

# Workers' Power

No. 73

MARCH 2-15, 1973

25¢

## Budget Cuts, Unemployment Hit Black Workers

"Blacks have stopped being chic." This statement by Julian Bond is a fact. The truth of it lies in the new downturn in Black life in America. After 15 years of struggle, Black people are still on shaky grounds. The racist machinery of American capitalism is bearing down harder than ever.

The great, demanding Black upsurge of the last decade has crashed head-on into Nixon's "new majority" politics. The result has been another defeat for Black justice and economic security, dished out with all the callous arrogance of racism.

In brief, we can say that the racism of white America is being used to place the primary burden of the capitalist economic crisis on the backs of Black people through government budget cuts, policy changes and unemployment.

In American politics, power concedes to power. The improvements made in Black life in the last decade, such as higher employment, education, and welfare reform, Title VII and the Voting Rights Act, were all concessions to a mass movement. The Democratic administrations of Kennedy and Johnson wrote "progressive" legislation in tem-

[Continued on page 10]



## Tombs Leaders Acquitted



Herbert X. Blyden

After two long years of waiting, harassment by prison guards and court officials, and being victimized by Manhattan D.A. Frank Hogan, on February 13th Stanley King and Herbert X. Blyden emerged from the courtroom victorious.

All charges against the two leaders of the October 1970 Tombs uprising had been dropped. The charges stemmed from the rebellion at the Manhattan House of Detention for Men, in which 1400 prisoners seized 23 hostages demanding better food and an end to the wretched conditions

The jail was named the Tombs by the prisoners because of the vermin which roam the cells, the number of deaths from methadone overdose and suicides which occur there.

With the failure to get a conviction in cases in Queens and Brooklyn where rebellions had also taken place, seventy-two charges against Blyden and King were dropped by Hogan before the last hearing.

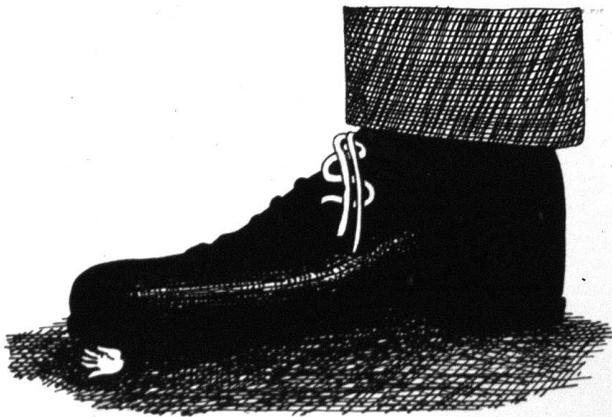
This left five charges which included coercion, inciting to riot, obstruction of governmental administration, and possession of

a weapon.

Justice Xavier C. Riccobono, despite the D.A.'s strong disapproval, dismissed the remaining charges on Tuesday. He said that the two men had been denied their constitutional rights to a speedy trial.

Showing however that he has no real disagreements with Hogan in general, he went on to praise the D.A. by saying, "I know of no more honorable a gentleman than Mr. Frank Hogan nor of anyone who is more conscientious, devoted or dedi-

[Continued on page 15]



# Militants to Defend Fired Portland Shop Steward

Doug Patterson

While gathering information on mounting grievances, a shop steward at American Ship Dismantlers in Portland, Oregon, was fired February 1st. As reported in the last issue of *Workers' Power*, the company had him arrested for trespass twice in the next few days.

The first arrest came right after he was fired, while he was informing other workers that the company said they would fire anyone that showed up to a pre-arranged meeting on company time that day.

That charge was finally dropped in court the next week. The second arrest occurred at the first union-management grievance hearing the next week.

The shop steward came to be present at the negotiations over his termination and the grievances he had written up. The company supervisor refused to negotiate in his presence and called the cops again.

This supervisor just happens to be an ex-Business Agent for the Union (International Union of Operating Engineers, Local 87).

The Union reps throughout this affair refused to back up the steward. They handed him his termination pay

for the company. They discouraged a walk-out in support of the steward.

They stood by and did nothing while he was arrested -- they didn't even bail him out of jail or offer the Union's legal support on the criminal charges.

Both the Union officials and the company found this steward a pain. One Black laborer at American Ship said that this was the first steward he's seen that would fight consistently for the workers in the dirty, lower paying job categories.

For the company this meant that they couldn't continue to get away with shorting workers' checks, harassing workers, and maintaining unsafe and unsanitary conditions.

For the Union officials it meant that they were continually being put on the spot by having to actually defend the workers for a change instead of maintaining their cozy relationship with management.

As the situation at American Ship stands now, the Union officials have separated the termination of the steward from the rest of the grievances and are taking it to arbitration. They are "not too hopeful about the outcome."

The steward has filed a complaint

against the company with the National Labor Relations Board. He is also facing a trial for the second trespass charge.

Almost all of the workers have signed a petition to the company to reinstate the steward and drop the criminal charges. The Union, however, has warned them that it wouldn't sanction a walkout.

The District Council of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has passed a resolution supporting the steward.

A committee has been formed to publicize the case and raise money for the legal defense. The fired steward is presently unemployed and can't collect unemployment for 8 weeks because he was fired and not laid off.

[Money and support is desperately needed to carry on the fight. Please send contributions to:

Solidarity Committee  
1405 SW 17th Ave.  
Portland, Oregon 97210.]



## 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 .....

## I.S. Branch List

National Office: 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203

Ann Arbor: 2012 Manchester, Apt. 17, Ann Arbor, MI 48104

Austin-San Antonio: P.O. Box 8390, San Antonio, TX 78208

Bay Area: P.O. Box 910, Berkeley, CA 94701

Boston: P.O. Box 8488, Boston, MA 02114

Champaign-Urbana: Box 2062, Sta. A, Champaign IL 61820

Chicago: P.O. Box 3451, Merchandise Mart, Chicago IL 60654

Cincinnati: P.O. Box 20001, Burnet Woods Sta., 3408 Telford, Cincinnati, OH 45220

Cleveland: P.O. Box 6215, W.3rd & Prospect, Cleveland, OH 44101

Detroit: 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203

Knoxville: c/o Hirst, P.O. Box

1265, Knoxville, TN 37901

Lansing: c/o Stewart, 1684 East Grand River, Apt. 118, East Lansing, MI 48823

Los Angeles: 1910 So. Vermont, Los Angeles, CA 90007

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

New York: 17 East 17th St., New York, NY 10003

North Carolina: P.O. Box 445, Chapel Hill, NC 27514

Pittsburgh: c/o Abbrucci, 3631 Liberty, Pittsburgh, PA 15201

Portland: P.O. Box 19374, Portland, OR 97219

Riverside: 6096 Riverside Ave., Apt. 18, Riverside, CA 92506

San Francisco: c/o Rubin, 294 Carl St., Apt. 1A, San Francisco, CA 94117

Seattle: P.O. Box 247, Seattle, WA 98105

## Workers' Power 73

Copyright © 1973 by the International Socialist Publishing Company.

Editorial Board: Roger Cid, James Coleman, David Finkel, Joel Geier, Sy Landy, Michael Stewart, Jack Trautman.

Editor: David Finkel. Managing Editor: Kit Lyons. Art Editor: Lisa Lyons.

14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203. Subscriptions: \$3.50 per year. Supporting subscriptions: \$5. Bundles of 10 copies or more: 15c 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, Michigan 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.

*Workers' Power* is indexed in the Alternate Press Index and is microfilmed by Bell and Howell.

# AUTO MILITANTS PLAN CONTRACT STRATEGY

Joe Fine

On February 3rd and 4th, the United National Caucus, a coalition of opposition groupings and individual militants within the United Auto Workers Union, met in Detroit to lay plans for the coming contract negotiations in the auto industry.

A total of about 75 members of the UNC and over 100 observers attended the conference over the weekend and participated in discussions and workshops about working conditions, unemployment, and "Phase III" of government wage controls.

The UAW's contracts with the Big Three auto makers expire September 15th of this year. Contract negotiations will begin soon after a UAW Special Bargaining Convention in April where a broad spectrum of demands will be approved.

The goal of the UNC conference was to develop a policy for the negotiations based on the needs of auto workers, and to begin building a rank and file movement to force the UAW hierarchy to fight for those needs.

A good program was worked out, but a relatively small turnout dulled enthusiasm and hampered the organization of activities to carry the program out.

The small size of the conference also gave unfortunate emphasis to the disruptive role played by members of a sect called the National Caucus of Labor Committees, who oppose building trade union caucuses such as the UNC.

This caused some leaders of the UNC to resort to the equally unfortunate response of redbaiting of socialists who were present.

## Humanize Working Conditions

Widespread dissatisfaction over job conditions has been the cause of both the recent rash of publicity about "blue collar blues" and the UAW's Lordstown, Norwood, and the "quicky" strikes of 1972.

In response to UAW President Leonard Woodcock's plea that he has "no idea how to humanize the auto plants" the UNC detailed demands for workers' control over work standards, voluntary overtime, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, and the abolition of the dictatorial management's rights clause.

Personal accounts of UAW history by John Anderson, retired past president of Local 15, and Ben Kuzski, Local 212, proved that good working conditions can only be brought about by a strong union, organized on the shop floor by an active membership.

The bureaucratic UAW officialdom has a history of collusion with the companies to smother the self-reliance of the rank and file and protection on the job with it.

For these reasons the UNC platform called for a steward for every foreman, the local right to strike, and workers to be innocent until proven guilty.

The conference also included demands around the abolition of racism and sexism in the auto industry, a

minimum annual income of \$12,500 at straight time, the right to a safe and healthy job as key contract issues.

From the organization of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in the 1937 sitdown strikes through the achievement of health insurance, pensions, and supplementary unemployment benefits, auto workers have a tradition of setting precedents for the labor movement.

The conference returned repeatedly to the theme that working conditions in the factories have worsened to the point that it is urgently necessary that UAW members once again take the lead, this time in the struggle to humanize working conditions.

The people at the conference understood that auto workers this year will be taking on not only the Big Three but the government as well.

They included as part of a militant bargaining strategy opposition to wage controls and "Phase III," the need for a labor party, and an alliance with the unemployed.

The Woodcock leadership has repeatedly opposed any fight over working conditions as being inconsistent with a "reasonable cost factor" approach to the negotiations.

Woodcock and Company have openly stated that they will submit to government dictation of the terms of the 1973 contract (Detroit Free Press February 15, 1973).

It is obvious that the UAW bureaucracy has no solutions to the problems faced by the people it is supposed to represent.

The United National Caucus has the beginning of such a solution in its program. Some, however, like UNC member Mike Singer of Chicago Local 588, argue for "the realism of



Workshop discussion at the United National Caucus conference

getting elected instead of spouting a lot of hot air."

In other words, Singer is for dropping or ignoring parts of the program that large sections of the UAW membership might at this time not yet fully understand or accept.

Whether they know it or not, those who take such an approach are either setting themselves up to be beheaded by the company and the International Union, or are setting the rank and file up to be sold out one more time.

The best program, however, will remain only so much paper unless a movement of auto workers supporting it can be built.

The fundamental problem of the UNC is the lack of an organized base among production workers, who make up the vast majority of the UAW.

The efforts of the white skilled trades leaders who organized the UNC five years ago to organize the predominantly black production workers of the Detroit auto plants

have generally been unproductive.

Production workers will require leadership from militants who come from their own ranks. For this reason the affiliation to the UNC of black leaders such as Jordan Sims of Local 961 (now co-chairman of the UNC), Louis Smith (chairman of Justice, Opportunity, Betterment, a rank and file group in Evandale Ohio Local 647) and Nate Mosley, leader of the Rank and File Caucus of Local 26 in St. Louis, is a heartening sign.

Even with the best leadership, the building of a mass movement will be slow work. The UAW is ruled by a seemingly all powerful monolith, and the opposition lacks credibility because of its weakness.

It will take painstaking, persevering efforts to convince the workers in the plants, who are discontented but overwhelmingly cynical and apathetic, that they can take the future into their own hands.

## UAW Unveils Strategy For Defeat In 1973

Karen Kaye

Under the reluctant "leadership" of President Leonard Woodcock, 75 handpicked delegates met in Atlanta, Georgia, on February 15 - 16 at the UAW's first production workers' conference.

The delegates discussed goals for the 1973 contract negotiations with the auto companies.

Unlike the UAW Skilled Trades Conference which had met in New Orleans the week before, however, this conference had no power to set any guidelines for the upcoming UAW bargaining convention to be held March 22 - 24 in Detroit.

Nonetheless, delegates spoke out strongly about deteriorating safety conditions in the plants. Many favored the right to strike over safety conditions, the Detroit Free Press reported.

Woodcock observed that, "In

the long years of the Vietnam war, more people were killed in this country's factories and places of work than in the war."

Because of disputes such as this, Woodcock and the UAW leadership were against holding this conference in the first place.

Some delegates to the 1972 UAW convention last spring demanded a permanent production workers' council but were defeated by the Woodcock bureaucracy and got this powerless conference instead.

The United National Caucus at its February 3 - 4 conference in Detroit (see accompanying article) adopted a resolution condemning the powerless conference and demanding a real production workers' council. The resolution read in part:

"We of the UNC demand a Production Workers' Council, not

only in name but in reality!

"Furthermore, the Production Workers' Council must have representation from the rank and file determined by free and open elections, not by dictate from above.

"While Woodcock's version of the council intends to meet only once, we demand a permanent, regularly meeting body. . .

"We demand, therefore, not only permanent regional bodies which meet frequently, but also a national council meeting at least once a year.

"The number of representatives elected to these councils must be increased to 1:200, with elections by department, not plant-wide.

"The purpose of these councils must be to put forward the demands of the rank and file, as well as to formulate a strategy for achieving those demands."



# Editorial

## Middle East: New Act Of Barbarism



The shooting down of an unarmed civilian Libyan airliner, carrying 113 passengers and crewmen, which had accidentally strayed into Israeli air space is only the latest -- and far from the last -- of the acts of savagery committed in the Middle East conflict.

For years, the "humanitarian" defenders of the Zionist state of Israel have whipped up an atmosphere of hysteria against the Arab nations, especially the Palestinian Arab people. The purpose of this campaign is to convince American and world opinion that Israel's militarist and expansionist policies are necessary for the survival of the Israeli Jewish people.

In perpetrating this fraud, the apologists for Zionism have been aided by the well-publicized acts of a few Palestinian commando organizations which have tried to substitute acts of terrorism against Israeli civilians for the struggle to build a revolutionary national liberation movement of the Palestinian masses.

Today, these "humanitarians" are silent. They choose not to mention that with one deliberate act of mass murder, the Israeli Air Force wiped out more innocent civilians than were killed by Arab terrorists in Munich, at the Lydda airport, and by all other commando actions since the 1967 war combined.

Instead, Zionism's "humanitarian" apologists prepare to defend the Israeli state once again. They can be expected to echo the reaction of the Israeli press, which expressed its "regret" but denies any Israeli responsibility for such incidents. They can also be expected to ignore the fact that earlier the same week, Israel's latest reprisal raids against Lebanon claimed the lives and villages of hundreds more non-combatants.

The despicable act of shooting down a civilian airplane is only the reflection of an even uglier underlying process in Israeli society -- the sharpening atmosphere of militarism, chauvinism, and McCarthyism encouraged by Israel's ruling establishment to be used against Israeli workers and the anti-Zionist left. This process can be reversed only by the building of a movement among the Israeli masses demanding full democratic rights for the Palestinians and the dismantling of the exclusionist apparatus of Zionism.

# STRESS Terror Continues

In the past month Detroit's black communities have been re-mobilizing against STRESS, the genocidal hit-and-run police squad established by Police Commissioner John Nichols. (For information on the latest reprisal campaign launched by STRESS, see *Workers' Power* No. 71, p. 15.)

Meanwhile, another black man is dead after a savage beating at the hands of Detroit's police. 29-year-old Robert Slaughter was stopped on the street in connection with the December shootings of STRESS officers, then beaten to death after being shot in the leg while allegedly attempting to escape.

Last year's mobilization against STRESS ended up in the courts and produced only a temporary stopping of the mad-squad team for four months. This year, two different anti-STRESS campaigns have been launched.

Approximately 500 people turned out for an anti-STRESS rally called February 11 by the Labor Defense Coalition (LDC). Featured speakers included the Reverend Charles Butler, Attorneys Eliot Hall, Samuel Simpson, and Kenneth Cockerel, and Councilwoman Erma Henderson.

The speakers related the anti-STRESS campaign to other crises facing black and working people in Detroit: the drug problem in the communities, the school crisis in Detroit, the attacks on workers in the Detroit Sanitation Bureau, and the conditions facing workers in the auto plants.

In addition, Cockerel called for a coalition to build an independent political machine for the 1973 municipal elections.

Cockerel, a well-known black radical in Detroit who helped to found the LDC when it split from the Black Workers Congress last summer, is a strong potential mayoral contender,

although he has not yet officially announced his candidacy.

He is also a member of the Independent Black Commission (IBC) and the attorney for Haywood Brown, the accused "murderer" of a STRESS officer.

The IBC, composed of representatives of various civil rights and other black organizations, has met on three occasions. The first meetings were public hearings on the terror perpetrated by STRESS on the black community of Detroit.

The last meeting, held February 17, was set aside for voting on proposals for its anti-STRESS campaign. At this meeting, speaking rights were open only to black people.

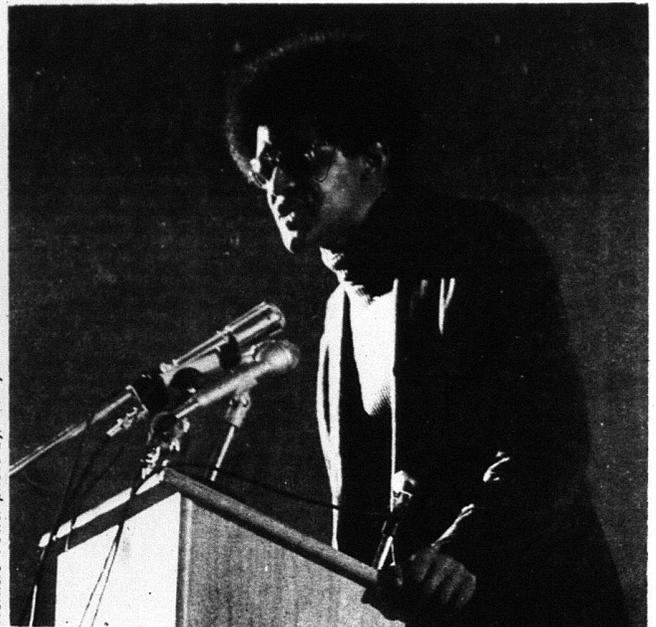
The only proposal accepted was put forward by the IBC, calling for a mass April demonstration against STRESS, a Citizens' Review Board of STRESS action, and investigations of STRESS by the Mayor's Council and Common Council.

Unfortunately, with the exception of the mass demonstration planned for April, no further meetings have been announced by the IBC. The IBC, hoping to take advantage of the overall budget crisis that will hit Detroit in April, expects to sit on top of the mass anti-STRESS movement until then.

Meanwhile, the Labor Defense Coalition has established its own Commission Against STRESS but has also planned no further meetings. ■

*(In Detroit, further information can be obtained by calling the LDC at 868-1612 or 863-2113. In the near future Workers' Power will include a full discussion of the role of STRESS in the context of the over-all attacks on black people being carried out under the plans for "New Detroit.")*

Workers' Power photo by Kit Lyons



Ken Cockerel speaking at anti-STRESS rally in Detroit

# Women Workers and the ERA

Kay Stacy



The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), passed by Congress and signed by President Nixon last year, appears to be in trouble in several State legislatures. Although it has already been passed by 22 of the 38 States required, chances of the Amendment being ratified this year are slim.

The amendment, which would wipe out all protective legislation for working women, must be ratified within seven years in order for it to be added to the Constitution.

ERA opposition has come from several different directions. On one hand, some women's organizations and trade unions have been fighting the amendment's passage because it eliminates protective legislation for women workers.

For the massive number of working women who are not protected by union contracts (approximately 85% of the female work force) elimination of protective legislation would be a major setback. Every bit of legal protection women have from their bosses' demands will become unconstitutional.

On the other hand, a great deal of the recent opposition to the amendment has come from State legislators who view the proposed law as a direct threat to traditional family relationships.

Many of these legislators are responding to pressure created by right-wing women's organizations who believe that the liberation of women has already gone too far. They believe that women are, in fact, men's inferiors. They believe women are unequal to men both in the eyes of God and of nature, and that a law which says

otherwise is an affront to human reason.

This reactionary view of the nature of women leads them to praise woman's forced dependence on men; her supposed inability to deal with the outside world and her "finer, more sensitive, nature."

Most of these women are economically able to enjoy the so-called privileges women have because they are not forced to work in traditional women's jobs.

They have servants and other "household help," (usually other women to whom they pay terrible wages) and they are not trying to raise families on shrinking pay checks.

The viewpoint of women who enjoy this status ignores the fact that the majority of women have no opportunity to soak up those privileges because every day they bust their backs at rotten, low-paying jobs, usually with no union protection.

Many women cannot afford to be dependent on a man, and wouldn't be even if given a choice. They are continually required to deal with the outside world, and think it no big deal. Most would like nothing better than enough leisure time to relax and exercise their more "sensitive natures."

On the other hand, a great deal of the active support for the ERA has come from women's organizations like the National Organization for Women (NOW), made up mostly of professional and career women. NOW is fighting for the ERA even though it knows the result will be a major setback for working women.

NOW correctly points out that protective legislation is used to discriminate against women in hiring and in job promotions.

Rather than fighting for a bill which would both maintain the meager pro-

tection women now get and make denial of equal employment rights illegal, however, NOW chose to throw its support behind an "equal rights" bill that ignores the needs of women who work.

The International Socialists oppose the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment in its present form which would destroy the minimal rights working women have through protective legislation. We do not, however, welcome the support of organizations that want the ERA defeated in order to continue the oppression of women in society.

We oppose the ERA simply because the elimination of protective legislation will severely weaken the position of working women.

We would, however, support a legislative measure that would both guarantee the legal equality of women, and protect the rights of working women.

Why, then, are protective laws so important, especially if they can also be used to hold women down?

Protective legislation covers a wide network of employment areas. Some protective laws require special toilets, rest areas, and elevators for women's use.

Some of these laws specify certain length lunchtimes and breaks. Some limit the number of hours women can be forced to work; some prohibit night work for women. Some limit the amount of weight women can be required to lift.

Many of these conditions, such as elevators, better toilet facilities, and regular lunch breaks, have already been extended to men. The rest of the laws should be widened to protect all workers.

No one should have to work ex-

cessive overtime, or lift heavy loads without assistance. The fight should be to make those laws protect everyone, not to eliminate the laws entirely.

There have been fights by some women's organizations to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment on that basis. Some of those struggles have been successful, as in California where the fight was led by Union WAGE (Women Allied to Gain Equality) with the support of the State AFL-CIO.

The AFL-CIO has a particularly confused attitude toward the ERA, having backed it in three states and opposed it in two.

Struggles to maintain protective laws can and must continue. The absence of a movement which fights for the special demands of women who work will make those struggles much more difficult.

As the attacks on all workers sharpen, the need for women workers' organizations will become greater. Speed-up, cuts in living standards, and layoffs will affect the entire work force. Women, especially black and brown women who are concentrated in the worst jobs, will feel the effects first and most brutally.

Women who come together at work can organize themselves at work. As a unit they can fight for their special needs as women and for their special needs as oppressed minorities.

We can ally ourselves with other workers to fight for the needs of all working people, demanding at the same time that those class-wide organizations fight for the special demands of women and of oppressed minorities.

It is only such an organization, based on mutual support of all workers' needs, that can lead a struggle to end the oppression and exploitation of all working class people. ■

## Tombs

[Continued from page 1]

cated to the office he occupies and the responsibilities it encompasses."

Riccobono reaffirming his "highest regard for Hogan" also added that the fact that Kind and Blyden are serving prison sentences on other charges, influenced what he felt to be "the hardest decision of his life."

Blyden however is doing twenty-five years for a crime he did not commit! Riccobono says nothing about that.

Stanley King while awaiting trial received terrible medical treatment after having undergone surgery.

A Marxist study group which he formed was broken up by Tombs au-

thorities. King was then placed for a period of time in the prison's hellish psychiatric ward.

Blyden remained in segregation for several months unable to receive visitors or mail. Blacks and Latinos are held for months in the city's stinking jails before coming to trial, often on trumped-up charges, or are forced to plead guilty to lesser charges that they are not guilty of.

Riccobono, spokesman for a rotten judicial system, says nothing about that either.

The latest dismissal brings to a close hearings from the Tombs revolt. In January Earl Whittaker, a guard at the Tombs during the rebellion was acquitted of twenty-seven counts which included kidnapping, unlawful imprisonment, and inciting to riot.

The assistant D.A. charged that Whittaker, by "encouraging the inmates" had delayed the hostages release.

The defense maintained that Whittaker was an officer "who deplored the use of excessive force and would

not play the game with fellow officers."

Curtis Brown, Nathaniel Ragsdale, and Ricardo De Leon with seventy-two counts each were acquitted on all counts which included kidnapping and reckless endangerment of life.

Hogan called it a "hideous miscarriage of justice." Each would have received life imprisonment if convicted.

Two other men of the Tombs-7 were forced to plead guilty to lesser charges and were subsequently not given any additional time.

Hogan went on to say later: "There's nothing political about anything I do. I just do what I believe is right."

Nothing could be more outrageous! As if the judicial system has nothing to do with the whole political and exploitative economic structure of capitalism!

Despite the promises of court and city officials to eliminate the terrible conditions at the Tombs and "reform" the courts, conditions at the Tombs as well as at most prisons around the country have grown worse since the rebellions.

Inmates' grievances are met with bullets or prisoners are teargassed while shut in their cells. These are the despicable miscarriages of justice under capitalism!

Before his final court appearance, Stanley King wrote to the International Socialists a letter in which he said:

"We are now going to Court on the 13th and I can't say what shall happen. But I assure you things shall not be as they were in the past.

History is being made, and there's no way for those in power to deny we the People. The necessary change is taking place and its our struggle on every level which is bringing it about.

Capitalism has reached its last stage. As I study and become more aware of the factors surrounding us there's no way possible for us to fail.

The days of foolish mistakes are over. We are allowing for some but not as costly as yesterday. We are sitting or standing in time when all that is of no possible good to the People shall be changed." ■

# Staten Island Explosion: Why 40 Workers Died

Alice Watts, M.D. Arthur Rymer

Forty construction workers were killed by an explosion and fire while repairing a giant natural gas storage on Staten Island in New York City February 10th. Officials and news media claim that the causes of this tragic "accident" have not been fully explained.

*Preliminary evidence reveals, however, that the men were sacrificed to the ignorance and carelessness of employers who made use of unsafe and inadequately tested technology.*

The workers, members of Local 731 of the Building, Concrete, and Excavating Laborers, were repairing the inner lining of the empty tank at the time of the explosion.

Owned by the Texas Eastern Transmission Corporation, the tank had been built in 1970 at a cost of \$31 million. It measured 61 feet deep and 268 feet across, and had a capacity of 25 million gallons of liquid natural gas.

The tank was the largest of its kind in the world, although two 38 million gallon tanks are under construction elsewhere on Staten Island.

The tank was designed, supposedly with great care, for the unusual purpose of storing natural gas in its liquified form at a temperature of 260 below zero.

In order to store gas as a liquid, the concrete tank was lined with polyurethane plastic foam and aluminized mylar (another type of plastic).

The mylar lining was non-flammable at -260° in the absence of air, the conditions under which gas is stored, but the lining materials had never been tested at normal temperatures -- under which the repairmen worked.

To prevent danger to the surrounding residential area and other nearby tanks, the roof of the giant tank was built to collapse into the tank in the case of an explosion.

*This design did not take into account the possibility of the roof collapsing while workers were inside the tank.*

## BLAST

Even before the tank had been constructed, neighborhood groups had been concerned about the danger of explosion.

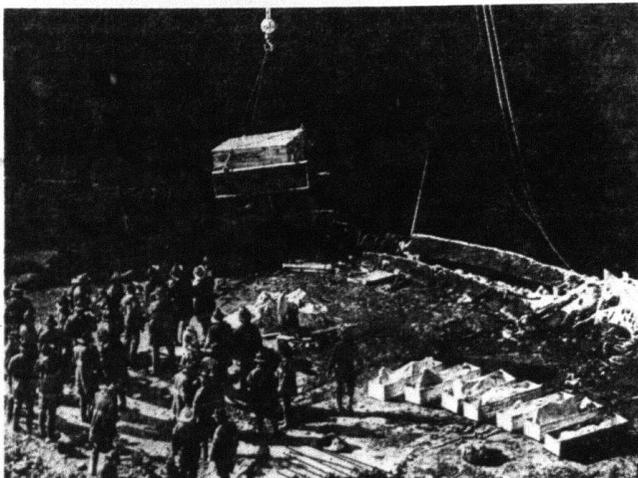
One group, called Bring Legal Action to Stop the Tanks, or BLAST, had been told by engineers that an explosion of the tank filled with gas would have the energy of a small nuclear bomb.

In 1944, a leak and explosion of liquid natural gas from a storage tank in Cleveland had killed 128 people.

On the day before the Staten Island explosion, the New York City Council held hearings on the safety hazards involved in storing liquid natural gas.

The Council's Public Safety Committee approved a bill asking the City Planning Commission to ban any future bulk storage gas tanks in the city, several days after the explosion.

At the time when the tank was under construction, the New York Fire Department had refused Texas Eastern a building permit because the plastic materials used in the tank



At the bottom of the burned-out storage tank, firemen prepare coffins for the dead

were untested in combination.

Texas Eastern got around this obstacle by adding fire-sensing apparatus and more fire alarms.

**No changes in the tank's construction were made, but the alarm system satisfied the city Board of Standards and Appeals, which overruled the Fire Department.**

Immediately after the explosion, Fire Chief John O'Hagan stated that the mylar lining was not inflammable, and that the cause of the blast was unknown.

O'Hagan speculated that the epoxy resin being used in the repair work had

initiated the fire. Texas Eastern officials also said that the mylar was not inflammable and that the urethane foam would "not support combustion."

Investigators from the Occupational Safety and Health Administration in Washington agreed that the lining would not burn.

**These bland statements were directly contradicted by chemical manufacturers. A spokesman for the Dupont company, which produces mylar, said that the plastic does burn and can be ignited by a match.**

A chemist for a foam-producing

company said that the foam used in the tank "burns like mad" and ignites at a lower temperature than wood.

In addition, the scientists' suggested that the combination of materials was especially dangerous for several reasons. First, the urethane foam acts like a sponge and absorbs liquid natural gas.

Since the mylar lining was torn, the foam was in direct contact with the liquid gas. (Although no gas had been stored in the tank for nine months, it had been partially filled numerous times in order to test for leaks -- which were found.)

It is probable, therefore, that natural gas had remained trapped in the 8-inch thick insulation foam behind the mylar lining, and that it was not removed when the tank was purged clean with compressed air.

A second possible danger mentioned by scientists was that the urethane foam could store either heat or thousands of volts of static electricity. Heat or electricity could have been transferred to the foam during the repair process, which involved ironing epoxy resin onto the cracks in the mylar.

Heat stored in the urethane could have brought the mylar to combustion. Once the fire started, the trapped gas would have added plentiful fuel. The epoxy, also inflammable, may have contributed to the dense black smoke.

## Killer Profits

While some of the necessary safety measures (see box) were undoubtedly observed -- in fact, three Texas Eastern safety technicians were in the tank at the time of the explosion and were among those killed -- certain safety practices were obviously violated.

The workers inside the tank were equipped with respirators that brought air through an air-line from outside the tank. This air-line was ruptured when the roof fell in, cutting the supply of air to the men in the tank since the raging fire used up the oxygen inside.

Autopsies showed that the workers died of suffocation. Self-contained breathing apparatuses (SCBA's) would have improved their chances of escape.

Emergency protective clothing, of the type used by workers near furnaces in the steel and glass industries, was needed as well.

Since workers outside the tank had noticed a white cloud and hissing sounds for about two minutes prior to the blast, there might have been time to put on protective clothing and SCBA's.

Since it took five minutes to leave the tank through the one exit provided, harnesses would have been necessary to hoist the men out. Cranes had been used during the repair work to carry supplies in and out.

Even the best safety practices, however, will not compensate for lack of knowledge of the properties of industrial materials and inadequate testing.

*As long as employers have the right to boost their profits by introducing new technology and chemicals as if they were "innocent until proven guilty" -- that is, until someone is killed -- no workplace can be safe.*

## A Guide To Safety Rules

The International Labor Organization recommends numerous measures for safety while doing maintenance or repair work in enclosed spaces such as tanks.

Careful training in general safety practices is necessary, especially since many workers in repair crews will be unfamiliar with the specific dangers of a job. This implies that workers must be able to refuse to work in unsafe areas.

Oxygen levels should always be measured before entering the enclosed area. Levels of gases stored in the space and gases used in purging the area, such as nitrogen or carbon dioxide, should also be measured. Oxygen measurement should be repeated during work.

Any chemicals which are evolved during the work process, such as welding fumes and solvent vapors, should be removed continuously from the area via portable ventilation ducts.

The levels of these fumes should also be monitored to check the efficiency of the ventilation.

Switches and valves should be locked so that the area is not "turned on" while workers are inside. Sources of ignition should not be present if inflammable substances are.

Appropriate respiratory equipment and protective clothing, capable of sustaining life, should be provided.

The I.L.O. recommends a buddy system and close observation of workers by others outside, who can rescue them in case of trouble. In a large area, closed circuit television may be necessary. Harnesses worn while working are useful for pulling workers out rapidly.

# Labor In Brief

Jim Woodward



## Teamster ranks denounce officials for attack on farmworkers

Several California Teamster locals, as well as many individual members, have recently spoken out against the raid the Teamster leadership is conducting against the United Farm Workers (UFW).

Locals 208, 853, and San Francisco area branches of Local 896 (a state-wide local) have passed resolutions supporting the UFW and condemning the Teamster leadership.

Local 896 (bottlers and brewers) concluded a long, bitter strike of its own last year and received help from farm workers on the picket lines when they were attacked by employers with guards and dogs.

The 896 resolution demanded that Teamster boss Fitzsimmons live up to the no-raiding pact signed with the UFW in 1971 and that the resources of the IBT be used to help rather than hinder the UFW organizing.

"Only through this type of cooperation can the entire food industry be organized and wages and conditions be improved for all," it said.

At the same time, some members of Local 679 (San Jose cannery workers) have begun to join UFW lettuce boycott picket lines with signs identifying themselves as Teamsters.

Many of the cannery workers have been farm workers themselves and understand quite well the situation facing the farm workers.

## UTU bureaucracy sells work rules to small Providence Railroad

On February 5, three days before it struck the Penn Central Railroad over the railroad's attempt to reduce the size of train crews, the United Transportation Union (UTU) agreed to similar crew reductions on the small Providence and Worcester Railroad.

Although the Providence and Worcester agreement covers only 20 workers, it is a clear warning to 28,000 Penn Central UTU members that their union leadership is willing to compromise on the vital issues of work rules and crew sizes.

The P&W - UTU agreement is an excellent example of a productivity deal - heavily sugar-coated to hide its rotten core.

The sugar in this case is a guaranteed annual wage of \$16,640 -- a one-third increase in P&W workers' straight time pay rate.

But the price is heavy. In their new five-year contract, P&W workers will give up:

- \* Safe crew sizes. Freight train crews will be reduced from four or five to three.

- \* Overtime.

- \* Job classifications. Any employee can now be assigned to do any other's work, giving management full mobility.

- \* The 100-mile run, under which

workers received an extra day's pay if any day's work exceeded 100 miles.

- \* Extra pay for certain special tasks, such as crossing craft lines.

What the UTU leadership has done, in effect, is to sell management virtually complete control over the workplace.

No wonder the P&W management calls it "a very progressive contract" that could be a model for other railroads.

By a "pure coincidence" (according to the railroad), Charles Luna, the recently retired president of the UTU, was elected to the P&W Board of Directors the same day the pact was signed.

Penn Central workers must be on guard against a similar deal. The UTU leadership has already made some unilateral concessions, allowing reductions in the size of 285 Penn Central crews.

Due to the Penn Central's precarious financial position, however, any productivity deal it negotiates is likely to have only a thin sugar-coating.

The UTU rank and file would be well advised to examine more than the sugar before swallowing what will be a bitter productivity pill.

## Penn Central wreck spreads economic disaster in New Jersey

The wreck of the Penn Central is spreading destruction in Paterson, Passaic and Clifton, N.J.

Already hard hit with 2400 scheduled layoffs by the shutdown of Uniroyal and Raybestos Manhattan plants, the northern New Jersey area was struck again by capitalist centralization when Fruehauf Corporation closed its rail car plant in Clifton on Feb. 15.

540 workers, 75% black and Latino, were put on the dole from the plant which used to make boxcars for the Penn Central.

## Still higher prices coming; or, "Let them eat cheese."

Recent increases in prices, most notably food prices, have made clear that workers will have to win substantial wage increases in the 1973 round of contract bargaining if wages are not to be decimated by new inflation.

In recent weeks, the government has forecast still more price rises. In December and January, the wholesale price index increased at a 19% annual rate. This increase is now being reflected in more retail price increases.

The January food price rise of between 2 and 3 per cent (24-36% on an annual scale) was the sharpest increase in twenty years.

"We are going to have some bad months on the consumer price index on the food side," admitted Herbert Stein, Nixon's chief economic apologist.

Clearly, the worst is not yet over. Farm experts predict that food prices will keep soaring, and the dollar deval-

uation promises to add even further inflationary pressure to the economy.

Predictably, the government has its own unique solution. "The American public would be just as well off from a traditional standpoint if they spent less on meat and more on cheese," said Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns.

And President Nixon noted, while dining on a meal of red snapper, that it is "patriotic to eat fish."

## Cost of Living Council quashes longshore pay raise

The Cost of Living Council has rejected a bid from west coast longshoremen to regain a pay raise denied them last year by the Pay Board.

Under Phase 2, the longshoreman's first pay increase was slashed from 20.6% to 14.9%. Due to rank and file pressure the contract was re-negotiated to include the lost pay raise last month when Phase 2 ended.

In rejecting the pay hike, the Cost of Living Council ruled that Phase 2 Pay Board decisions had to be continued under Phase 3.

The dockers' contract expires June 30, at which time there will likely be considerable pressure to regain the lost wages.

## Job accidents, illness hit one out of eight workers

One out of every eight workers suffered a job-related accident or illness during 1971, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

This figure attests to the inhumane nature of U.S. capitalism and would be a national scandal in any country more interested in people than profits.

Shocking as one out of eight is, even that figure is less than the real picture. These statistics cover workers in private non-farm industries except miners and railroad workers.

Mining is the country's most dangerous occupation. Further, employers generally try to under-report injuries by re-assigning injured workers to sit-down jobs rather than sending them home.

In addition to the injured, about 4300 workers were killed while trying to earn a living in 1971.

## Detroit: Black and white workers fight racism at Ford plant

Workers in the tool and die unit of UAW Local 600 at the Ford River Rouge plant recently attacked company-sponsored racism by coming to the defense of a black worker assaulted by a white general foreman.

The assault occurred after the worker, Charles Brooks, was slightly late to work. The foreman, J. Cadute, refused to allow him to work and

assaulted him during an argument that followed.

The incident was witnessed by many of the skilled trades workers. Ford initially accused Brooks of assault, but had to back off this story.

At a meeting of the tool and die unit, a motion was passed unanimously demanding that Ford keep Cadute off the job, and vowing to take action if necessary to enforce this demand.

In the end, Ford managed to slip Cadute back on the job, but only after keeping him away until the workers' anger had cooled. Nevertheless, the tool and die workers have demonstrated the importance of black and white unity in fighting company-inspired racism.

## Boycott forces Farah to grant some concessions to strikers

Under the pressure of a ten-month strike and nationwide boycott of its products, the Farah Manufacturing Company has granted certain concessions to striking members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union.

In signing a consent agreement with the National Labor Relations Board, Farah agreed to stop harassment of union organizers and members, halt the use of guard dogs, and rehire strikers when the dispute is settled.

Harassment of ACWA members at Farah has included transferring them to the hardest jobs, interrogating them about union activities, and confiscating union authorization cards.

Farah's concessions came shortly after a public announcement that the company's 1971 profits of \$6 million had turned into a loss of \$8.3 million in 1972.

Despite the concessions, the strike and boycott will continue. There are still outstanding complaints of unfair labor practices that Farah has refused to deal with, including the firing of some workers for union activity.

## CWA Local 1106 fights New York Work phone rate increase

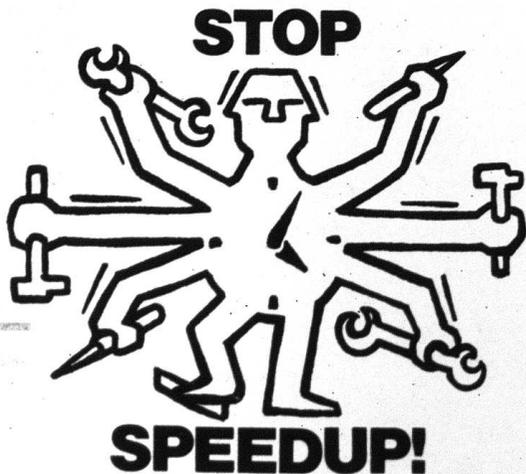
Local 1106 of the Communications Workers of America has taken a step away from its traditional view that the interests of telephone workers demand high profits for the company.

In hearings before the New York Public Service Commission, Local 1106 opposed New York Telephone's request for a rate increase.

A spokesman for the local based his opposition, in part, on the company's "massive mistreatment" of its workers, which caused strikes lasting a total of 219 days last year.

He noted that the company doesn't pay its workers enough to sustain a moderate standard of living in New York City, according to U.S. government guidelines.

The union spokesman also said that the New York Telephone management "doesn't know its business; that it is inefficient and inept."



# Productivity: The Employers' Attack And How To Fight It

Lori Larkin

## Part 4: Akron Tireworkers & Productivity Bargaining

"It was 1:57 a.m., January 29, 1936. The tirebuilders worked in a smooth frenzy, sweat around their necks and under their arms. The bolt chattered, the insufferable racket and din went on with a relentless rhythm. The clock on the south wall hesitated; its minute hand jumped to two. The tirebuilder at the end of the line looked up, saw the movement and gulped. His hands stopped. Every man on the line stiffened. Then he walked to the main safety switch and pulled it. Instantly the noise stopped. A moment before there had been work, revolving wheels, clanking belts and moving machinery. Now there was absolute stillness. Out of the quiet came a worker's voice: 'Jesus Christ, we've done it!' The production line had been stopped. The Akron rubber workers sit-down strike had begun."

Early in 1972, Akron Tireworkers accepted work-rule changes which the tire companies said were needed to raise productivity. The rubberworkers capitulated after a period of intense pressure during which the companies threatened to

close down plants and move the industry out of Akron.

The Akron tireworkers' defeat is particularly significant because they have a long history of militancy. The first sit-down strike of the CIO organizing drive in the thirties took place at the Akron Firestone factory on January 29, 1936.

Conditions in the Akron factories reflect the power gained through years of struggle. Their wages are higher: \$5 an hour compared with \$4.35 in other cities and as low as \$3.75 in some of the newer factories. Work conditions on the shopfloor are generally better than in other parts of the country.

Their union, the United Rubberworkers, is strong and in the past did not flinch from battle with the companies. In the thirties the Union was organized as a founding member of the CIO.

It fought and won long, hard battles with the companies in Akron, over some of the very work-rules negotiated away in 1972!

*These experiences are useful to recount because the companies are again today using many of their old tactics to push "productivity bargaining."*

## Tireworkers in the Thirties

The 1929 crash hit Akron hard. Firestone closed down its operation completely and Goodyear went on a two-day week.

In 1931 Goodyear President Litchfield initiated the 6-hour, 6-day workweek with much rhetoric about the company's "social responsibility" to spread the work around. Other companies followed suit.

By 1935, as business picked up, Goodyear felt their social responsibility less keenly, even though unemployment had not substantially decreased. Management frankly said that it would be better for efficiency if the workweek were lengthened.

In addition, they adjusted piecework rates so that workers would get the same wage for 40 hours they had previously received for 36!

A Government Industrial Board reported that it could find no justification for lengthening the workweek and estimated the move would reduce Goodyear's employment by 12%.

Even the company union at Goodyear, the Industrial Assembly, voted to everyone's amazement to oppose the workweek increase and suggested a worker referendum.

Other rubber companies in Akron followed Goodyear's lead, lengthening the workweek and reducing wages.

On January 29, 1936, the first sit-down, the famous tactic of the CIO organizing drive, took place at Firestone over the reduction of piecework rates.

Within 24 hours all of the plant was participating. The company capitulated and agreed to negotiate on piecework rates.

Sit-downs soon spread through the other Akron tire factories. On St. Valentine's Day, Friday February 14, Goodyear workers sat-in over the lay-off of seventy men without the usual three-day notice.

The company capitulated and agreed to take the men back... but it was too late. The battle was now on for the restoration of the 36-hour week.

The men and women of Akron walked picket lines around the clock, in freezing weather where the temperature dropped to -10°! Within a week 14,000 tireworkers at Goodyear were on strike and the company was forced to close its gates.

The Goodyear strike lasted over a month. For both the CIO Rubberworkers Union and the company it was a fight to the death. Its outcome would determine whether the CIO would be driven from the Akron tire factories.

Top CIO organizers flocked in from all parts of the country to help the Rubber Workers Union. The strike was magnificently organized and run. There was no loss of life and only very minor injuries—a tribute to the workers' self-discipline.

Goodyear used every tactic it could to break the strike. On February 22 the company got a court injunction barring mass picketing.

Three days later the sheriff arrived with 150 men to enforce the order. He was met by 10,000 tireworkers, armed with clubs, pipes and bats.

Using his head, instead of losing it, the sheriff simply turned around and fled. One trick disappeared from the company's bag.

At the end of February a Government "fact-finding" committee proposed the tireworkers return to work and accept arbitration. The workers unanimously rejected this proposal.

The infamous "Akron Law and Order League" also appeared during this

period, initiated by former Mayor Sparks. This "neutral" citizens committee was a propaganda tool for the company.

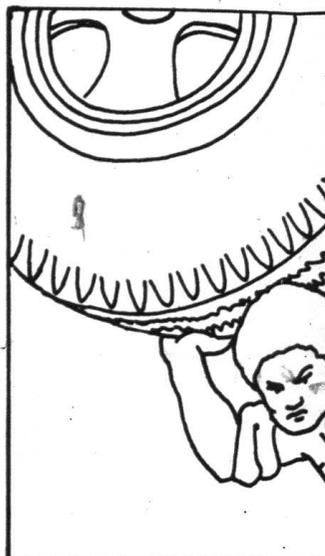
Later Goodyear President Litchfield admitted he had discussed the committee's formation with Sparks and other rubber company presidents. Goodyear had contributed \$15,000 for its work.

The Goodyear Tire strike ended on March 21, 1936, a victory for the workers. Although the Union was not formally recognized, it was firmly rooted in the plants. By the end of 1936 the URW had 75,000 members.

The six-hour day was won by the workers and was a firm feature of Akron life until six months ago.

It would take several more years of hard struggle for the United Rubberworkers to win collective bargaining agreements with the companies. The war was far from over, but the tide had definitely turned in the workers' favor.

The example of the Akron tireworkers was an inspiration for men and women all over the country who were struggling to form industrial unions!



## Tireworkers vs. Productivity Deals

In recent years, tire companies have responded to strong union organization in Akron by packing up shop and heading for greener pastures, where a less organized and less militant labor force means lower wages and more company control of the shopfloor.

Blue collar jobs have dropped in the Akron tire industry from 52,000 in 1944 to 14,000 today.

The companies complain that the "low productivity" of Akron workers make these factories less efficient than in other areas. Yet the *Wall Street Journal* states that the company officials are "frank" in admitting Akron facilities aren't as modern as they should be.

New investment is going on in the tire industry but outside of Akron. Goodyear announced in October 1972 plans for a \$28 million addition to its Tennessee facilities.

In Europe too, U.S. tire companies are expanding with up-to-date machinery. Here lies a good part of the "efficiency" story which the companies would like to sweep under the

rug while they place the total responsibility on "derelict" workers!

As recently as September 1971, Akron rubberworkers of Firestone Local 7 overwhelmingly rejected the company's ultimatum demanding a switch from the 36-hour, six-day week to the 40-hour, five-day week and a pay cut amounting to \$1.14 an hour.

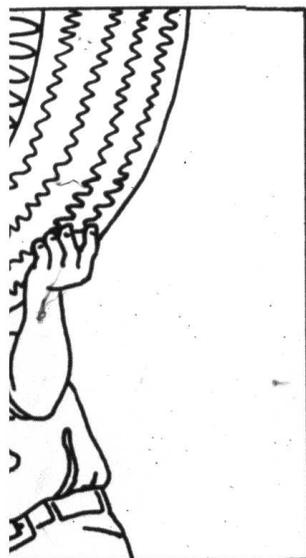
Yet on March 18, 1972, the workers of Local 7 accepted a series of work-rule concessions to make the company "competitive." Provisions of the agreement include:

(1) Switching from the traditional 36-hour workweek to a standard 40-hour week.

(2) Providing for an annual two-week plant vacation shutdown in place of vacations scheduled at the option of workers.

(3) Payment to pieceworkers not covered by piecework rates to be based on individual average rather than job classification.

The *Wall Street Journal* heralded the agreement as "part of a broad pattern of attempts by the Akron company, union and civic leaders to arrest a decline in production here." Good-



year and Goodrich have also negotiated deals with the union.

The tireworkers were under enormous pressure from the company, from their union officials, and from "civic leaders" to accept work-rule changes.

The Rubber companies nurtured rumors of plant closure and lay-offs if the union did not join the battle to raise productivity. When the Firestone workers rejected the company ultimatum in September 1971, Firestone responded by announcing that its new plant would be built in Nashville, Tennessee.

Union leaders began to echo the company rhetoric about "efficiency" and "team spirit." Gerald Gelvin, President of Local 7, told his members:

*"We must develop a positive cooperative attitude and an appreciation of the problems of our company."*

Gelvin's advice to the workers was to increase productivity, improve the quality of the product, decrease absenteeism, decrease down-time and consider the competitive advantage of the eight-hour versus the six-hour day!

The press also joined the offensive. The nearby *Cleveland Plain Dealer* praised Union President Gelvin as "a labor leader who performed in a courageous and responsible manner."

Finally, a "neutral" citizens comit-

tee was formed, the Akron Area Economic Task Force, chaired by businessman William S. Parry.

This so-called "neutral" body, like the Law and Order League of older days, has acted as a publicity organ for the rubber companies, taking out ads to explain the "problems" of the employers.

The pressure on the tireworkers from the companies, press, and their own leaders was overwhelming. Still, it took a real talking job by the union officials to sell the "productivity bargain"... and sell their members down the river!

Despite union concessions, the rubber companies will make no commitment to save jobs. Firestone said that work-rule changes would not affect their decision to close the Akron rubber reclamation plant.

"We don't want to kid anybody," warns Goodrich's Director of Labor Relations, Reynolds, when questioned about future plans for Akron.

United Rubber Workers President Bommarito pointed out that when Goodrich and the URW some time ago ended the 36-hour workweek the company said many of its problems are over. "Now here they are at the door again."

And the will be "at the door" again and again! The company's attack on workers' shop floor rights will intensify until workers develop a national strategy to pressure their leadership to fight back.

This is the only way to safeguard jobs and make the shopfloor livable.

#### Record Profits, Bright Future

*"In 1960 a survey of security analysts showed they rated as poor the growth outlook of the rubber industry. Yet during the decade of the Sixties, Goodyear's earnings growth was topped by only four of the other companies in the Dow Jones Industrial Average. Industry prospects are as bright for the Seventies as they proved to be in the Sixties."*

*- Russell DeYoung, Board Chairman, Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.*

The companies claim they need work-rule changes to improve earnings and profits. However, a quick scrutiny of their record makes their crocodile tears highly suspect.

Immediately after the last contract was signed in June 1970 with the URW, Goodyear raised its prices 5-6%, followed by a comparable boost from the other large manufacturers.

Two months later President Nixon's first "inflation alert" singled out these rubber price increases as examples of boosts which were larger than needed to cover higher labor costs.

Other price rises followed in mid-1971. As of June 1972, Goodyear tacked on another 1% to 2% raise with the consent of the Price Commission.

These price boosts will most certainly offset the wage raise negotiated in the 1970 contract. At the same time, raw material costs have been stable or in the case of natural rubber actually declined.

1972 has been a record-breaking profit year for tires. The *Wall Street Journal* sported such headlines as the following:

*"Goodyear Tire Sales, Profits Set Records in Quarter, 9 Months"; "Firestone Sets Highs in Fiscal 3rd Period, 9-Month Sales."*

#### Radial Tires

The one cloud in the horizon for the U.S. tire companies is radial tires. While more expensive, radial tires give approximately 50-100% more than the life of conventional tires.

They also hold the road better on curves, permit faster stops and even improve gas mileage.

From the vantage point of the tire companies, their long life poses a problem because a large part of tire sales come from replacements.

Furthermore, radial tires cannot be produced on present equipment. Companies estimate it would cost \$600 to \$900 million in investment for new equipment. Consequently the tire industry has been resisting the change to radials.

In Europe radial tires have taken over 60% of the market, but they account for only 4.5% of U.S. volume. However, U.S. demand for the radial tire is growing faster than the tire makers can meet it.

They acknowledge that radials are the "tire of the future." Goodrich, Uniroyal, and General Tires are heavily committed to investment in radials. The biggest companies, Goodyear and Firestone are now following suit.

American companies have reached a "gentlemen's agreement" to follow a slow and gradual transition to radials in order to prevent sudden changes in the market as the replacement cycle for tires lengthens.

However their "smooth-riding" plans have been abruptly disrupted by the giant French company, Michelin, the world's largest producer of radial tires.

Michelin has announced plans to build two radial-tire plants in Nova Scotia, Canada with a subsidy from the Canadian Government (see attached article on this page).

U.S. companies have demanded that Washington impose a tariff on Canadian-made Michelin tires, and the Treasury has launched an "investigation."

Mounting pressure on the tire companies to change over to radials is an incentive for them to crush any work-

ing class resistance. The companies need complete flexibility in the undertaking, because the changeover means enormous reorganization of both equipment and the shop floor as well as a huge capital outlay.

The tire giants are taking a gamble with the radial tire, and the last thing they want is a militant work force disrupting their plans.

*Tireworkers can be sure that they have encountered only the first round of company demands for work changes. These demands will most certainly intensify as the change-over proceeds to radial-tire production.*

#### A Lesson From History

There are striking similarities in the tactics the companies used over thirty years ago and today. They talked then, as they do now, about the necessity of "greater worker efficiency" to keep the industry in Akron.

They demanded pay reductions and work-rule changes. They used plant closures and layoffs as blackmail and backed "neutral" citizens' committees.

*Here the parallel ends. In the thirties the Rubberworkers Union did not grovel before the companies. It fought back.*

The Union's show of strength is what kept the jobs and made the shopfloor livable. Fighting is the only way. It was true then and it is still true.

The employers' investment in Akron is valuable to them; they are not about to deliberately scuttle their wealth!

The expansion of the rubber industry to other areas means that the strategy for the Akron rubberworkers, in their struggle against "productivity bargaining" must be national. The companies must be allowed to play different sectors of the workforce off against each other.

The higher wages and piecework rates in Akron must become the norm for all tireworkers. No more work-rule concessions by the union in Akron or anywhere!

**It is time for working people to define for themselves exactly what constitutes a "fair" days work and a "fair" day's pay, instead of leaving the matter to others who would work them to the bone!**

## U.S. Treasury Hits Tire Imports

The United States Treasury, after "investigating" the Canadian government's subsidy for the manufacture of Michelin radial tires to be exported to the U.S., has imposed special import duties on the tires.

The Treasury Department action, taken under pressure from U.S. tire companies, sets a precedent that will enable the U.S. to impose "countervailing tariffs" on imported products made by any company which has received loans, tax incentives or developed grants from a foreign government.

The Canadian government and the provincial government of Nova Scotia provided a total of \$73 million to Michelin in the form of such grants and lower tax assessments.

As a result of the Treasury action, Michelin tires will cost an extra 6.6%,

on top of the standard 4% tariff on tire imports from Canada.

These tariffs, designed to protect the profits of American firms, have the effect of raising the already astronomical cost of living for American workers who buy these products.

The latest ruling is expected to strain U.S.-Canada relations, which have already cooled over a number of previous clashes over trade.

The Canadian government is expected to appeal to the U.S. customs court, a process that will take a long time to complete and will bring the dispute between the two governments further into the open.

*For the Canadian government, the U.S. action opens what one official describes as "a can of worms. What happens to other companies we've subsidized that happen to ship their stuff to the U.S.?"*

# Nixon

Clarence Jones

[Continued from page 1]

po to Black pressure, marches and riots.

On the other hand, the Nixon administration feels no pressure or fear as it sits on top of a stalled Black movement. The election campaign made little pretense of speaking to Blacks.

The racist politics of Nixon can easily be summed up as the "majority will." Or, as one Justice Department official put it, "We'll do whatever we can for the Blacks that won't piss other people off."

Even at convention time the stage-show politics were geared for a white audience. Blacks were presented as marginal and comical. (Sammy Davis' act.) Any attempt by Black Republicans to alter the scene was met with heavy resistance designed to let all know that Blacks must stay in their place.

Black Caucus meetings were disrupted by Black Nixon aides. In one instance Julie Nixon Eisenhower, escorted by these aides, barked in to inform Black delegates that her father had done all he could for Black people.

Indeed, Nixon maintains that he stands for Black progress. He states quite frankly, however, that Blacks' progress is conditioned upon what white people will accept and what the capitalists are willing to give. In other words, beggars can't be choosy.

## The Struggle For Jobs

The most important part of Nixon's Black policy is the economic section. The question of jobs burns deep in the minds of Black people. The struggle for economic security is the driving motor of the community.

This is no wonder, since the poverty of a community of working people can only be answered by jobs and decent wages.

The 1960's marked a minor breakthrough in Black employment. The Black people's share of the American income pie was set at 6.3% in 1967. It rose to 6.5% in 1970.

But economic recession, unemployment, and racism combined to halt this minor push in 1972. The driving motor of the Black community is pushing against a great wall of "majority will" politics.

In his nomination acceptance speech, Nixon, speaking on hiring quotas, stated that "The way to end discrimination against some is not to begin discrimination against others." This simple formulation states very subtly that Blacks will remain in a stagnant, bottom position in American society. Nixon will insure that the upward mobility halted in '72 will remain as is.

The \$90 billion a year construction industry is one area in which we can see Nixon at work very clearly. His minority-hiring projects have been a fraud.

The first one, the Philadelphia Plan of '69 was an experimental goof on Nixon's part.

The Philadelphia Plan included contractual requirements (real teeth), the major one being that government contractors had to end their racist hiring practices and hire Black workers on a percentage basis.

The program kicked off a storm both in the ranks of management and in the building trades union bureaucracies. This storm, in turn, spread to the ranks of the Black community and

white construction workers in a mess of racial conflict and confusion.

Even though all sorts of heated charges (such as government interference and the hardship of white workers) were raised and are indeed relevant, what really triumphed was the underlying hostility of the employers and the labor bureaucrats to Black aspirations.

Nixon then moved away from the Philadelphia Plan, and proposed so-called "hometown solutions."

In the words of an advisory committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission, the "hometown solutions," like the Chicago Plan and the New York Plan, are designed "to include minority group participation in policy making" and "were started in a number of cities after employers and unions were encouraged to do so as an alternative to federally imposed guidelines."

It also correctly charged that these programs have "too limited of an enrollment", "lack enforcement procedures", and are "dominated by the union and management."

The most significant example of these plans is the Chicago Plan, brainchild of the Chicago AFL and Mayor Daley.

After a year and a half of operating, promises of 4,000 jobs, and expenditures of around \$831,737, the program put 100 men to work. From New York on down, the story is the same.

Another example of Nixon's construction policy is the Outreach Programs' apprenticeship training. These programs, union-sponsored and federally financed, produced very little, as all frauds tend to do.

The Plumbers Union program, for example, funded by the Department of Labor for \$1.4 million, promised to place 500 minority plumbers. At the end of a full year, they had not managed to place a single person.

Nixon has done nothing to correct these frauds. His policy is "voluntary compliance," meaning hands off the racist traditions of the American construction industry.

At first glance, the Secretary of Labor decision on the Bethlehem Steel Plant at Sparrows Point, Maryland, appears to be a reverse of these policies.

The truth, however, is that even though Nixon's policies are on the whole designed to dismantle Black gains, he still has to appease Black sentiments somewhat.

This is why Nixon is willing to take credit for some Black gains, although he attempts to play them down for white people's sake.

The Bethlehem Steel decision is an attempt to counter-attack criticism of his do-nothing civil rights' record.

The Bethlehem decision (see *Workers' Power* No. 71, p. 11) attacks the unit seniority system, which is used against Blacks by placing them in low-paying, dirty "Black work units" and threatening them with loss of seniority if they transfer.

The decision is limited, however. It affects only a few of the 217 units in the plant, and only those Black workers hired before 1968.

Even though the exact number of workers involved has not been determined, no more than 500 are expected to actually be transferred, according to Charles Robinson, president of Steelworkers Local 2610.

That's 500 out of 8,000 Black workers. This is what Nixon is doing for Black people.

In his new budget Nixon carries this policy even further: He projects a funding cut of \$985 million in all federally financed manpower training programs by 1975.

Some will be dismantled immediately, while others will be decentralized

and phased out according to the wishes of local (mainly white) politicians.

Enrollment in all these programs has been frozen for the last month -- and Nixon's new budget indicates that they will remain frozen.

The proposed budget also contains the final liquidation of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the major office of the "War on Poverty."

## Welfare Chislers

Well over five per cent of the Black community is forced to maintain itself on some form of welfare.

If Nixon and his business friends have their way, and as access to jobs disappears, that figure will undoubtedly rise.

A look into Nixon's welfare strategy reveals that he has us coming and going. It also reveals, again, Nixon's racist callousness and astuteness at getting political mileage out of frauds.

The welfare reforms are a prime example of how to take a progressive idea (guaranteed annual income) and sell it back to the country in a reactionary form.

Though Nixon's reforms have gone through many changes, his "reform" as it now stands is even more reactionary than the original proposal.

Known as the Family Assistance Plan, the original proposal had set \$1600 as the minimum federal standard of income for a family of four.

A new bill raised this to \$2400, but eliminated an essential part of the scheme, the Food Stamp Program. The new bill also raises the tax rate on the earned income of welfare clients from 50% to 67%.

This means that if a client made \$100 a week at a job, then \$67 would be deducted from his or her weekly welfare check.

The new Family Assistance Program requires all recipients to register for work or suffer penalties, including loss of benefits.

At the same time it does nothing to guarantee either jobs or even the crudest form of child-care.

All this takes place in the context of high unemployment in the Black community (roughly 25% according to an Urban League survey) and frozen manpower training programs.

"Vicious" would be too nice a word for this game, but there's still more involved.

The new bill's budget, \$6.1 billion in "new money," allocates only 15% of this money to ever reach the clients' hands.

This probably means that the living standards of all welfare recipients has to be reduced, to accommodate a projected 4.3 million increase in "new poor people."

The fight is now in stalemate, with Nixon standing his reactionary ground and rebuffing any attempt on the part of the liberals to compromise.

Nixon understands perfectly well that the liberals' strategy has collapsed, and that they can offer little serious resistance and no meaningful alternative to his anti-Black program.

His mind is set: the poor and Black are not victims of his system of ensured poverty -- they are victims of their own "immorality" and "laziness."

Just to prove his point Mr. Nixon's new budget proposes the dismantling of the Work Incentive Program, the only federal program set up to actually find jobs for the poor.

In other areas of aid to the poor (affecting Blacks very heavily), Nixon moves with the same swift sword.

In the area of health, Nixon plans to cut \$567 million in 1973 and \$2.5 billion by 1975 from Medicaid and other important health programs.

Nixon must expect the impoverished

unemployed to pay their rising doctor bills with Coke bottles.

What Nixon has to say to veterans is even worse. At a time when Black veterans' unemployment is officially at 14.5%, and veterans in general are being stuffed into colleges because that's the only way they can make any money, Nixon proposes: cutting veterans' overall benefits by \$383 million in 1974.

## Both Ends Against The Middle

In education, Nixon proposes dismantling the Landmark Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. This legislation provided \$1.5 billion annually for compensatory education for cheated poor children.

The money instead will be given to local officials to do with as they please. As if this was not enough, Nixon goes on to propose the complete elimination of the school milk program, the only milk that many Black kids ever get.

On the political level Nixon is even trickier. For example, in the South, Nixon takes behind-the-scenes credit for integrating Southern schools.

Publicly, however, he appeals to white Southern conservatism with his anti-busing stand. His new budget even allows a tax break for white parents sending their kids to private schools to flee the integrated schools.

## The Upper Crust

Even though Nixon has been, directly or indirectly, cutting away at the fiber of the Black community, he has managed to recruit to his politics a core from the upper crust of the community.

This core consists of Nixon aides, local officials, business and professional people, and a few Hollywood celebrities. During the campaign this core had the task of selling Nixon to the Black middle class.

They skirted around to all important meetings of the Black dignitaries and well-to-do to sell them Nixon's achievements.

On the whole, their political message was simple: "Nixon is a winner, so you'll be doing well to get on his side."

Indeed, these are the people that should know. Businessmen, the center of this group, were all benefactors of Nixon's Black capitalism promotional schemes.

Since 1970, the Small Business Administration has directed over \$240 million to Black capitalists. About half of this money was given out in '72, an election year.

This is where and how Nixon support was drummed up. As one benefactor remarked "They let you know in no uncertain terms that you are expected to give."

It is quite clear the Black businessmen deserve a break from the racist chains of the American business world. But for them to equate the liberation of the Black masses with their own financial growth is ridiculous and disgusting.

It is not uncommon for Black Nixon supporters to agree with statements such as one made by Charles Wallace, a \$1.4 million benefactor-businessman:

"We Black people didn't create the system, but we are going to work through the system like the white folks do."

Wallace campaigned for Nixon "because he is the man who is going to get us off relief." Maybe Mr. Nixon has gotten Mr. Wallace off relief, but he has done nothing for the rest of us standing on the outside looking in.

There have been other responses to Nixon's racism outside of the Uncle Tomming of a few. There has been some recognition by Black political leaders, activists and follow-

ers that the hard night has set in on the Black community.

In the context of mass confusion in the Black movement, the responses have varied from impotence to accommodation. For instance, a statement was made by Maynard Jackson, Atlanta's Black vice mayor, that "Politics is the civil rights' movement of the '70's."

Vernon Jordan, head of the National Urban League, is specific: "Anybody in a position of leadership who tries to recreate the dramatic conditions of the '60's would be unwise. The battle is not in the streets now.

"This is a time of delivery, of what you can produce that's tangible. It's trench warfare."

In practice Jordan carries this further than most Black leaders would by giving back-handed support to Nixon. "I think the President wants to do something -- and although it may not come out exactly as we propose, we are interested in having a voice in the process." With half the annual budget of the Urban League coming from Federal funds, Jordan's sentiments are understandable.

Even though other Black leaders haven't moved this far, most share the same narrow conception of politics.

They are cynical towards mass actions and rely heavily on bargaining sessions with white power leaders brought to the bargaining table by sweet and/or hot words.

The NAACP continues to lobby in Washington, even though it's clear there's little to be gained.

Jesse Jackson continues to negotiate with white businessmen for a handful of jobs to be tossed into an ocean of Black unemployment.

The finer points of this approach could be seen last December at a symposium in Austin, Tex. held in honor of ex-President LBJ. Filled with gloom and despair, the discussion pinpointed the isolation of a failing Black movement and clearly revealed the bankruptcy of the liberals who once paraded as champions of Black rights.

Hubert Humphrey set the tone: "... the civil rights' movement got into trouble when more and more people came to see it as an effort to give Blacks a special break."

Humphrey went on to say, "We must identify the struggle for civil rights as an all-embracing struggle for the rights, privileges and duties of all Americans."

If this statement were made in the context of waging a winning struggle for Black Liberation by reaching out for allies, it would be a step forward. It could advance Black struggles to a more powerful stage.

In fact, however, Humphrey's

remarks were made in the context of defeat, and represent the liberal view that Black people's demands should be compromised to conform to the conservatism of the "majority."

Humphrey stated quite honestly that Blacks must "move beyond purely Black interest" and "seek out common ground with the more traditional components of the Democratic Party."

The only Black leader at the symposium to clearly oppose Humphrey was Yvonne Burke, California Congresswoman. She declared, "No matter how you slice it, what is being said is that some of the commitment to Blacks is being abandoned."

Others, such as Julian Bond, talked up the notion of some kind of vague coalition along Humphrey lines.

When someone from the audience asked Bond for a clear-cut statement

of the Black movement derives from what happens outside the electoral arena -- the ability of Black activists to mount and sustain a massive independent movement. Historically this has had greater impact on the Presidency and the government."

Allen goes on, "The responsiveness of a white President depends less on pleas of a few Black politicians and more on the aroused and organized militancy of millions of Black people."

Robert Allen is undoubtedly correct -- the number one priority for Black people is the rebuilding of their movement.

Our leaders are fumbling the ball under pressure. Therefore, the masses must intervene in a way they have never done before.

The organizations of the masses -- that is, welfare groups, rank-and-file workers' groups and local grass-roots

those people whose best interests are served in struggle with us against Nixon and his racist capitalist friends.

At his time these forces include workers, both white and Latin, and Puerto Rican and Chicano community groups.

Coalitions with groups such as these wouldn't be like Humphrey's. Black interests would be ensured, not washed away.

These coalitions are vital to protecting Black interests. Even though a mobilization of Black forces is important in the anti-Nixon struggle, by itself it is not enough.

We must cut away Nixon's "new majority", that is, the "hard hat" workers and the so-called "middle America".

The reason for this is simple. Isolation spells defeat.

For example, the employment scene in this country is getting bad; white people are sweating about it too. Nixon steps to the stage and declares opposition to hiring quotas for Blacks.

Of course many whites who are unemployed or near unemployment are glad to hear this.

In other words, white people are feeling the same economic pinch that is devastating the Black community. But Nixon appears to pose a way out for whites as he kicks Blacks in the teeth.

The only flaw is that he has no real way out, as his wage freeze policy and his Federal employment cutbacks (67,000 in '73, 46,000 in '74) point out.

Nixon's new budget also calls for tax increases in the form of income tax and Social Security payments. Both costs fall heavily on working people. He plans no new tax increases that would hit the rich.

In order to cut through the isolation of their movement, Black people must point this out and pose an alternative for themselves and others. Although this task is a difficult one, the method for achieving it is clear.

As an example, let's take another look at the Bethlehem Steel case. Some white workers' response to the Secretary of Labor decision on seniority rules was Nixon-type arguments: no "special privileges" for Blacks.

This response is due in large part to racism. Some of it, however, is due to a real fear of lay-offs, which now threaten all steelworkers.

What brothers at Bethlehem must do is demand more concessions for themselves in opposition to both the employer's and the white workers' racism.

At the same time they should demand no layoffs of any worker, white or Black. This way we can begin to win over a layer of white workers and expose our real enemies: Nixon, the employers, and those whites who actively oppose Black liberation. ■



Yvonne Burke, Vernon Jordan and Julian Bond

of program for such a "coalition," he replied, "I don't know."

Richard Hatcher went one better, he advocated merging Black issues with outside issues. The issue of slums, for example, should be "integrated" into the ecology movement!

These responses, along with the attempts of some Black leaders to bury themselves in the Democratic Party are shadowy, half-assed attempts to conceal the defeats that the Black masses have suffered under their leadership. These leaders overlook one historical truth -- Power concedes to power. An attack on Black rights will only be defeated by an aggressive Black counter-attack.

In an article in the Sept. '72 issue of *The Black Scholar*, Robert L. Allen, the associate editor, points toward this strategy:

"In the final analysis, the strength

community groups and clubs -- must take the responsibility of their own defense.

Even though many issues must be dealt with, the underlying theme should be defeat Nixon's racist attacks -- fulfill Black demands and aspirations now!

Unlike Jordan and other leaders, the people of the smaller grass-roots organizations can little afford to take no for an answer. This is what Malcolm X's battle cry "by any means necessary" meant.

### Blacks Must Take The Lead

With this in mind we start first with Black people organizing every ounce of power at our disposal, from marches to labor strikes.

When greater power is needed, as it will be in any serious struggle, we should ally ourselves with progressive elements outside ourselves --

The Philadelphia AFL-CIO Central Labor Council has called for a half-day general strike following the arrest of 800 striking members of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers. The strike call comes in the midst of an accelerating attempt by the city to break the teachers' union.

On February 14 and 15, police arrested about 400 teachers for defying an anti-picketing injunction, but released them without charges. Mass picketing is important to the teachers since the Board of Education is hiring new scabs daily in an effort to keep the schools open.

On February 19, four hundred more teachers were arrested and this time charged with contempt of court. Angered by these arrests, 1000 tea-

chers marched to the headquarters of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

They demanded that William Ross, manager of the ILGWU Joint Board, resign his position as president of the Board of Education. Ross resigned and reportedly left town for an extended vacation.

In addition to the 800 arrested teachers who have been released on bail, two leaders of the PFT have been jailed for several weeks for refusing to call an end to the strike.

By the time the teachers' strike was a couple of weeks old, it should have been clear to the AFL-CIO leadership that decisive action would be required to win. Instead, the teachers were allowed to go it alone until the mass

arrests made the strike impossible to ignore.

While welcome, the call for a half-day general strike is an attempt by the labor bureaucracy to keep the confrontation as minor as possible. A half-day's strike can be effective only if it is clear that the AFL-CIO leadership is ready to mount an indefinite strike if necessary.

Philadelphia Mayor Rizzo has called the general strike threat the beginning of anarchy in Philadelphia. Rizzo's determination to stand his ground and fight is clear.

If the AFL-CIO leadership had such courage and determination, the teachers' strike could have been won weeks ago. ■

# General Strike To Defend Jailed Teachers

# THE DOLLAR DEVALUED: NEW CRISIS COULD SPARK TRADE WAR

Walter Daum

The 10% devaluation of the U.S. dollar announced in mid-February concluded -- until the next crisis -- a 3-week international monetary upheaval. For at least the tenth time in five years the spectacle of billions of dollars being dumped on foreign currency markets, sending statesmen flying to hastily called secret negotiations, played in the headlines.

One staid newspaper described the crisis as "ripping apart the fabric of Western economic and political relations." Although this fabric again has been stitched together for the present, the instability of the world capitalist system has again been made plain.

The new crisis meant that the Smithsonian Agreement of December 1971, which replaced the previous monetary system that had prevailed since 1944, had come unstuck. This agreement, the basis of the international monetary system for the past year, lowered the exchange rate of the U.S. dollar with respect to other major currencies (notably the West German mark and the Japanese yen) by about 12%.

At the same time the Smithsonian Agreement set up fixed exchange rates between currencies which were to vary only within a narrow range. Then as now, the dollar was devalued at American insistence in order to lower the prices of U.S. exports, raise the prices of imported foreign goods, and thereby win a competitive edge for U.S. industries.

The Agreement fell apart when it appeared in January that inflation was on the rise again in this country. The jump in food prices, Phase 3's skimpy price controls, and a whopping foreign trade deficit for 1972 did the trick.

Holders of large dollar amounts -- international banks, multinational corporations, and some government treasuries -- began transferring billions into other currencies.

The effect of this massive dumping by speculators was to reduce the value of the dollar. As a result more dollars (\$3.5 billion in Germany in two days alone) were sold in the rush to latch onto more stable currencies.

European banks, unable to buy enough dollars to plug the leak, were forced to restrict and then forbid currency exchanges. At this point, readjustment of exchange rates be-

came necessary, in order to preserve the whole system of international trade and exchange.

It is interesting that the German finance ministry accepted over 6 billion U.S. dollars at a loss of \$500 million, as part of a deal with the U.S. to force the Japanese into an even greater de facto adjustment of their own currency.

The result was that the dollar was devalued at fixed rates against most European currencies, while the yen's rate of exchange is still unsettled (Thus, the Japanese yen will tend to rise in relation to the dollar even more than European currencies.)

## Roots of Crisis

Why this mad rush away from the dollar? Why did international speculators, including the giant multinational corporate giants, figure they could make a killing by unloading U.S. dollars for European currency?

*The dollar has actually been weakening for some time; in fact, there has been great instability among international currencies for years. The 1973 dollar crisis was only the latest outbreak of panic.*

After World War II a new monetary system was established, based upon giving the dollar a unique status as a "reserve" currency. This "reserve" status meant that dollars would be exchanged for gold by the United States Treasury, and that other currencies could always be exchanged for dollars at specified rates not subject to fluctuation.

This arrangement worked as long as the dollar was a desirable currency to hold: that is, as long as inflation in the U.S. was slight (so that the dollar kept its value), and as long as U.S. industry maintained the lead in productivity that it held after the war.

This was necessary to assure that dollars would be backed up by available goods.

This situation lasted through most of the post-war economic boom, but could not go on forever. Other capitalist countries, recovering from the war, made rapid industrial progress and became, over the years, competitive with the U.S.

Inflation, a permanent post-war phenomenon throughout the capitalist world, has varied in intensity from country to country.

This variation means that currencies lose their value at different speeds, so that exchange rates get out of line.

Trade balances also vary. In any one year, some countries build up an export surplus over imports and thereby collect foreign currencies in payment.

A perennial trade surplus indicates a comparatively healthy productive economy and strengthens a country's currency. It is just the reverse for countries with trade deficits.

The United States, although it held a trade surplus throughout this century until 1971, has been deficit in its overall balance of payments because of its tremendous overseas military expenditures.

A payments deficit means that a country's currency accumulates abroad and loses value; since there is little demand for the country's products. Inevitably, as just happened, such a situation leads to monetary difficulties.

Underlying this international instability is the fact that each nation's monetary problems reflect the class conflict between capitalists and workers.

Governments have tried several policies to get their currencies and trade balances back into line. Their problem is that all of these policies lead to a confrontation with the working class.

*Inflation itself as a conscious government policy is intended, according to Keynesian theory, to hold back wage costs without triggering workers' resistance.*

It is harder for workers to fight steady price increases than direct wage cutbacks, even when the price boosts eat into the standard of living.

Wage control is another policy designed to reduce business costs and hold back inflation, but it runs up against workers' demands stimulated by inflation.

The alternative policy of "fiscal restraint" -- which means reducing the burden placed on corporations to finance social welfare and public services -- requires either budget cutting at the expense of necessary social services, increased taxes at the expense of wage earners, or both.

Capitalist governments -- the Nixon Administration is a good example -- have flip-flopped from one to another of these policies in recent years without much success.

Working class resistance has often been magnificent, despite the inaction or betrayals of the leaders of the trade unions and other workers' organizations. The French mass strike of May 1968,

the Italian strike wave since the late 60's, and the British workers' opposition throughout 1972 to the Conservative government's attacks on trade union rights are powerful examples.

The supposedly docile Japanese working class toughened its organization in 1972. The American working class faces an important test this year in the coming round of major trade union contracts.

Because of workers' resistance, governments require a flexible monetary system. This helps them arm themselves with a variety of weapons to use in the struggle against their own working classes as well as against each other.

At the same time, a stable currency system is needed for the conduct of international business. Under these contradictory pressures the monetary arrangements that governments make have often broken down (see chart).

## Drastic Changes

In 1971, the combination of high inflation in the U.S. (resulting from three decades of a permanent arms economy, and Vietnam War spending in particular) and the unprecedented trade deficit led to a drastic change in the monetary system.

In August 1971 the Nixon Administration abolished a pillar of the post-war monetary system, the exchangeability of the dollar for gold. In effect, the dollar became the world's monetary reserve in place of gold.

*This came at a time when the U.S. economy was suffering from rapid inflation and industrial stagnation. It meant that U.S. capitalism was trying to solve its own problems by exporting its inflation to other nations.*

Simultaneously, Nixon announced Phase 1 -- the wage freeze -- of his "New Economic Policy," and a surtax on imports that brought about the Smithsonian Agreement in December.

By abandoning gold, thereby making the dollar's international role even more central than it had been, Nixon forced the rest of the capitalist world to accept his strategy for strengthening the U.S.'s competitive position.

Nixon's policies have had limited success. Domestically, the controls of Phases 1 and 2 lopped off wage increases and the rate of inflation in the U.S. fell below those of the other capitalist countries.

Nevertheless, the U.S. trade balance did not improve: the deficit was \$6½ billion in 1972, up from about \$2 bil-

## Monetary Crises, 1967-1972

November 1967	British Pound devalued.
March 1968	U.S. dollar crisis; London currency exchange shut; price of gold set loose in the private market.
November 1968	Gold crisis; French franc crisis.
August 1969	French franc devalued.
October 1969	German mark up-valued.
May 1970	Canadian dollar "floated."
May 1971	U.S. dollar crisis; Germany and Netherlands float currencies; Austria and Switzerland up-value.
August 1971	U.S. ends dollar's convertibility to gold and demands up-valuation of German mark and Japanese yen.
December 1971	Smithsonian Agreement.
June 1972	British pound floated.

lion the previous year. In contrast Japan had a \$9 billion surplus, and West Germany a \$6 billion surplus.

One reason for the continuing trade deficit is that much foreign trade today takes place between components of multinational companies, which are less affected by exchange rate adjustments.

Another reason is that the U.S. has not made sufficient progress in new investment and technology, despite a year of declining inflation and booming profits.

Thus inflation will now be on the rise again. These factors are what brought on the February crisis.

The new crisis might well have developed earlier, since the Smithsonian Agreement was wobbly on the day it was signed. Nixon, however, undoubtedly postponed putting pressure on the Common Market and Japan for monetary revaluation, until after the elections and the Vietnam cease-fire.

With these matters out of the way, the rival capitalist classes were free to jockey with each other over exchange rates, negotiate trade deals and threaten trade barriers, each trying to avoid having to confront its working class head-on.

### Depression Threat

The direct consequences for Americans of the new settlement may be less than for people in countries more directly dependent on foreign trade. They will still be felt, however.

Prices on imported goods, and goods made with imported materials or equipment, will go up -- for most people, this means more expensive clothing, gasoline, fuel, and electricity.

Other commodities manufactured here, like automobiles and television sets will face less competition from abroad. Their prices will tend to rise also.

In addition, U.S. products sold abroad, especially food, will be more in demand overseas because of their lower prices. That in turn means higher prices at home even for basic necessities like food, the price of which was skyrocketing even before February.

As for jobs, the Administration's claim that devaluation means more employment is belied by the announced plan to phase out taxes on business investment abroad.

This gift to the international corporations, which will actually worsen the monetary deficit, speaks volumes about whose interests the capitalist readjustment was meant to serve.

For now, the international monetary system has been reorganized. But whenever a new crisis occurs, there is always the possibility that the system will fall apart without a new settlement that all sides can be forced to accept.

Such an outcome would mean the threat of full-scale trade wars, higher prices all around because of decreased competition in domestic markets, and job losses in industries that depend on transport and overseas markets.

As the effects spread, the result is a depression. This is an unlikely event at present, but it did happen in the 1930's.

The threat of depression always looms in the background when the capitalist system is stricken with any form of crisis.

Even if the present instability subsides, even if a new balancing of exchange rates lasts for a while, even if an entirely new monetary system is devised, one thing must remain clear.

The contradictory pressures that lead to crisis remain within a system built upon class conflict and international rivalry.

There will always be monetary upheavals as long as capitalism survives.

British workers are assembling their strength in preparation for a decisive test of Prime Minister Heath's anti-working class strategy.

Last November Heath instituted a wage freeze which is still in effect. He recently announced his program for a British Phase Two, complete with wage and price boards, whose announced goal is to cut the rate of average wage increases in half. (For background, see *Workers' Power* No. 72.)

British workers have already announced their intention of fighting wage controls. 300,000 clerical and administrative workers have refused to work overtime, and will carry out a one-day national strike on February 27th.

80,000 hospital workers called for all-out strike action against the wage controls as the executive of the main health service union, the National Union of Public Employees, met to plan its strategy.

52,000 Ford workers will go out next month against the guidelines. Dockworkers, shipyard workers and miners have already gone out on one-day protest strikes against the wage freeze.

The government has chosen 47,000 workers in Britain's nationalized gas industry as the first target in its attempt to force through wage controls. The work force in the gas industry has been cut by one third -- from 69,000 to 47,000 while productivity has tripled.

The government has also refused to guarantee that the productivity gains would be taken into account when the pay board begins operating.

In preparing for the strike, the Tory government launched a vicious attack against the gas men. They have been portrayed in the press as murderous loafers who have abandoned all other interests save that of their own greed.

Spokesmen have stressed the dangers to the public of a gas strike, while at the same time refusing workers' offers to run a service for emergencies during the strike.

Union bureaucrats were scared stiff by this campaign, and called off plans for job actions. But workers themselves have responded with independent action -- by slowing down on the job, refusing to work overtime, and by walking off the job.

Workers in Yorkshire and Lancashire have left work, organizing flying pickets to spread the strike in their areas. Some have been out for a month without strike benefits.

Gas workers in Scotland first organized a successful one day strike on February 14th. They immediately began planning a one-week strike to follow it.

As one gas worker put it, "We started off fighting the gas board and the union but now we are all aware that it's the government and their freeze that we are fighting."

### Heath's Offensive

Heath has indeed provoked a major battle. He has no choice. In 1972 Britain faced the largest external trade deficit ever recorded, while investment in British industry fell by 10 percent in real terms.

Britain's entry into the Common Market means that its lackluster industry will now have to compete with its more efficient European counterparts on its home ground.

Heath has to make British industry more competitive, both to ease the trade deficit and to attract the investment capital which can begin rebuilding Britain's outmoded industrial plant.

Throughout the past three years, his strategy has been to "streamline" the labor force. In practical terms this

means that unemployment in England has risen to its highest level in 25 years.

Heath's plans for the troubled coal and steel industries call for laying off 150,000 miners and 79,000 steelworkers in the next few years.

This nationwide campaign has been combined with intensive productivity drives which have raised the profits of British industry to new heights. Unfortunately for Heath, this money is not going back into the British economy but into overseas investment.

Health has been driven to pump money into basic industries such as shipbuilding, aircraft industry, coal and steel to keep them going. This ultimately resulted in a rip-roaring bout of inflation, which in turn brought an aroused working class into action.

The successful miners' strike last winter blasted a hole right through the government's entire position. Through it rode the railwaymen, the dockers,

trade union is on its own.

Leaders of specific unions which are under the gun -- like the gas men -- have restricted themselves to pleading to the government that theirs is a "special case" rather than calling for solidarity action by the entire working class to defend its interests.

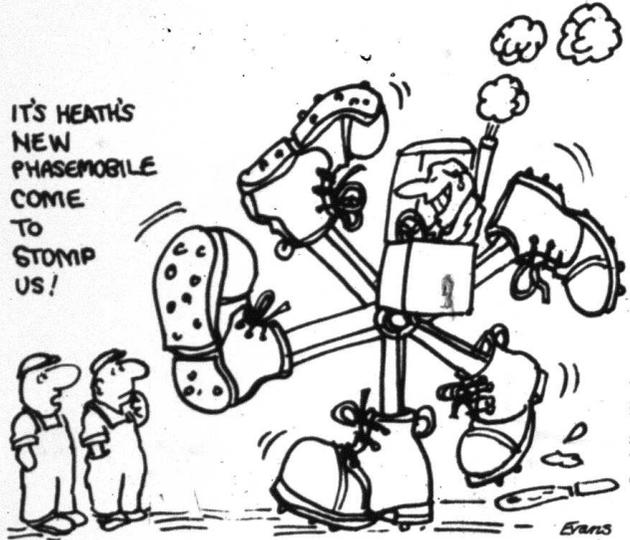
Last week, representatives from thirty-two unions with members in the state-run sector of the economy failed to reach any agreement on combined strategy. These include the gas men, the hospital workers, civil servants, and teachers.

While offering "maximum assistance" to unions fighting the freeze, the conference carefully refrained from any definite commitments to any particular assistance.

Other officials, while maintaining their verbal opposition to Phase Two, have warned against any "illegal" industrial actions by their workers.

Fortunately rank and file groups

IT'S HEATH'S  
NEW  
PHASEMOBILE  
COME  
TO  
STOMP  
US!



# Britain: Ranks Fight Phase 2

Paul Benjamin

the building workers and many others.

Altogether, British workers cost the ruling class 23.6 million work-days in strikes -- the highest total since 1926, the year of the British General Strike.

This mammoth strike wave convinced Heath of the need for state intervention to shackle the workers' demands. Rank and file militancy prevented union bureaucrats from accepting a system of voluntary controls, although the government spent nine months trying to win them over.

Finally, last November, Heath was forced to take unilateral action.

British labor bureaucrats are doing their best to ignore the political character of the workers' resistance to Phase Two. Rank and file militants know well enough that the government is mounting an attack on the class as a whole.

Top labor bureaucrats, however, while mouthing support for workers' attacks on Phase Two, have said that when it comes down to cases each

have realized the necessity for united action. Teachers' locals in London are planning to link up with health workers and other public sector unions to fight the freeze.

Ford workers have invited delegates from other auto unions as well as gas workers, miners, civil servants and hospital workers to their meetings.

On February 18th, the Ford workers held a conference to co-ordinate actions between those different groups of workers whose present wage claims challenge the government's freeze.

A spokesman said, "By the end of the month there will be one and a half million workers in the same boat as us. Unity is strength. We are having to take this step as the trade union leaders have completely failed to give us a lead."

The independent action of the rank and file against the Tories' attack is a giant step toward the rebuilding of a revolutionary workers' movement in Britain.

Socialist Worker

# THE RAIL CRISIS: A SOCIALIST ANSWER

Roger Cid

Thursday, February 8, was the strike deadline for 28,000 members of the United Transportation Union in their dispute with the Penn Central Railroad over company demands for cuts in the size of train crews. At 12:01 A.M., the 30-day "cooling-off period" arranged in January expired. Everyone anticipated the strike, which threatened to idle over a million workers in 16 Eastern and Mid Western states.

By late Feb. 8, less than 24 hours after the strike began, Congress adopted a resolution which ordered the halting of the strike for another 90 days, temporarily restrained the railroad from imposing the threatened cuts in crew size, and gave the President 45 days to come up with a plan "for the preservation of essential rail transportation services in the Northeast."

It is important to understand what lies behind this unusually speedy action and the threat it represents to the rail workers.

## Powerful Force

Railroads, and transportation generally, play a crucial role in any industrial economy. The whole of economic life, based upon a complicated division of labor, depends upon the smooth functioning of the transportation network.

Thus, strikes on the railroads have tremendously disruptive effects, a fact which makes railroad workers an enormously powerful force.

Railroad strikes have the potential to escalate into major class battles.

Two of the major labor insurrections, in the last quarter of the 19th century were railroad strikes - the railroad strike of 1877 and the Pullman strike of 1894.

American capitalism realized the danger inherent in this situation and moved to "stabilize" labor relations on the roads. Over the years special legislation was designed to provide for "peaceful" settlement of labor disputes, giving the government power to impose "cooling off" periods, and to arbitrate major differences.

To gain the unions' acceptance of this required essentially a deal between the state and the leaders of the various railroad unions, through which the labor leaders, in return for delivering a compliant work force, got assurances that the railroads would not tamper with crew sizes or work practices without involving the union tops.

The other side of this, government intervention, took the form of Federal Regulatory Agencies whose major job was the setting of freight rates conducive to high profits for the railroads.

Of course, the clients of the carriers, from the major corporations on down, passed their freight costs on to the "consumer," i.e. the working class, in the form of higher prices.

As long as rail was the major means of freight transport, this system was relatively stable. With the tremendous expansion of the trucking industry in the post-war period, however, the rail-

roads soon faced a tough competitor.

No longer could they expect a guaranteed market for their overvalued services. As a result, they began to encounter serious economic difficulties. To counter these, they began an offensive against the workers, in order to lower labor costs and improve profits.

Seeking to turn other sectors of the working class against the railroad workers, the railroads raised a hue and cry over "featherbedding" and initiated a campaign to cut crew sizes and eliminate past work rules.

In addition, many of them, including the Penn Central, sought to improve their profit picture by "diversifying," i.e. investing in other industries and notably real estate speculation.

The recent events on the Penn Central must be seen against this background. During the economic downturn of 1970, the Penn Central declared bankruptcy and entered reorganization proceedings under Chapter 77 of the Federal bankruptcy code.

This code is designed to help railroads reorganize on a profitable basis, allowing them to suspend debt and tax payments in the interim. The reorganization, overseen by U.S. District Judge John P. Fullman, has not been successful.

The road has lost \$1.4 billion since June 1970, while \$2.7 billion worth of claims lie out of reach of some 26,000 creditors.

In order to help its financial position, the railroad last December sought and won court approval to begin implementing a plan to cut the work force, to defer until April wage increases for 44,000 employees scheduled to take effect in January.

It was this offensive, threatening eventually to eliminate 5,700 jobs and tearing up a sizeable chunk of the railroad's agreements with numerous unions representing rail employees, that provoked the one-day strike.

## Government Subsidies

It is clear, then, that the strike was deliberately provoked by the Penn Central. The trustees of the bankrupt carriers want to lay off thousands of workers and abandon miles of track (5,000 miles out of 20,000 on the Penn Central, for example).

The carriers want, above all, government subsidies to bail out their creditors and maintain the railroads in private hands. They hope the present crisis will lead to just this "solution." \$600 to \$800 million is the figure mentioned for such a subsidy. The most likely form for government intervention, however, is a proposal to nationalize the Penn Central and seven other Northeast roads, and to put them under the control of a Northeastern Transportation Authority.

This authority would issue bonds to the railroads' trustees, who would then reissue them to the railroads' creditors.

These bonds would be paid off from the proceeds of the rail operation, and, so the thinking goes, eventually enable the railroads to

be returned to private hands after the necessary reorganization.

For those familiar with the New York City subways, not to mention bus systems in major cities around the country, what this means should be obvious. The railroads would be taken over by this Authority, which would carry out the carriers' plans to lay off thousands of workers and oversee the abandonment of thousands of miles of track, leaving communities and whole areas dependent upon them to rot.

The creditors of the road would receive bonds equal to their holdings. The interest on these bonds, as well as the principle, would come out of higher carrying charges and passenger fares, and more likely than not the issuing of more bonds to pay off the previous ones.

The result will be the preservation of the fictitious investments of the railroad creditors. The cost of this will be borne by the railroad employees, the commuters, and the whole working class through further price increases that incorporate the rise in freight rates.

## Bureaucrats Bankrupt

The bureaucrats of the United Transportation Union (UTU) not surprisingly have no alternative to this situation. Essentially committed to capitalism and trained to run to the state to bail them out of difficulties, these union officials are as bankrupt politically as the railroads are economically.

The only solution consistent with workers' needs is the nationalization of the railroads under workers' control. This would mean the expropriation of all the major railroads without compensation.

The railroads and their creditors have made enough money running the roads into the ground for their own profit!

The railroads would then be run under the control of the workers themselves, either through the unions or through some nationally delegated council of railroad workers.

The workers would ensure the orderly functioning of the present lines, the rebuilding of needed new facilities, and the safety of all railroad personnel and passengers.

We demand that funds for this come from the profits of the capitalist class, not from the workers' pockets. In short, we demand that the state stop subsidizing the corporations at our expense.

## Socialist Alternative

We have no intention of hiding that this can be only a temporary solution. It is certain that the capitalists will resist the expiration of their property tooth and nail; only the organized force of the labor movement can force them to yield.

Such a struggle requires a fight within the unions against the present bureaucrats who accept capitalist property relations and who follow the dictates of the capitalists.

It means a fight to replace them with a leadership committed to fighting for the needs of the working class without regard to the needs of capitalism.

No one sector of industry, however, can long remain under the control of the workers while the rest of the economy and the state remains firmly in the hands of the capitalists. A broad struggle must be waged to nationalize all basic industry and the banks, under the control of a government of the workers themselves.

It is only this road that offers a viable long-run alternative to the destruction of the nation's rail facilities, the wholesale layoffs of railroad personnel, and the further loss of the rights and worsening of working conditions of the railroad workers.

## A Program to Meet The Rail Crisis

Down with government intervention -- for full right to strike for all railroad workers!

For a general strike of all railroad workers to resist the employers' offensive, to regain safe work practices.

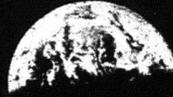
No layoffs -- for a shorter work week with no wage cuts and full cost-of-living protection.

For the nationalization of the railroads under the control of the railroad workers!

For one union of all railroad workers -- expel the bureaucracy!

For a labor party and a workers' government!

# international report



## France: Gaullists, Communists attack Lutte Ouvriere

*Lutte Ouvriere's* campaign for a working-class alternative in the French elections is being attacked by both the Gaullists and the so-called "socialist" coalition.

Three Communist-controlled municipalities and one Gaullist town council have refused *Lutte Ouvriere* the use of town halls for meetings.

One of *Lutte Ouvriere's* candidates has been expelled from the Communist-controlled union in the Paris Carbon Lorraine factory because he stated in public that he was a revolutionary candidate.

In addition, the Paris council, dominated by the Gaullists and reformists, banned a *Lutte Ouvriere* mass rally on the grounds that it was just before the elections.

*Lutte Ouvriere* is thus the only group which will not be able to have a mass meeting in the Paris Sports Palace in the period leading up to the election.

*Lutte Ouvriere* appealed to all groups and parties who support free speech to protest. *Lutte Ouvriere* also intends to hold a mass rally on February 26th as planned -- if necessary outside the Sports Palace -- and has appealed to other organizations to join it.

with broad powers to carry out their campaign, refused to give them up when it was completed.

The military coup has gotten a relatively good press, stressing its nationalism, honesty, and opposition to corruption.

The commanders have issued a 19-point "program of national reconstruction" that is strongly "populist" in tone and that seems to be inspired by the military government in Peru.

Uruguay's basic problems are neither dishonesty nor corruption, though both certainly exist. The real issue is a stagnant economy and a staggering inflation.

The ruling class in Uruguay has been unable to impose its usual solution -- sweat the necessary capital out of the working class -- because of the strength of the Uruguayan workers' movement. Neither Bordaberry nor his predecessors were able to cow the workers into submission.

Uruguayan workers will soon discover that "revolution" on the Peruvian model will include the break-up of their strong unions and political organizations unless the workers act decisively in time to save them. The workers are slated to bear the cost of "national reconstruction" in Uruguay.

## India: "Green Revolution" collapses in poverty and corruption

India, struck by the worst drought in a decade, is facing severe food shortages and rising prices.

Critics of the government charge that the government did not respond quickly enough to the drought, because officials feared panic buying would lead to still further inflation.

Five major parties boycotted the opening of Parliament on February 19, protesting the government's handling of the drought situation. The opposition also protested "the all-around failure of Government policy" in easing unemployment, food shortages, price rises and the problems of the stricken state of Andhra Pradesh, where troops have clashed violently with demonstrators seeking to split up the state.

The only major opposition party that did not join the boycott was the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India, one of three Communist factions and the only one that has generally supported Prime Minister Gandhi.

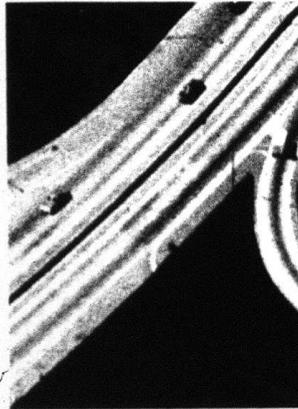
Only a short time ago the Indian government was proudly announcing that India was able to feed itself. After a record crop in 1971, the government announced that it would halt food imports from the United States.

The so-called Green Revolution -- the introduction of capitalist agriculture into India -- was supposed to solve India's food problems.

In fact, its main result was to drive peasants off the land, as they could not afford the new grains and fertilizers needed for the "new agriculture."

Now the Green Revolution has collapsed in a welter of poverty, underdevelopment and corruption.

## Zionists to build super-highway in occupied Arab territory



Israel has secretly begun work on a new highway in the occupied West Bank territory seized from Jordan in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

The highway would be consistent with a controversial plan proposed by Deputy Premier Yigal Allon that envisions an Israeli paramilitary "security belt" on the West Bank.

Asked about the new road, spokesmen for the military governor of the West Bank and the Defense Ministry, which share responsibility for the area, at first denied any knowledge of it.

Later Defense Ministry spokesmen acknowledged that plans for a new road did in fact exist, but insisted that no political implications should be drawn from the new road.

The section under construction, they said, is to link Gittit and Mechora, two of several new Israeli settlements in the area. Asked why a six-lane highway would be necessary to connect two small and isolated settlements, a spokesman said that this was the new standard for "regional roads."

The only six-lane highways in Israel at present are portions of roads connecting Tel Aviv with Haifa and Jerusalem.

This is not the only new major road construction in territories seized by Israel. Since 1967 the government has built major roads on the occupied Golan heights of Syria and a security road along the length of the Lebanese border, where fighting has recently broken out.

Given this new spate of construction, it is difficult to accept the Israeli government's claims to be willing to negotiate the return of the occupied lands it seized in the 1967 fighting.

## Italy: Mass workers march battles fascist terror

The murder of a 21 year old leftist student in Milan last month is the most serious incident in a wave of violence by police and neo-fascists against the left in Italy.

The student and a comrade, who was seriously wounded, were shot as they tried to enter a meeting at one of Milan's universities.

The huge protest demonstration two days after the murder, which included workers from some of Milan's big factories, was followed by a funeral procession tens of thousands strong.

On the night of the funeral the Socialist Party headquarters in nearby Brescia was blown up.

The offices of the Milan section of the Italian Socialist party were also wrecked by a bomb blast. A note left at the scene said, "No one will ever discover the SAM -- the Mussolini Action Squadrans." The Mussolini Action Squadrans are a neo-fascist group bent on terrorizing Italian left-wing organizations.

The Italian workers' movement has been gaining momentum for the past several months. As it grows in strength, the ruling class will stoop to any methods to prevent its victory. The growing fascist terror in Italy is a threat not only to safety, but to the very existence of the Italian working class movement.

## Russia: Stalinist shake-up signals new anti-working class offensive

Russia's Communist Party is due for a shake-up. *Pravda* warned 14.5 million party members that a turn-in and replacement of party cards scheduled to begin on March 1st could bring expulsion for anyone guilty of "unworthy behavior."

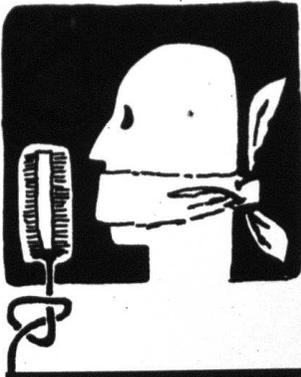
The paper stressed that the shake-up should not be considered a major purge but simply part of a fight against "inertia and indifference" among party members.

The real basis for the campaign is a drive against "inertia and indifference" among Russia's workers. Last year the Russian government admitted serious failures in its economic planning.

At present it is engaged in a massive effort to dredge more productivity out of its work force, promising all kinds of material incentives to workers in surpassing their quotas.

As part of this drive, the party finds it useful to clean up its own image. Thus major cases of corruption by party officials have gotten publicity in the Russian press. Now the rank and file of the party will be given the once-over.

The succession of events is suspiciously similar to events in Yugoslavia, where a drive against "corruption" was followed by a massive crackdown on working class wages and living standards.



## "Progressive" military junta plans attack on Uruguayan workers

Uruguay's armed forces have assumed virtual control of the country's government. President Juan Maria Bordaberry was forced to agree to the creation of a National Security Council which will "oversee" the civilian administration.

This "Council" is to include the commanders of the three armed services, and the ministers of defense, interior, foreign affairs and economy.

In fact, the military will dominate, as they have insisted on controlling the nominations of the ministers of defense and interior.

The entry of the armed forces into politics followed their success last year in crushing Uruguay's urban guerrillas, the Tupamaros. The military, armed

# in this issue

- Auto Militants Plan Strategy /3
- Murder On Staten Island /6
- Women Workers & The ERA /5
- Detroit Police Terror /4
- Behind The Dollar Crisis /12
- The Productivity Struggle /8



## 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 \_\_\_\_\_

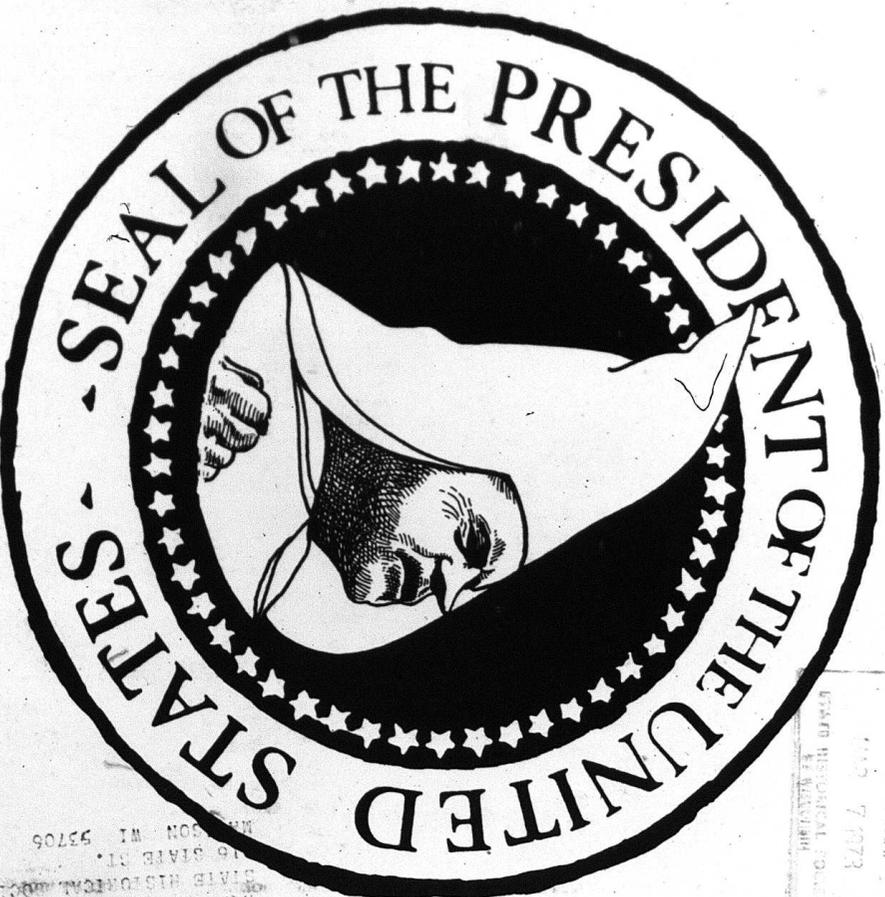
Address \_\_\_\_\_

1431 Woodward Avenue  
Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

**SUBSCRIBE NOW**

# Workers' Power

international socialist biweekly 73



## NIXON ATTACKS BLACK MOVEMENT