



## West Longshore Out

In the face of the threat of congressional intervention, 15,000 West Coast Longshoremen -- members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) -- have resumed their strike which was suspended last year by Nixon's Taft-Hartley injunction. The issues are the same as before: long term unemployment due to mechanization and containerization (See *Workers' Power* No. 42).

The employers, represented by the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), are confident that they can seriously weaken the union with the government's help. In this the PMA is taking a cue from an ILWU leadership which lives in the past and has a no-win policy in the present situation. The PMA is attacking the fundamental principle of the hiring hall, through which the union equalizes work opportunities among the members and insures solidarity in an otherwise fragmented workforce.

The PMA has refused to move off their demand for the "right" to hire "steady men" who are not hired in equal rotation from the hiring hall but instead work full-time for a single company -- at a time when the average longshoreman has been working only 3 1/2 days a week. Thus "9.43" -- the steady man clause in the old contract -- is today for longshoremen the hated symbol of deteriorating conditions and a weakened union.

Containerization -- "the wave of the future" in the transportation industry

[Continued on page 3]



## EDITORIAL Murder In Baton Rouge



The past several months have seen an escalating wave of violence against black communities and political prisoners all over the country. The most spectacular incident since the massacre of prisoners at Attica was the January 10 shooting in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, which left two police as well as two black men dead.

The first reports in the capitalist press -- before it became clear that the black people involved were most likely unarmed -- accepted as fact the statements by police officials that the blacks started shooting at them. The real series of events, reported from Baton Rouge by Ken Lawrence for

Liberation News Service (LNS), looks like this:

"The week before the attack on the meeting, two Muslims who were selling their national newspaper, *Muhammed Speaks*, were charged with vagrancy and solicitation without a license.

"Around noon time on January 10, the Muslims were holding their meeting in front of the Temple Theatre in the Baton Rouge ghetto. Traffic was blocked off and Muslims, standing on top of a parked car, addressed the crowd.

"Down the street, a scuffle broke out between a black reporter and some young blacks and police ordered

the meeting to break up. When the Muslims held their ground, Chief of Police Eddy O. Bauer led the charge into the crowd. Although the Muslims were unarmed, some of them were trained in self-defense -- so when the police attacked, they disarmed them.

"Though police claim the blacks shot first, they aren't able to produce any of the weapons the Muslims supposedly fired. The four dead men were killed by .38 calibre weapons. The police at the scene carried .38 service revolvers and shotguns, and, at the end of a few minutes of gunfire, the street was littered with spent shotgun shells. After the smoke had cleared, besides

[Continued on page 2]

# 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.

# Editorial

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the four lying dead, 12 blacks and 14 cops and five other whites were wounded.

"After the police overpowered the crowd, they continued to brutalize the blacks, dragging them along in the rain or handcuffing them face down in puddles.

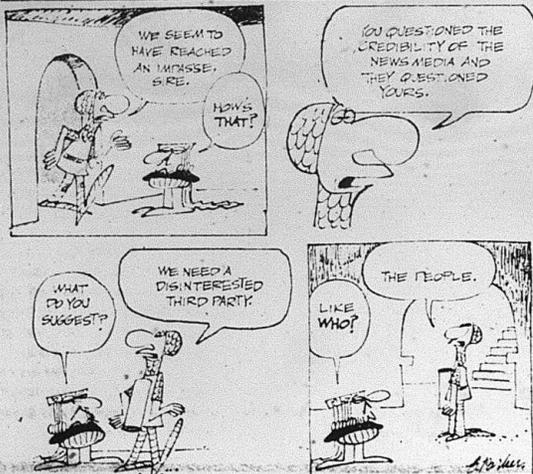
"At first eight Muslims were charged with the "Rap Brown Statute" — crossing state lines to incite a riot — and bond was set at \$500,000 each. Later the charge was changed to murder and no bond was granted.

"Even though there was no indication of a threat of violence in the aftermath of the shootout, the Sheriff Bryan Clemens called in the FBI, Mayor Dumas imposed a curfew, and Governor McKjethen proclaimed an emergency in the Parish, mobilizing a battalion of National Guardsmen. Over 70 black people have been rounded up for curfew violations in the two nights following the attack."

This curfew, as usual, applied only to blacks, as no attempt to "enforce" it was made in white communities.

Police murder on a grand scale has also occurred in Memphis, Tennessee. Under a new chief, the police have initiated a policy of shooting down any black youths who might be engaged in minor crimes against property. Three young blacks have been killed while fleeing police within a two-week period. The enraged community has responded by calling an all-out boy-

[Continued on page 14]



# Workers' Power 50

Copyright © 1972 by the International Socialist Publishing Company.

Editor: Kit Lyons. Editorial Board: James Coleman, Joel Geier, Kit Lyons, Jack Trautman, Michael Stewart. Art Editor: Lisa Lyons.

14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203. Subscriptions: \$3.50 per year. Supporting subscriptions: \$.50. Foreign subscriptions: \$5. Bundles of 10 copies or more: 10c per copy. Introductory subscriptions: \$1 for 3 months. Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of Workers' Power, which are expressed in editorials.

Published bi-weekly except semi-monthly in December and monthly in July and August by the International Socialist Publishing Co. at 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Mich. 48203. Second class postage paid at Detroit, Michigan. Send notice of undelivered copies or change of address to Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

Workers' Power is a member of the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS) and a subscriber to Liberation News Service and G.I. Press Service.

[Continued from page 1]  
 try -- would ultimately reduce needed man hours on the docks by 90 percent. The employers hope this would mean the elimination of all "unnecessary" men from the workforce with only steady men such as crane operators remaining.

The traditional West Coast union hiring hall method of equalizing available work by its logic and nature pushes the ranks to make demands that would reduce hours and raise wages to counter the work force shrinkage caused by containers.

But this crucial issue has been shoved aside by the Bridges leadership. Bridges believes that 943 cannot be won and has refused to make it a coast-wide issue, saying that the PMA is making all other contract issues dependent on, in Bridges' words, "giving them all the steady men they ask for." When local negotiators have raised the issue, management has laughed in their faces.

#### "WORK GUARANTEE"

Bridges seeks to meet the problem of unemployment and container jurisdiction with the Teamsters by the establishment of a "work guarantee." This would supposedly guarantee most longshoremen 36 hours of employment or pay each week. Already many longshoremen have criticized this idea because, in the words of local union leaders:

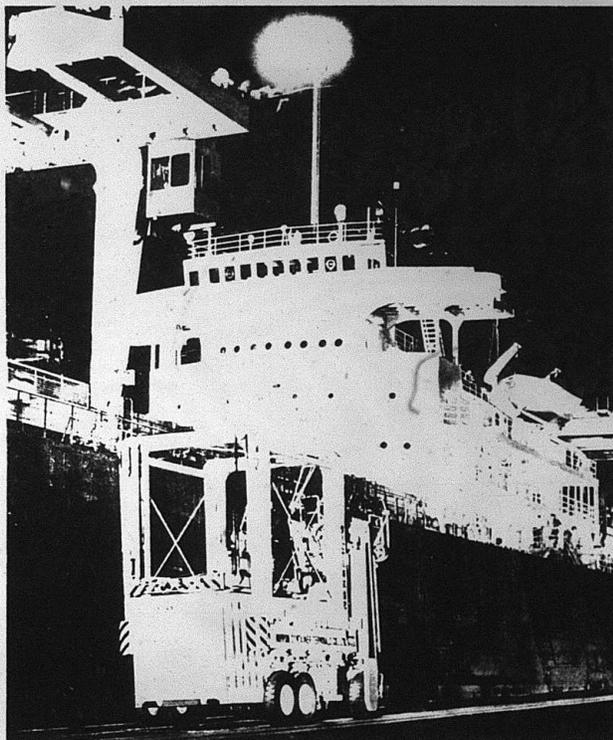
*"The employers would like us to believe that the guarantee will solve all problems, including job security -- but the way they propose the guarantee, it becomes a trap. We may get the guarantee and other 'goodies' but when they are through, the number of men in the industry will be cut to less than half and the guts will be torn out of our union.*

*"The way they want it, they'll be in full control of manning, size of gangs, and jurisdiction at the end of the next contract. They will also be in a position to take away the guarantee simply because we may not have the strength to fight them. The employers' plan is to build a 'loyal group' of steady men."*

An important factor contributing to the PMA's hard line on steady men and other crucial issues was the ineffectiveness of the strike last year. By September, union members became alerted to the fact that most of the big shipping lines were operating a large majority of their vessels at a profit despite the strike.

American President Lines, for example, was sailing 23 out of its 29 vessels!

How did this situation develop: First, the union decided to allow struck lines to continue carrying military cargo. Second, the union membership



# Longshore

Robert Battle John Single

mistakenly assumed that Canadian and Mexican longshoremen in Vancouver and Ensenada would refuse to work any struck American cargoes diverted to their ports.

Vancouver's early refusal to work struck cargoes was reversed due to coercion from Bridges and the PMA and lack of contact with American rank and file opponents of Bridges.

Thus, the Vancouver docks worked diverted ships by increasing production by 75 percent, and struck goods flowed across the border by rail and truck. Despite protests from ILWU locals, the International officers did nothing to halt this.

The ILWU may not have been able to refuse to work military freight because of the threat of severe government intervention. But the union did not have to allow the big shipping lines to carry military cargo. The seafaring unions in their strikes in recent years have not allowed this, instead

insisting that military work be done by small companies or foreign lines.

Since the large lines like Matson and SeaLand control the PMA, it is above all they who must be hurt if any strike is to be effective. As it is, these giant corporations have been able to sneak a great deal of civilian cargo out of West Coast ports under the guise of military contracts.

To top off this whole demoralizing process, the union's International leadership -- Bridges -- ordered the docks cleared of cargo which was already on the docks when the strike started, even though much of this was struck material. With the piers emptied of cargo, many longshore pickets began to ask "what are we picketing, anyway?"

In 1948, the ILWU was prevented from striking for 80 days by a Taft-Hartley injunction imposed by President Truman. Under duress, longshore-

men slowed down on the job and the employers' profits disappeared.

After 80 days, the ILWU struck anyway, and the employers caved in to the union one by one, destroying the Waterfront Employers' Association. The union won a smashing victory against great odds.

During the 1971 strike one large employer, SeaTrain, offered to make a separate peace with the union, but was turned down by Harry Bridges -- who maintains that the PMA is too important to the stability of the industry to risk its destruction.

In September 1971 Bridges stated: "Government intervention means Taft-Hartley. Taft-Hartley means that every disputed issue will be continued on the job, with every dispatch, on every vessel, and with every gang."

Bridges thus raised the specter of another 1948: slowdown, work to rule, boycott containers illegally stuffed outside the union's jurisdiction, the elimination of steady men. The rank and file took him at his word: in Seattle in the first week of the injunction, 200 longshore gangs were fired from their jobs for low productivity.

The slowdown failed, however, because Bridges would not support it. Instead he flew to Seattle and coerced the men to return to normal production. Much the same thing happened in other ports. Bridges point to the threat of huge government fines for violation of the injunction, but offered no program for combatting it.

Longshoremen in Los Angeles went back to work ready to fight on the steady man issue. 350 out of 400 steady men in the port refused to report to their steady jobs when called by name and instead chose to be dispatched from the hiring hall on an equal basis with their union brothers.

The employers retaliated by locking out the entire port. The docks remained shut down for ten days until a court order forced the men back to work. Without the backing of the International union, the local and its members were at the mercy of the government and were forced to retreat.

Since Christmas day, the ILWU has been free to strike. But Bridges kept the membership at work on his own initiative, while futile negotiations continued behind closed doors. The result was that the entire strike backlog of cargo was handled and the whole momentum built up during last year's strike at the cost of much sacrifice has been lost.

The strike now resumes with no ships idled; longshoremen must now begin all over again where they started last July 1. Moreover, the strike is being run on exactly the same basis as

[Continued on page 5]

# Nixon Attacks Right to Strike

The Nixon administration is attempting to use the resumption of a strike by 15,000 West Coast longshoremen and dock workers to ram through Congress a bill which would, in effect, take away the right to strike from the nation's transportation workers.

In a message to Congress on January 21, Nixon termed the longshore strike "intolerable" and asked for specific legislation to prohibit any strikes in the affected ports for 18 months. It would set up a three-man "arbitration panel," chaired by Labor Secretary James Hodgson, which

would have authority to hand down a legally binding settlement within 40 days.

Nearly two years ago, during a threatened rail strike, Nixon proposed that Congress formally ban all strike action in the longshore, airline, railroad, and trucking industries. He called for the establishment of a federal panel with the authority to impose settlements on any disputes in these industries.

That bill has kicked around in Congress for months. Now Nixon feels

that the time is ripe to revive this vicious anti-labor act, as well as part of the general offensive his administration has launched against the labor movement.

Congress is not expected to act immediately on the pending legislation. The bill dealing specifically with the dock strike was introduced by Senator Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.), who admitted at the time that he was "not convinced" that this was the best way to handle the strike. As an alternative, he suggested the possibility of government seizure of the docks.

# LORDSTOWN Revolt Against Speedup

Kit Lyons

General Motors' super-automated Vega assembly plant in Lordstown, Ohio -- the fastest assembly line in the world and key to GM's hopes of meeting foreign competition -- is in trouble. Workers at the plant, the 7,700 members of UAW Local 1112, have refused to accept the increased work loads that management has tried to force on them over the last three months.

The outcome of the dispute -- in which the youngest local of the United Automobile Workers is confronting GM's toughest management unit -- could have far-reaching implications for the auto industry as a whole. The *Detroit Free Press*, a faithful mouthpiece of the industry, has already begun shrieking, "War Brews at GM Vega Plant."

Lordstown, Ohio is a small town just off the Ohio turnpike, not far from the Pennsylvania border. Until recently, it was wholly overshadowed by its giant industrial neighbors -- Youngstown to the southeast, with its steel plants; Akron, to the southwest, with its rubber factories; and Cleveland, a major center of heavy manufacturing, to the northwest.

In 1966, General Motors began construction near Lordstown of one of the most modern and sophisticated assembly plants in the world. The production lines at the Lordstown complex incorporate the latest in power tools and automated welding, fabricating, and assembly machinery.

The plant is geared to produce G-10 Chevrolet van trucks at the rate of 25 per hour and the new Chevrolet Vega at the unprecedented rate of 101 per hour -- nearly double the rate of most older plants. Lordstown is GM's only Vega production facility at the present time.

## SPEEDUP

GM has a lot riding on the success of the Lordstown operation. Like US capitalism as a whole, GM over the last few years has faced increasing competition from foreign industry. The Vega sub-compact is designed to meet the challenge of the Volkswagen and the Toyota. And the Lordstown plant was supposed to be a showpiece of productivity and efficiency, in the vanguard of the efforts of US corporations to meet the challenges of German and Japanese capital.

Despite all the fanfare about Lordstown's new technology, however, all the automated machinery is only one

component of GM's productivity and efficiency package. The other key to cutting labor costs and raising profits is an old GM standby -- *speedup*.

Until last fall, GM's operations at Lordstown were divided between two divisions -- a Fisher Body plant and a Chevrolet assembly plant. In October, the General Motors Assembly Division -- the "Tac Squad" of GM management, with a big reputation for cutting costs and increasing productivity -- took over at Lordstown and began consolidating the two divisions.

GMAD adopted a simple approach to increasing "efficiency" and thus cutting costs at Lordstown. They laid off 700 workers in December, and re-organized work assignments to force the remaining workers to absorb the tasks of those who had left -- without reducing the speed of the line.

GMAD's strategists no doubt expected grumbling but little real opposition from the UAW local at Lordstown. The UAW has a long history of pressuring its membership to swallow worsening working conditions in exchange for higher wages. Moreover, the plant was deliberately placed in a quiet community with little history



Young workers are leading slowdown at Vega plant in Lordstown

of organized labor.

Beyond that, many workers at the plant -- who commute from as far away as Cleveland and Pittsburgh -- have parents employed in rubber or steel, already familiar with the threat of foreign competition and the spectre of unemployment.

## SLOWDOWN

But GM's vanguard plant has turned out to have a vanguard work force as well. The militant, young workers of Lordstown (whose average age is about 24) have organized to resist the intolerable pace demanded by GMAD. The long-simmering revolt of young auto workers against working conditions -- which the auto industry has been struggling to contain for some time -- has come to a boil in Lordstown.

The form the revolt has taken at the Vega plant is a familiar one in the auto industry: slowdowns, what the company calls "shoddy workmanship," and outright sabotage. GM has played up the sabotage aspect in an effort to win public support, but most of what it calls poor workmanship and sabotage are simply the inevitable result of too few people trying to do too much

in too little time (36 seconds per car).

In recent weeks, a lot at the plant that holds about 2,000 cars has repeatedly been filled with Vegas waiting for repairs before being sent out to dealers. Other improperly assembled cars have simply been sent on by management to dealers without repairs, although GM hotly denies the fact. Vega sales have been almost cut in half because of the inadequate supply of cars.

In retaliation, the Plant Manager, A. B. Anderson, has been ordering the workers sent home early (with a resulting loss of pay). GM's policy has been to dismiss the work force for the day whenever the number of cars needing repairs exceeds the number to be assembled in the balance of the shift. Last week, that happened four days on both shifts.

The impact of the crisis at the plant has been felt throughout the GM system. There have been layoffs both at the companion Fisher Body fabricating plant in Lordstown (which supplies the metal stampings for the Vega and the G-10) and at feeder plants in New York State that supply Lordstown with axels and engines.

GM estimates its production loss at around \$45 million -- 12,000 Vegas and 4,000 Chevrolet trucks. The profits GMAD expected to make by cutting down the work force have been eaten up by the workers' resistance.

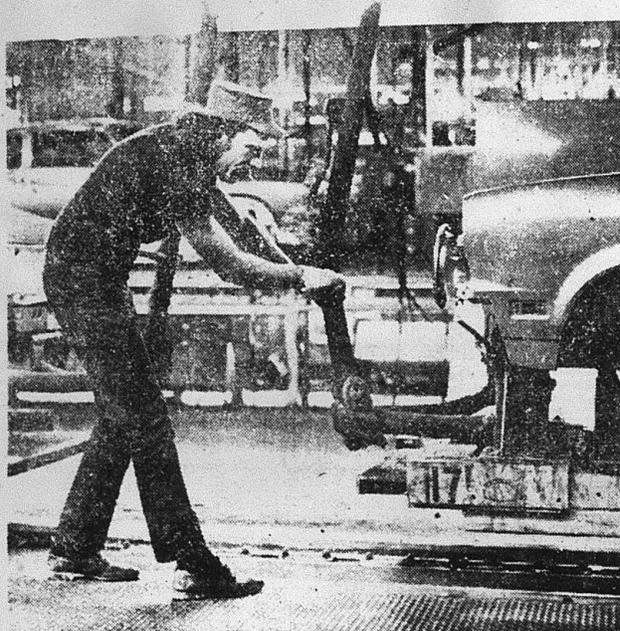
## LORDSTOWN TIGERS

GMAD has begun making loud noises about disciplinary action and dismissals, but this has only served to stiffen the position of the rank and file at the plant. Gary Bryner, the 29-year old president of UAW Local 1112, has testified to the mood at Lordstown:

"These guys have become tigers. They've got guts. They used to not see them at union meetings. Now we've got them in the cafeteria singing 'Solidarity Forever.'"

Local 1112 has scheduled a strike vote for February 1 and 2, and many observers believe a strike is inevitable. According to Bryner:

"We're trying to deal with this problem through supplemental contract negotiations, but we're not getting ver far... The fewer people building the Vega and the trucks, the bigger the profit. GMAD doesn't care about working conditions... They are coming on loud about sabotage to fuzze the real problem, which is reduced manpower."



On the line at Lordstown

# Free Puerto Rican Political Prisoners



## Carlos Feliciano

Carlos Feliciano, Puerto Rican nationalist charged with attempted arson and bombing in New York City, appeared in court three times in January. Two appearances resulted in postponements. Carlos' trial will continue on February 8 in the Bronx, and on February 11 in Manhattan.

On January 11, a federal court

heard a positive action suit to stop persecution of Carlos because of his political beliefs. This suit was a united action on the part of Puerto Rican groups, both in New York and on the island, and many concerned individuals. Carlos' supporters packed the courtroom and hall as lawyer William Kunstler argued the case, but the suit was dismissed by a three judge panel.

After the hearing, Carlos Feliciano and lawyers William Kunstler and Conrad Lynn spoke to a crowd of two hundred supporters and newsmen outside the federal court building.

The united front of Puerto Rican groups in the defense committee is an important step for the Puerto Rican movement in New York City. But Carlos needs even greater support to stop the government's attempt to crush the movement.

[Contact: The Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, Box 356, Canal Street Station, New York. Come to support Carlos at his next court appearance on February 11 at 10 a.m., at 100 Centre Street, Part 42, 15th floor.]

## Cruz, Melendez

Last March, Eduardo "Pancho" Cruz and Wilfredo "Goody" Melendez were arrested in New York City. Cruz, a student at City College, had been involved in the campus movement of Puerto Rican students. Melendez was a high school student with no political involvement at all.

The two were arraigned for possession of explosives and conspiracy to manufacture bombs and to bomb public property, and were accused of belonging to a terrorist organization "with links to a foreign government." Later indictments and the charges at their trial mentioned only possession of explosives.

December 14, the last day of the trial, was marked by a demonstration as 200 supporters crowded the courtroom and hall to hear the sentencing. Cruz was sentenced to seven years;

Melendez, to five. The severe sentences, like the earlier high bail (\$100,000 each), were intended to immobilize militants and to cripple the entire movement.

The Cruz-Melendez case resembles Carlos Feliciano's in many ways. John Fine is the assistant district attorney in charge of prosecuting both cases. Although bombings and terrorist organizations figured in the original accusations and bail hearings against Cruz and Melendez, they were finally charged only with possession of explosive material with intent to use them. While Carlos Feliciano was originally accused of forty-four bombings of public places, he was finally charged with only one attempted arson and bombing.

False and outrageous bombing and conspiracy charges which the government does not even attempt to prove represent the government's attempt to publically link all militants with terrorist organizations and foreign governments, and to intimidate and smash the Puerto Rican movement in New York City.

The Puerto Rican movement must unite to fight this repression. ■

**Free Pancho Cruz and Goody Melendez!**  
**Free Carlos Feliciano!**  
**Free All Political Prisoners!**

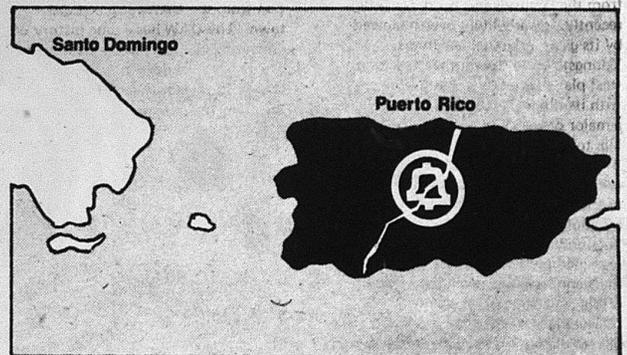
[On January 14, demonstrations took place in several cities around the country -- Chicago, Detroit, Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles -- protesting the police and judicial harassment of Puerto Rican militants.]

## Puerto Rican Workers Fight Pa Bell

On Tuesday, January 18, telephone workers in Puerto Rico walked off their jobs. Their contract expired last August, and they have been working without a contract ever since. Because of the wage freeze, contract talks did not begin until October.

The walkout of 2,200 workers in the Union Independiente de Empleados Telefonicos was caused by poor working conditions as well as low salaries. Carlos Rivera, president of the union, said, "The strike cannot be avoided unless the company meets our demands."

As we go to press, most phone service to Puerto Rico has been suspended. Further details are unavailable.



## Longshore

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

last year. Military freight is being worked and Vancouver B.C. is ready for business. If allowed to continue, this defeatist policy will lead to disaster.

Harry Bridges underestimates and downgrades his membership. He has told them they "don't have the steam" to win their demands for an end to 9.43.

Due to his own "cooperation" with the employers over the years, his

opposition to the strike in the first place and his failure to lead it when it did occur, Bridges may be successful in selling out the ranks. But this is not the fault of the rank and file of the union who have now realized what Bridges' policies have led to.

The rank and file may have lost some of their determination of last year. Understandably, there is now some confusion and even demoralization. The idea that one must rely on a "great leader" has a strong past in the union.

Opposition is also strong but is not united or organized openly around a clear program for action. Opposition to Bridges has so far been fragmented and on a piecemeal, issue by issue basis.

What is needed now is an organized opposition with a program which

makes clear that attacks on Bridges because of his advanced age are no substitute for a program. Anything less and the strike could fizzle. Curial demands could be lost.

The often voiced demands that Harry Bridges either put up or shut up, that if he can't do better he should step down in favor of people who are willing and able to carry out the wishes of the membership, are not enough by themselves. To save the jobs and the union much more is needed.

The union cannot live without the democratic "low man out" hiring system and the system dies unless the move to bring back the pre-1934 steady men practices is defeated.

Neither can the union life if there is a cut in the total number of registered longshoremen. Bridges sold out the working conditions to the PMA in

1960, and the increase in production paid for the containers. Now the containers are being used to destroy the union. What makes containers so sacred to Bridges?

The task now is to make jobs, not eliminate them. The ILWU was founded on creating and enforcing "make work" practices. The wages have to go up and the length of the work day must be shortened. Is the Seattle idea for "\$10 an hour and a 5 hour day" too far out or an unjust one to make on the PMA?

And can the union live with two classes of citizenship, A and B? With some not having union rights or full job protection? If not, then control over registration has to be taken away from the joint PMA-ILWU Coastwise Committee and put back in the hands of the locals. ■

# N.Y. Taxi Union Threatened

Peter McGuinness

While New York City taxi drivers go into their fifteenth month without a contract, another move against them — by the city government, with the support of the fleet owners — has been launched.

A proposal, introduced by Sanford Garelik (the President of the City Council), would provide that 3,000 of the fleet taxi medallions would be bought by the city and then resold to individual owner-drivers. The medallions are franchises that must be purchased in order to operate a "yellow" taxi.

Garelik's proposal would cut the number of fleet cabs to less than half of those now in operation. As a result, the New York City Taxi Drivers' Union would probably lose the membership of at least 3,000 drivers.

The new owner-drivers would most likely be present fleet drivers who could get guaranteed loans to purchase their own medallions. Since the owner-drivers see themselves more as small businessmen than as unionized workers, most of them would probably quit the union.

Furthermore, since almost all the fleet taxis are double-shifted, another 3,000 drivers would be forced into bigger and bigger shape-ups at the re-

maining garages. Three thousand, in this case, is a very low estimate, since there are thousands of men and women who drive part-time and have no other jobs.

The Metropolitan Taxicab Board of Trade, representing the fleet owners, has endorsed the proposal. One reason for this is that the going price for fleet medallions is around \$14,000. Gare-

lik's proposal calls for a price tag of \$20,000.

The owners clearly want to consolidate into larger, more efficient and more profitable operations. There are several giant fleets and presumably these would form the core of the remaining taxi fleets.

The situation would then be as follows. Only one-fourth of the taxis in

New York City would be from union-organized fleets. If the union called a strike and the owner-drivers went to work, the city could easily adjust to the strike. Further, the fleet cabs would be in the hands of those owners best able to withstand a long strike.

In the midst of all this, the union bureaucrats do nothing. They organize letter writing campaigns; they run blood drives; they collect dues. They don't threaten the bosses; they don't attempt to organize the drivers and inside-workers (mechanics) to fight for a decent contract; they don't begin to fight against the Garelik proposal.

Harry Van Arsdale, the president of the union, calls a negotiating session once every two months. At each session, the negotiators agree again on something they agreed on a year and a half ago.

The rank and file members of the union will have to fight for themselves or they may soon see all of the gains the union has won disappear into the bosses' pockets. If Van Arsdale and the bosses feel that the drivers are too disgusted to fight, they will stall until any action mounted will be too little and too late. ■

[Peter McGuinness is a member of Local 3036 of the New York City Taxi Drivers' Union.]



Santa Claus didn't visit the Checker Cab Company this Christmas. For the first time in years, there were no Christmas bonuses waiting for the drivers when they picked up their paychecks that holiday weekend.

One driver, who has worked for the Checker Cab Co. for over 35 years, told us that he had traditionally received \$20 at Christmas time. This year, though, they learned that a special meeting was held quietly by the owners who decided that they couldn't "afford" to give bonuses.

Though they agreed that none would be given out, apparently several owners privately paid their drivers a small Christmas bonus anyway. The majority of drivers, however, received nothing extra in that holiday paycheck, including no explanation for this loss.

Though most of them were furious as well as extremely disappointed, there was little they could do about the situation.

The men and women who drive Checker Cabs do not belong to a union. There is no organization to which they can turn for support and advice. They must bargain individually with the owners for whom they drive. And their working conditions vary and depend

on the generosity of their individual bosses.

There are about 325 owners who make up the Checker Cab Co. — each owns from one to eighteen cabs and has at least one man per cab driving for him.

The drivers may work as many hours a week as they wish but must make over \$120 in order to receive 50 percent

of what they bring in. Because times are hard and business is slow, many drivers work 6 and 7 days a week, 9 — 12 hours a day, in order to make the wages they must have to support themselves and their families.

The driver to whom we spoke has never had a paid vacation though he has worked for Checker Cab for 35 years — and has no retirement or pen-

sion fund either. He says he has never received much more than \$20 for a Christmas bonus, and until last year, had no health insurance coverage either. He told us he felt that health insurance was finally granted to them only to "blow us off because of all the talk about a union."

Several years ago the Seafarers International Union (SIU) attempted to organize the drivers and get the Checker Cab Co. to bargain with them. The whole matter ended up in court with the owners arguing that they were not a company but merely an association of individuals.

The SIU finally withdrew their organizing efforts claiming the long drawn-out hasseling proved fruitless and frustrating.

It is not easy to become an owner in the Checker Cab Co. The cost of buying into the association with an initial cab is from \$6,000 to \$8,000, depending on the age of the car one purchases.

Raising this kind of money on the wages most Checker Cab drivers make is no simple task. Therefore, most drivers cannot look forward to much more than working six or seven days a week just to make that 50 percent take-home pay. ■

## Detroit: Driving Without A Union

The American Federation of Teachers has initiated a national campaign for political action. The AFT asks all teachers to give from four dollars to one day's pay to a million dollar political fund.

Albert Shanker told the founding convention of the United Teachers of New York (UTNY) -- a new state organization -- that "The problems now confronting us are not just those of the bargaining table but those whose only solution lies in united political action (*American Teacher*, 11/71)." One of the main purposes of the new organization was declared to be "greatly expanded lobbying activities and political action."

The November issue of the *American Teacher* explains why, for the first time in its history, the AFT is planning to endorse candidates. There is the wage freeze and the whole government assault on labor, which has hit teachers at least as hard as anyone. There is the school financial crisis, which has severely worsened working conditions and created large-scale teacher unemployment. There are the anti-strike laws and anti-strike court rulings, which weaken our ability to defend ourselves and our union.

All these developments demonstrate that pure-and-simple unionism, relying solely on our power to strike, is not enough. As David Selden, AFT President, put it:

*"We must now recognize that there are limits to what can be accomplished through local collective bargaining. . . . Not only is it difficult to generate sufficient money for educational improvements through local collective bargaining, but, incredible as it seems, some school districts are actually cutting back services!"*

#### BANKRUPT POLITICS

In other words, all the negotiating and striking in the world won't get teachers anything from bankrupt cities and towns. We can't squeeze blood from a stone. Therefore, the AFT has started this campaign, allied with the electoral machinery of the rest of the AFL-CIO, to kick out the bad (anti-

# The AFT and Political Action

William Jackson



teacher, anti-labor) politicians, and to elect "our friends."

The arguments that the AFT leadership make for political action are unanswerable. Teachers and other workers need it. *But what Selden and Shanker mean by "political action" is the election of Democrats and the defeat of Republicans -- "Teachers should be ready to raise a million dollars to defeat Nixon (*American Teacher*, 11/71)." They forget these facts:*

"The Democrats advocated a wage-"price" freeze two years before Nixon adopted it. The Democrats passed the law enabling him to start the freeze. The party leaders all support both the freeze and the post-freeze, Phase II attacks on labor. If Shanker and Selden had their way and the Democrats had been elected in 1968, then the freeze would have started two years earlier!

"Most Democratic politicians have supported the existing anti-strike laws. A few want more "reasonable" laws. None support our free right to strike.

"We will not get much more money for schools unless the war in Indochina

is ended and other military spending is greatly cut back. But it was the Democrats under Kennedy and Johnson who began and escalated the war. The vast military budget, with its "overkill" spending, is as much or more a product of Democratic administrations as of Republican ones. The Cuban invasion, the Cuban blockade, the invasion of Santa Domingo, the resumption of nuclear testing -- all were engineered by Democratic presidents.

*The AFT misleaders realize that the Democrats are not really pro-labor, but they nevertheless cling to the hope that somehow the Democrats will be less anti-labor than the Republicans.*

At the UTNY convention, they passed a vague resolution for support to ". . . candidates whose actions indicate a substantial agreement with our policies and program." This leaves them free to wheel and deal. They defeated a tough resolution:

*"That UTNY make it a condition of political support to any candidate that he or she (1) categorically oppose*

*any form of freeze on wages; (2) publicly endorse, unequivocally, the right of federal employees to strike; and (3) publicly support federal aid to public schools for the purpose of improving teachers' salaries as well as educational change."*

UTNY President Shanker asked the sponsors of this latter motion if they could name any politicians who would fit these requirements! He knew that there are none. So who will he support? Democrats -- the lesser evil, perhaps, but still anti-labor.

There is little point in mobilizing money and effort to elect one anti-labor party over another. Right now the main thing is to refuse to sacrifice our willingness and power to strike for the sake of reliance on smooth-talking Democratic politicians.

#### CONFERENCE OF LABOR

Yet we do need political action. The teachers' union could create a real political alternative if it was to take the initiative in calling a special convention of labor and its allies -- a convention which would invite both official leaderships and rank and file groups, black and Spanish-speaking organizations, women's liberation groups, and representatives of other oppressed section of society -- but not Democratic or Republican politicians.

A conference of labor could consider ways to organize a political struggle against the government attack on wages, against the cutback in social services, and against the war and war-spending -- could call national work-stoppages against the war and the wage cuts (political action does not just mean running candidates!). Moreover, such a conference could work toward the creation of a new political party which really represents working people.

Organized labor has the numbers, the organization, and the money to do all this, if it decides to. If the unions were to pull out their support from the Democrats, that sell-out party would immediately be gutted. The policy of the labor bureaucracy is an indispensable asset to the Democratic Party in maintaining its stranglehold over the labor movement. ■

# Price "Controls" In Action

Figures released by the Federal Government indicate that, despite President Nixon's "wage-price freeze" and his subsequent economic controls, prices of consumer goods continued to rise throughout the second half of 1971.

The Government survey indicated that consumer prices rose an average of four-tenths of 1 percent in December; this is a somewhat smaller rate of inflation than before the freeze, but still significant. The most severe area of inflation was in food prices -- many of which are not controlled at all any more -- which rose an average of 1.1 percent in December.

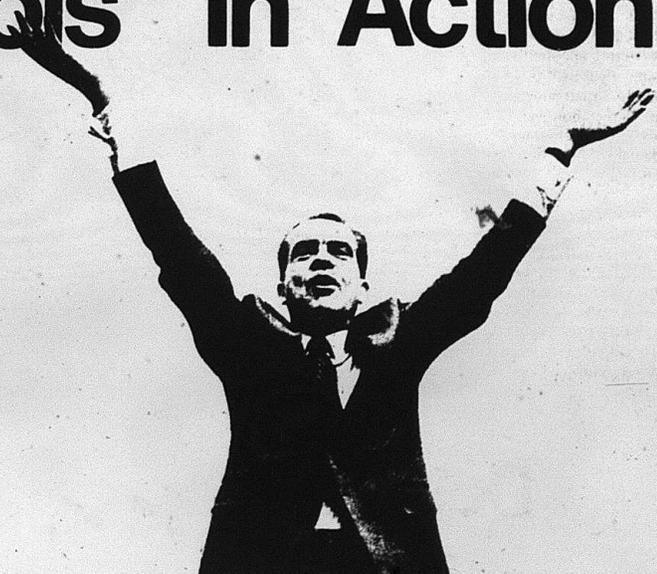
Overall, the Consumer Price Index rose 4.3 percent in 1971, despite the enactment of "price controls" over the last five months of the year. This rate of inflation, while slightly lower than previous years, is still considerably higher than the 2 percent rate of in-

flation which the Nixon administration has set as its target.

In fact, Nixon's chief economic adviser, Herbert Stein, warns that more inflation can be expected. While announcing the new cost-of-living statistics at a press conference on January 21, Stein was asked if price increases would get worse before they get better. "I wouldn't be surprised if it did," he replied.

One reason for the phonyness of "price controls" is that many areas have been completely exempted. On January 19, the Cost of Living Council announced that small retail stores, and half of the nation's rental housing, were being exempted from any price controls.

Because of the criteria established, most of the rental housing removed from controls is inner-city housing rented by poorer families. ■





## N.Y. Phone Strike: Into The Streets!

Ken Morgan

Some 4,000 striking Communication Workers of America telephone workers demonstrated their militancy in New York City, on Wednesday, January 12. We marked the beginning of our 27th week on strike against the New York Telephone Company by a mass protest rally in front of Governor Rockefeller's office (including workers from the entire downstate area, as well as from Local 1101 in the city) and a spontaneous march through midtown Manhattan.

The marchers went first to a telephone central office, where several were arrested and one beaten by the police riot squad. Although they have failed to enforce the New York City ordinance which prohibits strike-breaking by bringing scabs from out of state, the police (and the courts and D.A.'s) have shown great enthusiasm for enforcing *some* laws -- those that protect New York Telephone's property and its attempt to break the union.

The march moved down Third Ave-

nue, overturning a phone company car and several equipment wagons. At one point a scab truck appeared and was surrounded and attacked by the front of the line. One police captain jumped atop the truck and, swinging his nightstick wildly, rode the truck through the crowd -- receiving a shower of rocks and bottles for his devotion to the cause of corporate property.

On several occasions, the marchers outflanked the now-reinforced police. Despite the police attacks and arrests, we remained in the streets, passing another central office, many splicing manholes, etc. At each opportunity we left some reminder of our march.

The demonstration served to let management and its scabs know that we are very serious, that the streets of New York are unsafe for strikebreakers. We forced the press, which way trying to ignore us and hide our fight from other workers, to put us on the front page.

The January 12 march also demon-



## New York Telephone Harrasses Operators

Rosé Veviaka



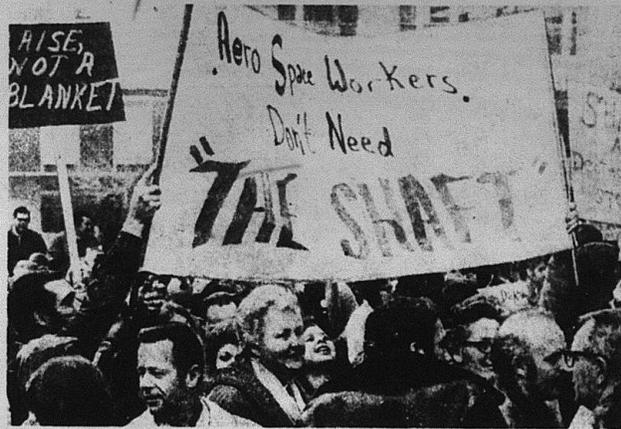
# Aerospace Workers Protest Contract Veto

On January 13, more than 1,000 aerospace workers walked off their jobs at the Lockheed plant in Sunnyvale, California. The one-day work stoppage, which virtually shut down the machine tooling operations at the plant, was called to protest the Pay Board's veto of the proposed aerospace contract.

The proposed three-year contract -- covering 100,000 workers at four aerospace firms -- was itself thoroughly inadequate, and had been accepted by the aerospace workers only because of the depressed condition of the industry and the high level of unemployment made many reluctant to strike. [See *Workers' Power* No. 49] In vetoing the contract, the Pay Board sought to make an example of the aerospace workers, knowing that the unions involved, the International Association of Machinists and the United Auto Workers, were not prepared to fight back.

The Lockheed workers who walked out in Sunnyvale threw up a mass picket line at the Federal Building in San Francisco and held a protest rally there. Most of those at the rally were older white workers (both men and women) but their mood was very militant; many called for a national work stoppage against the Pay Board's decision.

The president of the IAM local at Sunnyvale, Ken Benda, denounced the veto, saying: "We're being made scapegoats for the administration's desire to show their intention of holding the line on wages." But he failed to make the obvious demand that the presidents of the IAM and the UAW -- Fred Smith and Leonard Woodcock -- get off the anti-labor Pay Board and refuse to cooperate with wage controls in any form. ■



Sunnyvale workers demand action...



—while Presidents Woodcock (UAW) and Smith (IAM) announce a suit

strated, as many militants and especially members of the United Action rank and file group have insisted, that the way to win this strike is through the mass action of the ranks. Whether through out-of-state picketing which will resume shortly (see *Workers' Power* No. 49), or demonstrations in the streets of Manhattan, it is the initiative and participation of the 38,000 strikers which can lead to victory.

Again and again, this sort of strategy had been sabotaged by union bureaucrats who would rather lose the strike than risk losing control of "their" members. On Wednesday (and in another demonstration on Friday), the rank and file put the bureaucrats on notice -- if the "leaders" do not lead, they will be swept aside. ■

[Ken Morgan is a steward in CWA Local 1101 and a member of the New York International Socialists.]

For the last several months, operators in New York City have been the victims of dramatically increased harassment. Arbitrary transfers, petty slanders and accusations, and more and more intense oversupervision has been the lot of most operators, especially known militants.

This increased harassment comes in the wake of a tragic defeat for New York Telephone Traffic women -- the defeat of the Communication Workers of America as the bargaining agent and the re-election of the company union (Telephone Traffic Union -- TTU). The TTU, no longer feeling the pressure of an upcoming representation election, has returned to its past doing-nothing practices. They not only give no protection against the horrendous working conditions but they also work to restrain any attempt by operators to fight against the conditions.

Both the TTU and New York Telephone, satisfied with the results of the National Labor Relations Board election, have begun taking steps to assure that TTU's position will not be challenged again. The TTU has already expelled all operators they believe have been "actively" working for the CWA.

Fifty or sixty operators have been expelled without the trial "guaranteed" by the TTU constitution. This has meant that those expelled could not vote on the contract, will not be able to go to union meetings, and will not be able to run for or vote for union delegates.

The company has been doing their share by mounting pressure on the "troublemakers." At some of the more militant offices, large numbers of women have been transferred and work groups have been broken up. Individuals have been falsely accused of petty offenses, been put on "final warning with intent to fire" and even fired.

The most notable case involves an operator who was fired for "using abusive language to a customer." The company claims that the customer tape recorded this operator saying "don't razz by berry" to him, and that management was able to recognize her voice from the tape.

When the TTU -- in a feeble attempt to defend this operator -- asked for the tape, the company could not produce it, claiming that the customer had played it to them over the phone. On no more basis than several group

chief operators claiming to be able to identify a voice taped over the phone and played back over the phone, the woman was fired on the spot.

The fired operator was a known militant and had been on the CWA organizing committee. She was also one of those who had been expelled from the TTU. Although the TTU states that they will fight for her, the attitude of TTU president May Kleisch is that the woman was a troublemaker, was against the TTU, and that they are glad to get rid of her.

Several demonstrations have been called involving operators and CWA plantmen still out on strike. One walk-out was sabotaged by the TTU delegate.

The firing of this operator is only the first step in what many feel is a concerted move by the company, with the support of the TTU, to get rid of many of the women who have been leading the fight to change the conditions under which operators work. If Pa Bell's purse is to be defeated, operators must stick together, in defending this woman and each other.

This defense must mean continued demonstrations, legal defense, and a city-wide walkout if necessary. ■





Joan McKiernan  
Brian Trench

# The I.R.A

The British campaign of violence against the Irish working class continues in Northern Ireland. This week the British forces announced the opening of a second internment camp near Derry.

There were also indications that women would be interned for the first time, a dim recognition of the major role played by the women of Northern Ireland in the defense of their communities.

At this time over 500 men have been interned without trial under the notorious Special Power Act. They have been crowded into a concentration camp in Long Kesh, into the Maidstone prison ship in Belfast harbor, and into Crumlin jail in Belfast (which has been the scene of a number of successful IRA escapes).

In reaction to the wave of internments, the people of Northern Ireland have banded together in local committees to carry out a civil disobedience campaign. 30,000 people are on strike, refusing to pay rents and taxes to the local government. The Stormont government has passed legislation to break the strike by taking the rent money out of welfare payments, so the local committees are now organizing to fight for their welfare rights.

Paralleling the army's campaign of violence has been a massive propaganda campaign of lies, hysteria, and distortion, waged by the British press against the Irish Republican Army. The IRA has been the main force fighting to defend the people of the Catholic ghettos against the imperialist forces of the British army.

The popular press pumps out a daily stream of abuse and mangled truth about the way the IRA operates and the motives behind its actions. Cartoonists have revived the racist images of earlier days in the Irish independence struggle, showing men in trench coats looking like apes.

In the confrontation between the British Army and the IRA, the International Socialists are on the side of the Republicans. The Army, supposedly brought in as a peace force in 1969, has terrorized the Catholic community and has become an army in occupation in major working class communities in Northern Ireland.

It is the brutality of the Army and the disastrous policy of internment that has provoked the violence which is constantly denounced by the mass media in Britain and the USA. The British government is responsible.

But while we support the efforts of the IRA to drive out the forces of British imperialism, this does not mean we have to support every single tactic of the IRA. We are not uncritical of their political attitudes or their tactics in the military struggle.

Neither wing of the IRA - Provisionals or Officials - is a revolutionary socialist organization and neither can bring about a real victory in Ireland - a united 32-county socialist republic.

When the IRA split into Provisionals and Officials, both groups maintained their military sections and their separate but overlapping political organizations - Sinn Fein.

Both the Provisional and Official Sinn Fein have just held conferences in Dublin. Contrary to the British press image, there was nothing sinister or mysterious about the way they discussed resolutions on the political struggles they are engaged in.

## PROVISIONALS

The Provisionals were created in 1969 in reaction to the lack of military preparation at the time of the Protestant pogrom in August - when the Catholic areas of Belfast and Derry were attacked by mobs of armed Orange men (right-wing Protestants) who bombed and burned families out of their homes.

Many of those who joined the Provisionals in 1969-70 were people who had not been active in the movement for some time. They clung to the traditional republican ideals of driving out the occupying force and uniting Ireland - often refusing to ask questions about what type of united Ireland that would be.

Others who joined the ranks at that time were young and insisted on the need for militancy in the opposition to British troops. They often had more radical but not fully worked out political ideas.

At the Provisional Sinn Fein conference, leader Ruairi O'Bradaigh recognized these competing attitudes in the movement. On the one hand, he declared the IRA's final objective to be a "democratic socialist republic" covering all the 32 counties of Northern and Southern Ireland. But on the other, he concentrated almost all his attention on the campaign against the troops and against the Northern state.

The Provisionals' military campaign, designed to create havoc and make Northern Ireland ungovernable, has been directed primarily against military targets and state symbols. But they have also claimed responsibility for attacks on Protestant working class pubs, department stores, factories, and offices. These bombings have only further alienated the Protestant section of the working class, without whose support there can be no hope for a united Ireland.

The Provisional conference called for the civil disobedience campaign in the North to be stepped up. But by "stepping up" the campaign, the Provisionals mean a refusal to pay HP payments, motor, and income taxes.

This approach misses the essential point about the civil disobedience campaign - that it has involved bigger numbers than ever before in political action against the Unionist regime,

and this makes possible the building of a movement of workers, fighting for certain objectives and setting up rank and file local organizations to maintain the fight.

Some delegates raised the idea of spreading this kind of action to the 26 Counties, but the majority thought it a mistake to alienate the "85 percent" support in the South for the campaign in the North. So while making some verbal concessions to more radical ideas, the Provisional Sinn Fein stayed within the framework of traditional republicanism.

They see Jack Lynch and his Dublin government as an ally of British imperialism, but they do not draw the necessary conclusion - the need to build a movement throughout Ireland actively engaged in the struggle of workers, tenants, and small farmers against the grip of imperialism and its local supporters.

## OFFICIALS

On the surface, the Officials seem closer to a socialist approach. Thomas MacGiolla, president of the Official Sinn Fein, told his recent conference that the best help they can give to the people in the North in their struggle is to intensify the fight against British imperialism and the Southern government.

But their opposition to the Lynch government is based on its "selling-out" to Britain, not on the need to build a working class movement that can convince Protestant workers in the North that they will not be forced into a "united" Catholic capitalist Ireland.

In their struggle against Ireland's entry into the Common Market, the Officials call for the unity of all democratic forces rather than emphasizing the independent action of the working class.

In the North, the Officials call for a democratization of the Stormont regime. But this is impossible without destroying the power of the sectarian Orange Order, which holds the allegiance of the Protestant working class. In their support for the civil disobedience campaign, the Officials have avoided raising working class demands. They have made no attempt to raise demands which would appeal to Protestant workers in order to build a united workers movement for a socialist republic.

So long as the struggle is confined to the Six Counties in the North, it cannot win. So long as the Catholic working class and the Protestant working class remain divided, Britain will preserve its power by playing one off against the other.

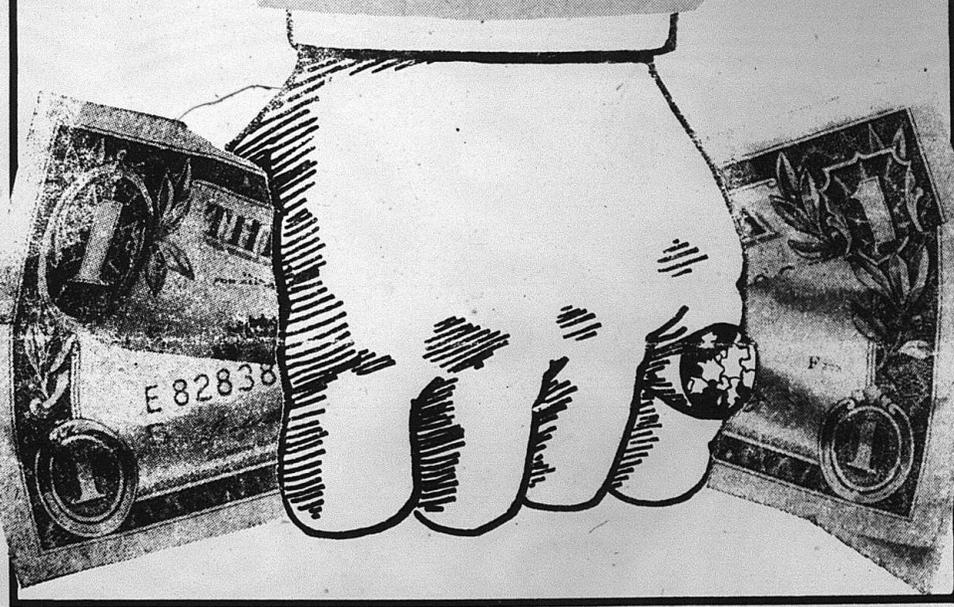
To disrupt the state and annoy the authorities is not enough. Only a movement based on clear revolutionary socialist policies, aimed at removing the regimes of both North and South, can have any hope of building a mass organization that will break down the sectarian barriers between Protestants and Catholics.

Neither section of the IRA and Sinn Fein, brave and determined people that they are, can build such a force on the basis of their present policies.

That job can be done only by a revolutionary socialist party that, in sweeping away the hideous regime in Stormont and the messenger boys of British capitalism in Dublin, will at long last end the repression and poverty that have ravaged the whole of Ireland for centuries. ■

# DEVALUATION

Roger Cid



On December 19, 1971, representatives of the ten leading capitalist nations, the so-called Group of Ten, reached agreement on the realignment of exchange rates among the world's leading currencies. Approved by the International Monetary Fund the next day, the agreement included revaluations of the Japanese yen, German mark, French franc, British pound, and Italian Lira, temporary agreement to permit currencies to fluctuate 2.25 percent above and below par values (instead of the old 1 percent), plus a proposed increase in the official price of gold, from \$35 an ounce to \$38, an effective 8.57 percent devaluation of the dollar.

As its part of the deal, the US agreed, in addition to the devaluation of the dollar, to rescind the 10 percent import surcharge, and the related provisions of the job development credit. Although Nixon said he would ask Congress to authorize the formal increase in the price of gold only after certain "unspecified" trade concessions were won from Japan, Canada, and the European Common Market, the fact that the exchange rates will be set as if the gold price were already increased indicates what is likely to happen when the trade talks reconvene in January.

Hailed in Western European capitalist circles as the beginning of the solution to the international monetary crisis, and paraded in Washington as the equivalent to 500,000 jobs, the agreement has, for the moment, averted a potentially catastrophic trade war. Yet, the none-to-elated response in Tokyo indicates that the basic cracks in capitalism cannot be ironed out by rearrangements in the currency patterns.

Nixon, of course, hailed the agreement as a victory for the United

States. *And a victory for the US ruling class it is.* The other capitalist nations knuckled under to the US demands, in exchange for paper concessions.

Scared by the threat of monetary collapse and Nixon's wild-eyed intransigence, the international bankers prepared themselves to make sacrifices and signed on the dotted line. The import surcharge and Nixon's original refusal to even consider devaluation of the dollar were only clubs to effect his coup.

The original modicum of opposition to the US disappeared in November when the French agreed to accept revaluation of the franc relative to the dollar in exchange for the US promise to rescind the import surcharge. What remained obstructing the final agreement was a dispute between the European bankers (primarily the French and Germans), over the relative changes among their respective currencies.

When the Germans accepted a 5 percent revaluation of the mark over last May's value, giving the French a distinct advantage in their trade with Germany, the road was paved. Incapable in effect of going after the top dog, the ruling circles of the other capitalist nations went after each other, fighting for relative trade advantages that remained after the US stole the bacon.

## PLAY-ACTING

French Premier Pompidou's highly-touted victory at the Azores meeting, in which he "forced" Nixon to accept devaluation of the dollar, was play acting. Nixon was prepared to devalue from the start, but recognized that Pompidou needed some icing to sell the thin cake to the French workers and peasants.

The effects of the agreement will vary from nation to nation. In the US,

they will probably be largely positive.

Since the effects of the devaluation of the dollar will be to make US exports cheaper and imports more expensive, the resultant increase in the sale of US goods abroad, and decrease in imports, will improve the presently weak balance of trade situation. This plus the changes in other international transactions will, over time, have a positive impact on the balance of payments deficit, although how big is uncertain.

The agreement has already restored some of the capitalists' confidence -- which, with the new trade advantages, may give impetus to the present slowly-developing economic upturn. Although probably not great, an improvement in the unemployment situation is also likely.

On the negative side, higher prices for imported goods, coupled with the impact of a recovery characterized by lagging capital outlays and productivity, can only build up inflationary pressures in the economy (which may tend to undermine the permanence of the present agreement). Meanwhile, wage levels of employed workers will continue to deteriorate, while improvement in the unemployment situation will probably not be enough to offset the decline in living standards for the whole class.

Internationally, the situation remains mixed. Certainly, the fact that the Group of Ten agreement has provided the basis for an expansion of international trade, the stabilization of the world money markets and an increased flexibility in the international monetary system, will give some stimulus to the recovery being forecast for the presently-recessed Japanese economy and to the economies of France and Great Britain.

On the other hand, the direct im-

pact of the revaluations of the yen and mark (17 percent and 14 percent respectively) will not be positive. Even though the German capitalists got a better deal than they expected the revaluation will probably reduce exports, cut output, and cost jobs in an economy which is already heading into a serious recession. In Japan, the effects of the revaluation of the yen on exports and output will most likely be similar, although employment will tend to remain steady due to the peculiarities of Japanese labor practices.

In both nations, increased political turmoil is the prospect as the various factions in the ruling groups jockey for position, utilizing the recent accords as a political football, while the working class begins to move against its worsening prospects.

## DOUBTFUL PROSPECTS

The long run prospect is difficult to assess. The agreement itself is only the first step in the process of reforming the entire international monetary system, a process which may take a few years to complete, and one that is essential to any sort of stability in capitalism.

It would be a serious error to overestimate the size of even this first step. For one thing, the dollar will remain "unconvertible" -- i.e., the US will still refuse to exchange gold for dollars held by the foreign central banks. As long as this is the case, the dollar will continue to function as a reserve currency, and as long as the US continues to have a balance of payments deficit, other nations will continue to add to their already large holdings of dollars.

This would offer few problems if the US could control its inflation. But at this stage, this would be possible only if a very large increase in the rate of profit could be effected, through either massive automation causing increased productivity or a terrific attack on the wages, rights, and working conditions of the working class.

Since the former is ruled out by present low levels of capital accumulation, it is the latter which offers US capitalism its only realistic solution to inflation. But because of the political consequences of such a course, the threat of a powerful working class upsurge, the US ruling class, while making tentative moves in this direction a la wage controls, has not embarked on it in earnest and instead has agreed to move toward the construction of a new monetary system based on a new reserve currency (see *Workers' Power No. 45*).

And yet, it is precisely the questions involved in the construction of such a new system -- what will replace the dollar as a reserve currency, what will happen to the dollars now held by the central banks, how will the world's monetary supply be regulated, etc. -- which will be the hardest to solve.

With the national capitalist economies experiencing various degrees of stagnation, the maneuvering room of the respective ruling circles, and therefore of capitalism as a whole, will be severely limited. The era of international cooperation is over, and will be replaced by open and circling imperialist rivalry.

Under such circumstances, substantial changes in the international economic and/or political relations can easily snag the future monetary negotiations and bring on a new and more severe crisis.

# Arrests In The Night As Crisis Shakes Tito

Chris Harmon

Yugoslavia has been going through a major political crisis for the last month. President Tito has spoken of the dangers of "counter revolution." In Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, one of the most important of the six republics that make up the federal state, more than 500 people have been arrested, many dragged from their beds in the early hours of the morning.

The leaders of the Croat government have been replaced. There have been repeated clashes between police and students in the streets. Only three weeks ago there was a 10-day long strike by 40,000 students.

The central Yugoslav government has been taking these actions in response to what it sees as the threat of increased national feeling among the various national groupings that make up the population. In the past these feelings were very intense, as in the Second World War when Croat fascists, the Ustache, murdered hundreds of thousands of Serbs and Serbian fascists murdered large numbers of Croats and Muslims.

It was because it alone resisted these divisive and murderous attitudes that the present ruling group in Yugoslavia was able to come to power at the end of the war. But now, after 25 years, the old nationalistic hatreds seem to be coming to the surface -- and not only in Croatia. There are reports of similar unrest among the million people of Albanian origin who live in the southern republic of Kosovo.

## RULERS CONTROL

To understand why this is the case, it is first necessary to have a clear idea about the real nature of Yugoslav society. Tito's government claims that Yugoslavia is a "socialist" state where "workers' control" exists. Many people in the West accept this claim. But it is far from being true.

*Real political and economic power in Yugoslavia lies in the hands of a small minority ruling class, just as much as in the West or in the other "Communist" countries.*

At a "congress of workers' self-managers" called last year, the head of the trade unions was able to declare that "Yugoslavia has one of the highest income differentials in Europe."

Nor are those who benefit from this state of affairs tolerant of fundamental dissent. When left-wing Belgrade students began to criticize the government in 1969, their leaders were arrested and their paper, *Student*, banned.

There is an extensive secret police network, always ready to strike, as the arrests in Zagreb show. In 1966, when the former police chief, Rankovic, fell from power, it was revealed that his men had files on one in four of the population, that is, on one member of each family. In Croatia alone, the police had files on 1,300,000 people out of 4,228,000.

Meanwhile, for those at the bottom, life is tough. There is a permanent pool of unemployed of 400,000 (10 percent). Another 800,000 workers have to go abroad, chiefly to West Ger-

many, to get jobs. In other words, one worker in three cannot get a job in his own country.

The aim of the ruling group in Yugoslavia is the same as that of private capitalists of the West and the state bureaucracies of Russia and Eastern Europe -- to force up production and to hold down wages in order to continually expand industry. The aim of the operation is not to improve workers' living standards but to enable the different rulers to compete with one another.

The appearance of "workers' control" was introduced in the 1950's. At that time the scale of industrial development and the degree of its misorganization was such as to vastly outstrip the country's resources and to threaten economic collapse.

Tito therefore introduced a whole number of reforms. In the countryside, collective farms were disbanded and peasants were allowed to produce freely for the market. Individual factories were allowed a greater degree of control over their own affairs and more independence from the central government in Belgrade. And "workers' councils" were told they would be running individual factories in competition with one another.

But there was a big limitation on the powers of the councils. They had to pay most of the funds obtained by the enterprises to the government in the form of taxes or to the banks as interest.

In 1962, for example, it was calculated that the workers' councils disposed of only a mere 16 percent of the total funds of the enterprises. Workers' control did not extend to the other 84 percent. Today it is estimated

that the central banks, in which there is not even the pretence of workers' control, control more than half of Yugoslavia's industrial assets.

With so little real power, it is not surprising that most workers cannot be bothered to waste their time worrying about the affairs of the councils.

The workers' councils are under very strong external compulsion even when it comes to spending the small portion of funds over which they have control. If their firm cannot survive in business by producing goods more efficiently and cheaply than other firms then it will go out of business and they will lose their jobs, joining the vast ranks of the unemployed.

So the funds in the hands of the councils need to be spent on continually expanding production, not on improving workers' miserable living standards.

It is not surprising that Yugoslavia has a higher proportion of its national income spent on investment (33 percent in 1964) than in most other countries, and a lower proportion going to wages (39 percent).

Again, competitive pressure means that workers' councils have every incentive in not using the expansion of industry to provide jobs for the unemployed. The Yugoslav economist, Todorovic, who supports the system, has written that "workers find it in their interest that the working collective number as few as possible . . . because they must share the joint product . . ."

The situation is developing now in which the more successful enterprises are actually buying up the less successful ones, so that some workers seem to be exploiting others. All this creates

continual divisions between the workers of one enterprise and those of another. Meanwhile the managers and the central bureaucrats walk off with the cake.

It is because such divisions exist that some of the workers have been ready to respond to the slogans of local nationalism.

Within Yugoslavia there are immense differences between the levels of development of the different parts of the country. While Macedonia, Montenegro, and Herzegovina are very backward, Croatia and Slovenia have a fair amount of industrial development.

The republic from which the central government is run, Serbia, stands more where between the two extremes. The national income averages twice as much per head in Croatia and three times as much in Slovenia than in Macedonia, Bosnia, and Montenegro.

The state takes a considerable portion of the wealth produced in the advanced areas and uses it, so the government claims, to help the backward ones. However given the organization of industry in the interests of competition, not raising living standards, this in fact has done little to help backward areas -- indeed, in some ways they are even more behind than they used to be. Life for the workers and peasants of the backward republics is increasingly miserable.

At the same time, the Croat and Slovene workers themselves face miserable conditions. The majority of those forced to leave their families and go abroad to find work are from these areas.

It is easy for them to blame the workers of the other republics for "stealing" their wealth and their job opportunities. They also claim that funds are not being used to help the backward regions, but rather to build up Serbia, where the central government resides (there is some evidence this has certainly been done).

All this is combined with a natural resentment against the people who run the central government -- the police, the army, the central banks, and so on -- who tend to be Serbians.

## BUREAUCRATIC SPLITS

However, it has not been the feelings of the Croat workers that have produced the recent crisis, but a growing trend towards national divisions within the ruling bureaucracy itself.

The managers and the government officials in Croatia feel that their power and prestige would be raised if that of the central government in Belgrade were weakened. They also know that their own particular, local economic difficulties would be eased a little if they were free to plough back into Croat industry all of their export earnings from trade with the West, instead of having to pass a large portion over to the central government.

So, for example, when the banking system was reorganized at the beginning of last year, there was a bitter fight for its assets between the governments of each republic and those bureaucrats continuing to run banks based



President Tito

in Belgrade. Each republic is beginning to favor its own industry and to see the other republics as foreigners.

The students in Zagreb have supported the local bureaucrats and gone further than them. The students think that if the local republican government has more power, then more of the plum jobs will go to Croat ex-students in Zagreb and fewer to Serbian ex-students in Belgrade.

In the pool of mutual bitterness that is being created, various powerful interests are fishing. Some Western big businessmen think that any weakening or even fragmentation can only make it easier for them to bring the area under their full economic control.

The Russians also hope that the growth of Croat nationalism will weaken Yugoslavia and make Russian control over the rest of Eastern Europe easier. Indeed, the Kremlin has now gone so far as to give encouragement to the Croatian emigre fascists, the Ustache.

Tito and his hatchet men cannot solve the problems that are tearing the country apart. Police measures can only increase Croat bitterness.

After all, it is Tito's regime that has failed to prevent mass unemployment and emigration. It is his regime that has failed to develop the backward regions.

*On the other hand, the nationalism that is developing can only lead the workers of the various republics into blind alleys. Croat nationalism blinds the Croat workers to the large and privileged Croat bureaucracy that lives off their backs. It prevents them from seeing that the "red bourgeoisie," of which some of them speak, lives in Zagreb as well as Belgrade.*

#### CLASS INTERESTS

The only real way forward for the Yugoslav workers is to begin to see their common class interests, regardless of which of the republics they come from. Their interests are above all in smashing the present Titoist regime and its replacement by a system in which there is real workers' power, where workers' delegates control the whole of the country and its economy and are not restricted to a marginal influence on firms that compete with one another.

That would mean using the wealth not to build up industry for its own sake but to satisfy the needs of the mass of the people -- to supply them with jobs, decent homes, and a decent livelihood.

Meanwhile, Tito's regime is in crisis. The dream of establishing in one of the most backward regions of Europe a stable regime that can compete internationally is proving illusory.

The Yugoslav workers and peasants must become part of a revolutionary development on an international scale, using wealth at present being wasted in advanced countries to help backward areas like Montenegro or Kosova.

Tito has always rejected such a position. He rejected it in 1945 when he supported Stalin's discouragement of revolution in France and Italy. He rejected it in 1950 when he gave effective support to the US in Korea. He rejected it in 1946 when he agreed to the putting down of the Hungarian revolution by Russian tanks.

Now, if his own regime cannot survive, he has only himself to blame. ■

[Reprinted from *Socialist Worker*, January 8, 1972.]

## Britain: Miners Must Win!

**The miners' strike is a crucial struggle that affects every working man and woman in Britain. With the Tories and the employers mounting a major attack on working and living conditions -- wages, prices, welfare, and rents -- a victory for the miners is vitally necessary if the labor movement is to defeat the government and the bosses.**

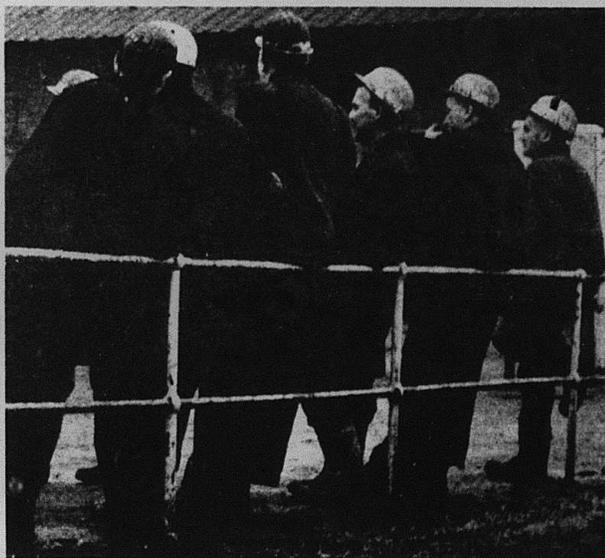
The miners are determined to win. Their magnificent solidarity and fighting spirit is an inspiration to the whole trade union movement.

Each new threat from the National Coal Board -- 32 more pit closures, withdrawal of the final wage offer -- has completely boomeranged. Disgust with the Coal Board and the government policy has produced a situation where, in the first week of the strike, the miners are digging in for a long, hard fight against the government.

Miners feel they have been cheated. They know that the wages of those who remain in the coal fields are a scandal. An underground worker at Emley Moor in the Barnsley area takes home 24 pounds (\$57.60) a week for lying face down in a one-foot, eleven-inch space, hand shovelling 16 tons of coal a day.

A miner from Newmillerdam Colliery in Yorkshire, married with two children and whose wife was not working, showed a 1971 pay slip for five full shifts -- 16.90 pounds (\$40.56) net pay before he had paid any rent or mortgage.

While the number of men in the in-



The Final Shift: British miners leaving work for the duration of the strike

dustry has been slashed by nearly two-thirds since nationalization, productivity per man has shot up. Face-workers have nearly trebled output in the same period. National Coal Board figures show that production from the mechanized Yorkshire coal faces has increased by up to 60 percent since 1967. But wages have gone up only 25 percent in the same period.

The miners are well aware they are taking on the Tory government and that their fight is every worker's fight. The government has made it clear it is determined to inflict a severe defeat on the strikers. The purpose of the operation is to demoralize the whole organized labor movement.

Public sector workers are being used to give everybody a lesson. First power workers were isolated and witch-hunted in December 1970. Their leaders caved in. Then the postal workers were isolated and defeated due to lack of active support from the organized labor movement.

But the miners can win. Nobody should be fooled by all the talk about "record coal stocks." Everything depends on where the stocks are and whether the trade union movement allows them to be moved.

In the face of the Tory attack, the TUC (the national British trade union organization) refused on Monday even to call a meeting to discuss the miners' strike and decide what trade unionists should actually be doing in support. Some union leaders have spoken open-

ly of the need to "keep within the law." They said they could not instruct their members officially to refuse to handle or move coal because such action might be in defiance of the Industrial Relations Act.

If the union leaders will not act, then the heavy responsibility falls upon rank and file trade unionists -- particularly in the transport industry -- to take effective action.

There must be a total ban on the movement of coal.

There must be a total ban on the movement of alternative fuels and their use in power stations.

Miners should mount mass pickets at rail depots and power stations and seek active backing from the workers in those industries.

Miners and power workers must forge links at all levels for a united front against the government. Power workers themselves face a major wages battle.

Rank and file action is the key to victory. If the entire trade union movement builds a mighty campaign of active support for the miners, then not only will one key section of the working class score a major victory but the government itself can be brought crashing down. ■

[Reprinted from *Socialist Worker*, the weekly newspaper of the British International Socialists, January 15, 1972.]

## British Workers Occupy Factory

Six hundred workers are now occupying the Fisher-Bendix factory at Kirkby in Lancashire, England. The firm is proposing to close down this washing-machine factory and move all production to Spain. The factory has been sold for one million pounds (about \$2,400,000). The workers have moved all spares into the factory and are demanding that there be no closure.

This struggle represents an important challenge to the worsening unemployment crisis in Britain. It offers an example to American labor militants of the kind of action needed to fight

the similar rising tide of layoffs and unemployment in this country.

Wherever possible, rank and file militants should push for their union locals and other organizations of the labor movement to send telegrams of solidarity to the Fisher-Bendix strikers, which will be extremely valuable in raising their morale and strengthening the struggle. ■

[All messages should be sent to: Fisher-Bendix Shop Stewards, Kirkby, Lancashire, England. Future issues of *Workers Power* will give further reports on this factory occupation.]



## Guerrillas

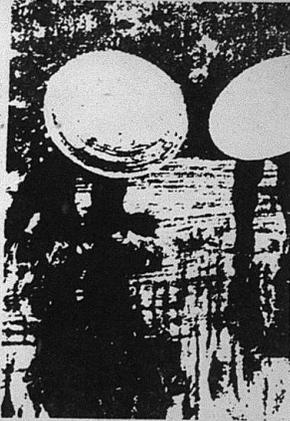
Ron Flaherty's article "The Other Wars" (*Workers' Power* No. 49) is factually informative on the guerrilla struggles going on in Thailand and Cambodia, and perhaps heating up in Malaysia. Unfortunately, it avoids presenting a political analysis of these struggles.

In both Thailand and Cambodia, the guerrillas are politically tied to North Vietnam and the Indochinese Communist movement. In Thailand, the guerrillas have been led by Communist cadre. In Cambodia, the guerrillas are loyal to the "Royal Cambodian Government of National Union" headed by the exiled Prince Sihanouk. Nominally this army is a liberation force fighting to overthrow the US puppet military government. The available information suggests, however, that the operations of the "Sihanouk army" are thoroughly integrated with those of the North Vietnamese troops in Cambodia, which are not aimed at overthrow of the Cambodian generals but are part of the overall North Vietnamese fight for factory or a coalition government in South Vietnam.

In Malaysia, we know that the Malayan guerrilla movement in the 1950's was controlled by the Communist Party, but there is little information available about the present situation. It is safe to guess that the CP is active in the present movement, but we do not know whether the CP organizationally controls it.

Flaherty's article presents a generally uncritical view of these movements. He does not discuss whether the Cambodian guerrilla operations are part of a North Vietnamese strategy in which Cambodia is only a detour. In discussing Malaysia, he writes that "the integration of the Chinese into a larger national liberation movement would be a tremendous step forward . . . A movement for social change must overcome this polarization (be-

tween Malays and Chinese) . . . Perhaps a start is being made in these northern villages." Finally, Flaherty writes that although Mao Tse-tung might want to make a deal with the US and the local capitalist regimes, "the guerrillas spring not from the thoughts of Mao but from the poverty and hunger of the Asian countryside."



The potential for class and guerrilla war indeed springs from poverty and hunger -- but the existing guerrillas require analysis on their own merits. The revolutionary socialist approach to political and social movements is determined by the politics they represent.

In general, movements led by Stalinist Communist parties aim not at genuine liberation for the working class and peasantry, but at establishing a new class society based on state-owned production controlled by a bureaucracy which denies even the right of independent organization to workers and others. For this reason, even when these movements fight against despicable gangster regimes, we call for a revolutionary socialist alternative -- a movement of workers and their allies aimed at workers' control of society and genuine liberation of the peasantry under a revolutionary workers' and peasants' government.

In Cambodia, we support the operations of the "Sihanouk army" as part of the North Vietnamese struggle against the US, as we support all operations against US forces in the area. There is not now in Cambodia a war for Cambodian self-determination or to overthrow the generals' regime.

If the struggle should become a civil war for power in Cambodia we would not support the "Sihanouk army" in such a war because this army and its "Royal Government" are thoroughly in hock to Stalinist forces. Politically, their victory would represent an outcome as reactionary as the present generals' regime.

There is the possibility at this point for the development of an independent Cambodian revolutionary movement against the generals and the US. Only if later developments freeze out such an alternative and transform the war into one directly between the US (with its puppet regime) and the Stalinist "Royalist" guerrillas could we then support a military victory by the latter, while remaining politically opposed to them.

In Thailand, the conflict is a civil war between Stalinist guerrillas and a gangster regime. The Vietnamese war to expel the US enters only tangentially, though of course the US backs its faithful Thai servants. Here we support neither side, but are for building a revolutionary working class movement, in opposition both to the present dictatorship and to Stalinism.

In Malaysia, where we know least of all, we cannot yet take a definite position. The "integration of the Chinese into a larger national liberation struggle" would indeed be a tremendous step forward if that struggle were not organizationally controlled by Stalinist forces. It may be that the guerrilla movement in Malaysia at present represents a number of indepen-

dent forces (not paper forces, like the "non-Communist parties" in Vietnam's NLF, but real forces).

If this is the case, our attitude toward the movement is one of critical support -- on the basis that the movement contains independent elements potentially capable of keeping its victory from leading to a Stalinist consolidation of power.

The political conclusions expressed here must necessarily be somewhat tentative -- they are based on too little real information about the struggles in Cambodia, Thailand, and Malaysia. More analysis is needed, by those on the scene, of the political currents and strategies involved. The kinds of questions addressed here are those that need to be asked before we finally decide our position on the various guerrilla movements.

James Coleman

## Correction

In your November 26-December 9 issue of *Workers' Power*, you published an article by the Concerned Citizens of Turkey. Anyone interested in writing this group was directed to address their letters to:

Concerned Citizens of Turkey  
50 Memorial Drive  
Cambridge, Mass. 02139

May I please correct this address to read:

Concerned Citizens of Turkey  
c/o Prof. Murat R. Sertel  
E53-339  
50 Memorial Drive  
Cambridge, Mass. 02139

Thank you for your cooperation in printing the article, and in correcting this small error.

Murat R. Sertel



**INTERESTED?**

**International Socialists  
Third Floor  
14131 Woodward Avenue  
Highland Park, Michigan  
48203**

**I would like more information about  
International Socialism and the I.S.**

Name .....

Address .....

Occupation .....

## Editorial

CONTINUED FROM  
PAGE 2

cott of white-owned downtown business establishments in Memphis.

The "law and order" climate generated by Democratic as well as Republican politicians, who compete with each other in promising to keep the cities "safe," gives the vicious elements who direct police departments around the country a virtually free hand in

shooting down "trouble-makers," whether real or imagined.

Other acts of racist repression have involved cases already in court. Angela Davis, fighting conspiracy and murder frame-up charges in the Marin County "Jailbreak" attempt of 1970, has again been denied bail in District Court after 15 months in prison and will appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals (and if necessary to the US Supreme Court, according to the Angela Davis Defense Committee).

Her continued imprisonment without trial represents an attempt by the state to brand her in advance with a mark of guilt, to restrain her from preparing her defense case, and to let her eyesight and general health further de-

teriorate without decent medical treatment.

At the same time, Ruchell Magee -- who was wounded in the jailbreak shootout -- continues his struggle to disqualify the obviously biased judges assigned to preside over his trial in which the state intends to send him to the gas chamber.

In Berkeley, six San Quentin inmates have been charged with murder for the death of three guards in the August 21 incident in which George Jackson was shot in the back by the state. In this case the judge and prosecution are trying to strip the defendants of all legal rights -- to represent themselves in court, to choose their own counsel to represent them, to meet with their lawyers, and even to be pre-

sent at their trial.

The state is apparently so disparate for convictions and death sentences that it hopes to proceed with court-appointed defense attorneys who are allowed only to go through the formal motions of a defense. So far, the legal skill of the defendants themselves and the general climate of resistance has prevented the state from carrying through this plan.

A massive campaign is needed now to defend all political prisoners from these attacks on their basic rights, and to demand their immediate release. At the same time a new movement must be built to defend the black communities in every city from the escalating brutality of the police and the state. ■

# support your local

**NATIONAL OFFICE:** 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Mich., 48203.

**ANN ARBOR:** 2503 Student Activities Building, Ann Arbor, Mich., 48101.

**BALTIMORE:** P.O. Box 1644, Baltimore, Md. 21203.

**BAY AREA:** P.O. Box 910, Berkeley, Ca., 94701.

**BERKELEY:** 6395 Telegraph, Oakland, Ca., 94609.

**CHAMPAIGN/URBANA:** Box 2062, Sta. A, Champaign, Illinois, 61820.

**CHICAGO:** P.O. Box 3451, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois, 60654.

**CINCINNATI:** P.O. Box 20001, Burnet Woods Sta., 3408 Telford, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220.

**CLEVELAND:** P.O. Box 91253, Cleveland, Ohio, 44101.

**DAVIS:** c/o Butz, 12 J Solano Park, Davis, Ca., 95616.

**DETROIT:** 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Mich., 48203.

**EUREKA:** P.O. Box 446, Arcata, California 95521.

**LANSING:** P.O. Box 361, East Lansing, MI 48823.

**LOS ANGELES:** P.O. Box 125, 308 Westwood Plaza, Los Angeles, Ca., 90024.

**MADISON:** c/o Sheppard, 1602 Packers Ave., Madison, WI 53704.

**NEW JERSEY:** c/o Chris Mark, 108 Dempsey Ave., Princeton, N.J. 08540.

**NEW YORK:** 17 E. 17th St., 7th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

**PITTSBURGH:** c/o White, 6709 Penn. Ave., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 15208.

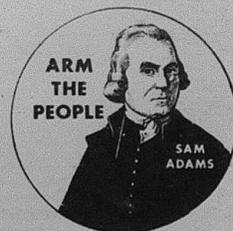
**PORTLAND:** 8200 S.W. 39th Ave., Portland, Oregon, 97219.

**RIVERSIDE:** 6096 Riverside Ave., Riverside, Ca. 92506.

**SAN DIEGO:** c/o La Botz, 3827 Miramar St., Apt. C, LaJolla, Ca., 92037.

**SAN FRANCISCO:** M. Rubin, 294 Carl St., 1A, San Francisco, Ca., 94117.

**SEATTLE:** 4333 8th Ave. N.E., Seattle, Wash., 98105.



## Revolutionary Buttons

Karl Marx, Fred Engels, V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, William Morris, Eugene Debs, Big Bill Haywood, Joe Hill, Nat Turner, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Malcolm X, John Brown, Emiliano Zapata, James Connolly, Jean-Paul Marat, Sam Adams, Tom Paine.

25c each in day-glo colors, white, or gold. Bulk orders: 10 for \$2, 100 for \$15. Order from: International Socialists, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Mich. 48203.

## Bread and Circuses



Last Saturday night, having nothing better to do and feeling mildly ambitious, I decided to go out with some friends to see a basketball game. Unfortunately everyone's car was frozen solid, since it was about 15 below, and this cut our mobility down to zero since public transportation is pretty much unknown in Detroit. So we stayed home and watched TV instead -- which is how I got to see a curious "sporting" event which was facetiously billed as a heavyweight championship boxing match between Joe Frazier and Terry Daniels.

The most interesting aspects of this pseudo-event were the commercial and public relations devices used to palm it off on the American public. I couldn't say for sure whether the promoters deliberately scheduled it for the dead of winter in the hopes that millions of people would be frozen in their apartments as a semi-captive audience. What is clear, however, is the reason why this fight was carried on nationwide home television, while the Frazier-Ali match of last year was shown only in theaters at enormously inflated prices. There were millions of dollars to be made from the masses of people who wanted to watch that fight, but no one except hard-core fight fans would have exerted more effort than was needed to flip the channels and tune in the set in order to see this one.

This left the TV promoters and announcers with the interesting problem of holding the audience by convincing us that this charade had some remote resemblance to a championship match. The main thing going for them was that

the fight promised to be a short, quick one, since no one but Daniels and his immediate family expected him to survive five rounds with an experienced, aggressive and tremendously powerful Frazier.

Daniels has less than two years professional experience, including several losses to complete unknowns in 1971. Nobody can blame Daniels for seizing the opportunity to fight for the championship, or Frazier for accepting the opportunity for a quick seven-week training camp and a \$250,000 paycheck, but you have to wonder about the boxing commissioners who permitted a potentially dangerous mismatch like this to be scheduled. The answer is a very simple one -- money.

In any case, the TV announcers worked hard to generate a modicum of interest. First they showed videotape highlights of the action-packed weigh-in and speculated on Frazier's unexpectedly high weight (was he coming overweight or was the scale wrong?). Then the sports writers -- who had talked about Daniels' multimillionaire family background and his brilliant future in the law profession -- a brash young upper-class upstart challenging the champion from the slums.

Finally it was time for ringside introductions. First they introduced the governor of Louisiana, who just called in the National Guard to suppress the black community in Baton Rouge after several black people were murdered by the police. Then they followed this with ten seconds of silence to honor the birthday of Martin Luther King.

guess you could say that was real "white" of them.

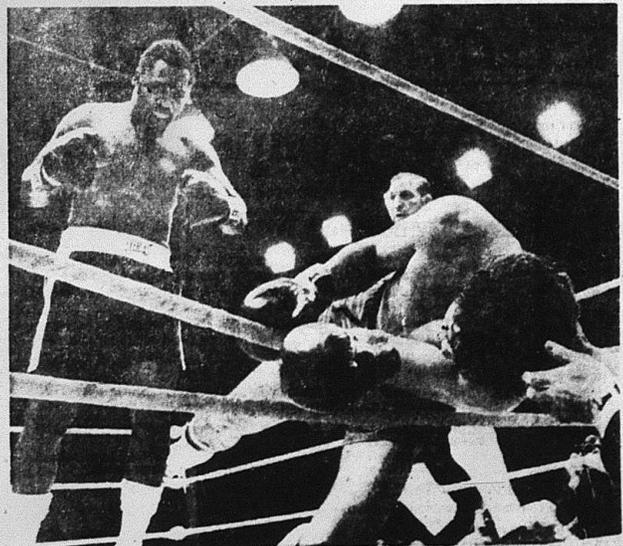
As soon as the fight actually began, the outcome was a foregone conclusion. Frazier, whose usual strategy is to weaken an opponent with body punches in the early rounds, went straight for Daniels' head right from the start, looking for a fast knockout.

Daniels, fighting back as hard as he could, bounced his best punches off Frazier without any effect. He went down at the end of the first round, twice more in the third, and twice again in the fourth round until the referee stopped it before a brain hemorrhage could take place (boxing is more "civilized" these days).

The surprise of the fight was that

Daniels withstood so much and got up so many times. He may well be the most durable, as well as the richest, punching bag in the sport. Frazier's timing was slightly off following his long post-Ali layoff, but his left hand alone was enough to destroy Daniels several times over.

The whole event did very little to enhance the noble image of boxing. All things considered, that is probably just as well. But then fighters have been killed in televised matches and the fans didn't seem to mind, so an early demise to boxing is hardly in sight. As for myself, I may start following Roller Derby just in case I'm frozen into the house again on Saturday night. ■



## The Million-Dollar Mismatch David Finkel

# in this issue

- Speedup Revolt at Lordstown / 4
- Tito's Regime in Crisis / 12
- Devaluation: What It Means / 11
- Phone Strikers in the Streets / 8
- NY Taxi Union Threatened / 6
- The I.R.A., A Socialist Analysis / 10



## Workers' Power

A revolutionary socialist biweekly, published by the International Socialists.

Subscriptions: \$3.50 a year; Supporting Subscriptions: \$5 a year; Foreign Subscriptions: \$5 a year; Bundles: 10¢ a copy for ten copies or more; Introductory Subscriptions: \$1 for three months.

I enclose \_\_\_\_\_ Please send me a \_\_\_\_\_ subscription to Workers' Power.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

14131 Woodward Avenue  
Highland Park, Michigan 48203

# Workers' Power

international socialist biweekly 50



CONTAINERIZE THE SHIPPING MAGNATES!

## West Coast Dock Strike Resumes

Workers' Power No. 50 Feb. 4-17, 1972

90255 1A NOSIDWA  
118 STAVS 918  
25¢ AIEICOS TACIBOLSH  
NOILCES SNOITISINDV