.

Now the strike wave has hit the great industrial complex around Johannesburg, where frequent walkouts are still taking place.

The movement is convincing proof that the government's strategy of "separate development," confining blacks to nine bantustans, or homelands, is not merely racist -- this was obvious -- but a fantasy which contradicts the realities of South African economic and social development.

In order to grow, South African capitalism requires a stable pool of black labor in semi-skilled and skilled jobs, due to the general labor shortage in the country. South African businessmen have been demanding that urban blacks be given greater security and permanence of residence in the white areas for precisely this reason.

Now the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development has admitted that urban blacks are not quite the "temporary" or "vassal" residents that government spokesmen have termed them for the past quarter century.

This retreat, which was demanded by the needs of capitalism in South Africa, was in fact won by the militancy of the black workers' movement. It has forced the government to recognize what it has denied for years: that the black working class does in fact exist.

These developments have forced the black leadership of the "Bantu homelands" to reconsider their positions. These so-called leaders are in fact the creations of the South African government.

Previously they had been willing to betray their people by supporting "separate development" in return for a certain degree of privileges and power for themselves. Now they are claiming that they represent their tribal members in urban areas, and have begun to put forward such demands as equal pay for equal work.

In fact, these puppets are not leading anything. They are trying to gain control of a movement neither they nor the government ever dreamed could exist. But their maneuvers cannot conceal nor obstruct the phenomenon now developing in South Africa.

For the first time, the black working class has taken the lead in the



struggle for black liberation. For the first time, the government has been forced into significant concessions, concessions which go beyond the immediate economic issues to the heart of the political basis of its regime.

In winning this victory, the black workers of South Africa have pointed the way for militants throughout the African continent. The struggle for black liberation is in the hands of the working class.

Indian state nears collapse; mass unemployment, famine growing

The state of India is nearing total political and economic collapse. The economy is stagnant. The overall growth rate for 1973 has been virtually zero.

Unemployment is estimated at 35 percent, and is growing rapidly. Hunger is widespread throughout the subcontinent.

The economic crisis has led to a deep-rooted political collapse. Two provincial state governments, in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, have totally collapsed. Six others are in various degrees of deterioration.

As the crisis has deepened, the level of violence has escalated sharply. Riots fueled by hunger and unemployment have swept the country. The single most serious incident was the revolt by 20,000 policemen in the provincial state of Uttar Pradesh.

The mutiny, a protest against poor salary, working conditions, and mistreatment by senior officers, was crushed after three days by the army. Its existence demonstrates the weakness of the central government, which can no longer count on the reliability of the repressive apparatus.

The crisis is in striking contrast to the image of India created by the government's victorious intervention in the Bangla Desh independence struggle. At that time India's international prestige, the government's own self-esteem, and its hold on the Indian masses were never higher.

This "triumph" led the Indian national bourgeoisie into the fatal sin of arrogance. It proclaimed that it could establish itself as an independent political and economic force in international

politics, that it could abolish poverty within India itself.

The practical result of this was a refusal, out of "national pride" -- the bourgeoisie's own pride -- to request foreign aid in dealing with famine caused by drought and incompetent agricultural policies.

Instead, the government tried to conceal the depth of the food shortage, while attempting to buy wheat on the international market. In doing so, it ran up against the record price levels caused by the Russian wheat deals, and bankrupted itself.

The government has now been driven to nationalize the wholesale trade in wheat in an effort to prevent hoarding, end speculation, and lower the price of bread.

It is unlikely that this desperate step will succeed. It was undertaken with virtually no preparation, and will fall prey to the corruption and inefficiency which runs rampant through the Indian state apparatus and the economy as a whole.

Thus the arrogance of the national bourgeoisie has led India's workers and peasants into disaster. Fully 40 percent of the Indian population, some 220 million people, live at starvation levels or below.

The national bourgeoisie will be driven to sell itself and its illusions to the highest bidder, to accept its role as a client for the imperialist ambitions of the West, in order to save itself from the anger of a starving population whose problems it is totally unable to solve.

Civil war threat in Chile as Allende attacks striking miners

In Chile, a new crisis has opened up with the strike by copper miners in the important El Teniente mines. The workers struck because the government refused to grant them sufficient wage increases to sustain their standard of living against the monstrous inflation afflicting the Chilean economy.

In their anger against the government, the workers have turned to the Christian Democratic Party and other rightist forces in Chile for support.

The left forces in Chile have only themselves to blame for this turn in

events. They have consistently refused to expose the Allende regime's role as a last-ditch attempt to preserve capitalism in Chile, or constitute themselves as a revolutionary alternative to Allende's frantic search for alliances with the bourgeoisie.

The right wing has used the crisis to gather its own forces for a decisive blow. The various groups of armed fascist bands have consolidated under the leadership of the National Party, whose leadership has openly declared its readiness for civil war.

During the last election campaign, Chile's industrial bourgeoisie also indicated its willingness to resort to force, if Allende could not be legally removed or cowed. He is no longer useful to them, as he is no longer able to maintain his holding operation against the increased militancy of Chile's workers and peasants.

The Communist Party of Chile has played the worst role, aiding and abetting Allende, indeed counselling him, in his capitulation to capitalism. They are presently conducting a petition campaign against civil war. While they collect signatures (so as not to alarm the bourgeoisie) the right wing is collecting arms.

New repressive moves against Robert Williams

Robert Williams, a revolutionary Black nationalist facing extradition from Michigan to North Carolina, faces a new imminent threat to his freedom. A late report to *Workers' Power* from the Committee to Free Robert Williams stated that an attempt is being made to imprison Williams in Michigan in order to expedite the extradition.

Williams is wanted for trial in North Carolina on frame-up kidnapping charges in connection with a racial incident in Monroe, North Carolina in 1961.

At that time Williams played a leading role in one of the first movements for armed self-defense by black people against the racist terror of the White Citizens' Councils and Ku Klux Klan.

Williams is currently appealing the extradition order to the Supreme Court. In the meantime, however, Wayne County Prosecutor Cahalan has launched an effort to revoke Williams' personal recognizance bond and to slap him into the Wayne County jail.

As we go to press, emergency actions are being scheduled by the Committee to Free Robert Williams to build publicity for Williams' case and to beat back this new threat to his freedom.

For further information, sympathizers and interested readers should contact:

Committee to Free Robert Williams
P.O. Box 823
E. Lansing, MI 48823



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Women Workers Struggle For Their Rights

Alexandra Kollontai

This reissue of Alexandra Kollontai's pamphlet, "Women Workers Struggle for Their Rights," is a must for all revolutionaries since it is concerned with the relationship of independent women's organizations to a revolutionary movement.

Her pamphlet traces the development of German Social Democracy and its attempt to recognize the special problems of proletarian women. Included is a discussion of the specific victories and failures of the German women's movement. Kollontai not only argues for the importance of separate women's organization, but examines the dynamics of the movement itself - the recruitment of women to revolutionary politics, the growth of the international working women's movement and its relationship to bourgeois feminism.

The pamphlet provides some historical insight into the problems that face revolutionaries today in attempting to build a revolutionary working class movement that will relate to the special oppression of women.

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Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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