

Workers' Power

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STOP THE LAYOFFS

In Detroit, they're installing bullet-proof glass in at least one unemployment office between the office staff and the long lines of unemployment compensation recipients. That one fact tells most of what there is to know about unemployment this year.

Unemployment is growing fast — but this is just the beginning. There's much worse to come.

Government figures show 4.4 million workers out of jobs in December, or 4.9%. That was up from 4.5% in October — the sharpest rise in unemployment since the last recession in 1970.

One of those who lost her job in December was 25-year-old Alverna Jones, a New York garment worker. Until she was laid-off two weeks before Christmas, she was taking home about \$95 a week.

Now she's trying to feed her three small children while paying \$115 a month rent. She lives in a two-room apartment in a run-down tenement on Harlem's 114th Street. On \$55 a week unemployment, she doesn't have much left for luxuries.

Alverna Jones is typical of those who are being hurt most as the economy goes into crisis. She is black, and a woman.

The First Victims

When the capitalists have trouble with their economy, oppressed minorities and women are always the first victims.

This year, blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos will be forced onto the streets as usual.

The jobs that women have won in basic industry under the impact of the women's liberation movement will be virtually wiped out. At GM's Linden, N. J. assembly plant, all 350

women who hired into the plant in the last three years have lost their jobs as low-seniority workers are laid-off first.

So far, the most dramatic impact has been on auto and airline workers. The fuel shortage, added to the beginnings of a recession has meant permanent lay-offs for 17,000 airline employees and 60,000 auto workers, with more on the way.

But even though the energy crisis has speeded up some lay-offs, it's not the energy crisis that's causing what will be the worst recession in decades. Millions more will lose their jobs — labor economists pre-

dict unemployment as high as ten or eleven percent.

One AFL-CIO official in Los Angeles said, "I think 1974 is going to be remembered in the same way 1930 was."

There was no fuel shortage in 1930. The problem was then — as it is now — the capitalist economic system that can be concerned with nothing other than the mad scramble for profit.

The scramble for profit leads to periodic collapse — and then they want working people to pay for the problems the bosses have caused!

That's the question yet to be decided this year: who is going

to pay for this big bust.

If the bosses have their way, even those workers who still have jobs will pay, through more speed-up and deteriorating working conditions.

In UAW Chrysler Local 51 in Detroit, many workers are facing imminent lay-offs, while others in the same local are forced to work seven days a week.

Now is the time to fight back, before the lay-offs bite deeper. Employed workers and those on lay-off alike have a common interest.

If there's not enough work to go around, let the bosses reduce the work week while paying everyone full wages. It's the

bosses' problem — we should make them pay for it.

But if left to Meany, Woodcock, Abel, and Fitzsimmons, there won't be any fight. There may be angry denunciations from some of them about the heartless corporations throwing people out of work while raking in the profits. But behind closed doors, it will be business as usual — all talk and no action.

It's up to rank and filers to change all that. A fight to protect our jobs must start now. No lay-offs! Work or full pay! It's not up to us to pay for the problems of our bosses!■

Jim Woodward

Workers Demand: Stop the Fraud!

New Jersey union members demonstrated in front of Exxon's research center in Linden to protest the "phony fuel shortage. The demonstrators, many laid-off due to the fuel shortage, are members of the United Auto Workers, the International Union of Electrical Workers, and the New Jersey Industrial Council. Charging the fuel shortage was manufactured by major oil companies to drive up profits, they estimated that over 3500 workers in New Jersey alone had lost jobs because of the oil companies' greed. Future demonstrations were promised.



From the New Deal to Watergate p.5



Editorial

Elephants & Asses: Tweedledum and Tweedledee

Watergate has revealed a glimpse of how corrupt, authoritarian, and dangerous this government is. Washington will go to any lengths to prevent democratic control from interfering with its real aims, whether they are wage controls and inflated oil prices or the secret bombing of Cambodia.

The personal corruption of Nixon should not confuse us though. Contemptible as this criminal is, it was the capitalist system — not its individual servants or governmental flunkies — which produced the Vietnam war whose logical domestic outcome was Watergate. The lying, spying and burglary of the Nixon Administration was tied from the beginning to the long-standing, bi-partisan policy of preventing the American people from ending an unpopular war.

To keep bombings in Southeast Asia secret from the people required an operation like the "Plumbers." The government's compulsive spying on its opponents wound up with the government spying on itself.

Yet Nixon only continued the policies of his Democratic Party predecessors. The process of raising Executive power, above even Congressional control, began with the New Deal and the rise of American imperialism to world domination. That process was carried out by both Democrats and Republicans. With it came war and repression. It was Kennedy and Johnson who produced the Vietnam war; Johnson and Democratic mayors of the big cities sent the Army to crush black rebellions.

In the governmental paralysis of the past year, the Democratic Party has shown how little it really differs from Nixon. The Democrats have refused to lead any demonstrations or mass actions against the Watergate Administration. In the energy crisis they have had no program except following after Nixon and the oil giants. On questions of war and peace, Senator "Scoop" Jackson — who simultaneously represents George Meany and the Boeing Corporation without any difficulty — attacks Nixon from the right! Joining Jackson in pushing for greater Pentagon budgets, for new massive war spending in response to the recession, are the leading liberal Presidential hopefuls, Senators Kennedy and Mondale. Meanwhile Kennedy has moved toward forming a domestic alliance with George Wallace.

The political stability of this system is based on the mass illusion that the people control the government by choosing between the two capitalist parties. Yet these parties and their basic policies become more and more identical every day.

So long as the workers' movement remains trapped by following the Democratic Party, it will be sold out to the profit needs of the corporations.

Here, as well as internationally, the job before us is to build a working class alternative — a revolutionary socialist workers' party. The road to such an alternative is to force a break from reliance on capitalist politicians and the Democratic Party. A revived labor movement must launch its own independent political action — fighting to get rid of Nixon, running its own candidates, controlling its own party, and struggling for its own interests.

Black Workers' Strike Wins Union Rights

Forty-three Street and Sanitation workers, all black, won a 2½ month strike against the City Council in Fairfield, Alabama, just outside Birmingham.

Eight white sanitation workers, originally strikers, had reluctantly returned to work under threats from the mayor and the Civil Service Commission. When the unity between black and white workers is destroyed, strikes like this one are often easy to break. In this case the greater militancy of the black workers carried the strike to victory despite the weakened odds.

Until two months into the strike the mayor and City Council had refused to consider a dues checkoff system, which was at the heart of the strikers' demands, aimed at building a strong union local.

But high-piled garbage and the danger of disease inflamed community sentiment, forcing the all-white council to take action. 1,400 people attended a City Council meeting, refusing to disperse even in the face of city police and county sheriff deput-



ties called out to protect the City Hall.

Soon after, the wife of a white man active in favor of the strike was shot while looking out her living-room window. When blacks in the South organize, the occasion is often marked by violence. It was in a similar sanitation workers' strike in Memphis that Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated.

Active community support for the striking workers paid off again when, following the shooting, a group of citizens called for an economic boycott of the city. People responded, and

before long it was clear that shoppers were going elsewhere than downtown.

The city's merchants, previously hostile, became suddenly quite sympathetic, when the community made it clear they were behind the strikers and proved it by cutting into the city's financial life.

The inability of the city government to turn the community against the sanitation workers and their just demands was crucial to winning this strike. Community support for public service workers must be consciously built by striking workers to prevent the government bargainers from using public opinion as another weapon to defeat them.

At the next City Council meeting, attended by 400-500 people, the Council voted to grant all the workers' demands.

In addition to union recognition the strikers' demands were improvement in both pay scale and the barbaric working conditions that had developed. They are now members of the Public Employees Union. ■

Union Pork Chops Hit Farmworkers Boycott

CLEVELAND — The Teamsters Union is behind recent attacks in the press on the Cleveland United Farm Workers Boycott, according to Eliseo Medina, the leader of the Cleveland UFW.

In December 1973, the Retail Clerks and the Meatcutters, both AFL-CIO unions, bought full page ads in the Cleveland Plain Dealer and the Akron Beacon Journal.

These ads denounced the farmworkers, defended Fisher-Fazio, the big Northern Ohio food chain which consistently sells non-UFW produce, and called on the UFW to "Stop-it-Now."

Another full-page attack appeared in the Plain Dealer early in January. This one was sponsored by DRIVE, the phoney IBT political front group, which most recently devoted itself to electing Richard Nixon.

This ad asked, "Why are the people of Cleveland being pressured to support a boycott that is really anti-union?" It concluded, pathetically, "Do Not Boycott Freedom."

These ads are proof not only of the timidity of the AFL-CIO, which allegedly supports the boycott, but also of what Medina sees as an intensification of Teamster efforts to break the UFW.

The main force behind the ads, says Medina, is the Cleveland Food Workers Council. This body is a federation of

unions which represent workers in various food-related industries. In reality it is a Teamster group.

The President of the Food Council is Charles Cimino, who happens to be President of IBT local 400. Among its other members are Cimino's son Frank, who is President of meatcutters local 427, David McDonald, a well-known pal of the Cleveland Teamsters, who is president of Retail Clerks local 880, and a well-known figure named Jackie Presser.

Jackie Presser may be the best paid union official in the world. (No doubt he is also an expert on union democracy and

freedom.) Presser is the head of a whole string of labor organizations in the Cleveland area, including the Bartenders, the Bakers, and IBT Warehouse local 507.

All of these are part of the Food Council. Presser is also special assistant to his father, William B. Presser, the President of IBT Joint Council 41.

Jackie Presser's salary is reported to be between \$150,000 and \$200,000 a year, drawn from an unknown number of union positions. It is a pity the UFW cannot afford a full-page ad devoted to the kind of unionism and freedom Presser and his friends promote. ■

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Young to Whitewash Detroit Police

DETROIT — There's a mini-fight brewing between Detroit's new black mayor, Coleman Young, and his police department.

Pressure over racist practices and abuses in the department has been heating up — both on the inside and the outside — for a few years.

Guns have been drawn between black and white cops many a time over racist or particularly brutal harassment and abuse of black prisoners by white cops. Occasionally shooting erupts.

The police department has been the center of tremendous community storms because of gestapo-type tactics during police dragnets and cop decoy operations leading to the murder of black citizens on the streets.

Detroit is known for its nationally high murder rate. Two lesser known statistics are that, per capita, cops kill more people, and more people kill cops in Detroit than in any other major city.

In December alone two women filed separate complaints that on the previous nights they had been sexually assaulted by policemen. Two cops are accused of rape, another of sodomy. Many more incidents go unreported, but are well known in the black community.

Crime and the police department are blood issues in the black community, as are poverty, racism and narcotics. Young is a slick Democratic politician who gets by on his ability to maneuver and deal.

His candidacy was supported by Detroit's business community. In Young they saw a polished politician who was both a concession to black consciousness and a means of controlling the black community.

True to form, Young has focussed attention on the first two issues — crime and the police — because he has nothing to offer on the others. He simply cannot and will not seriously deal with the poverty and racism that underlie the misery of ghetto life.

An illusion of community



control of the police, making the force blacker, and cutting back the open graft that riddles it, will be the major themes of Young's liberal attack on the police force.

The Detroit Police Officers Association (DPOA) is none too

happy with Young. A solidly white, conservative association, the DPOA received attention for refusing to absorb the cost of legal fees for black cops in trouble with the law, while going broke defending white cops with comparable difficulties.

Its major legal fees recently have been defending a white cop who gunned down four black youths in separate incidents, defending cops raking in the dough for tipping off ambulance chasers about accidents, and court suits over a residency ruling requiring police to live within the city limits.

Troubled over their financial woes and unwilling to open up a direct attack on the new mayor, the DPOA has been reduced to harassing tactics against Young.

Detroit Under STRESS

A police official announced that the city's STRESS squad, a hot campaign issue because of the number of deaths it caused, was getting its name changed. The next day the mayor's office changed the name back.

The continued operation of STRESS at all is a slap in the face to the black community and Young had clearly promised to get rid of it. As a concession to the police department he won't do that, but the DPOA

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Boycott Scab Grapes, Gallo!



DETROIT — A recent Workers' Power survey of United Farm Workers' boycott activities across the country indicates that the UFW has all but abandoned, at least temporarily, its boycotts of the giant A&P and Safeway grocery chains.

In place of A&P and Safeway, the Farmworkers are emphasizing the Gallo wine boycott on the West Coast and the grape and lettuce boycott at smaller, regional supermarket chains in

most of the rest of the country.

The Gallo boycott has had considerable success on the West Coast, in that small liquor and drug stores have readily agreed to remove Gallo from their shelves, rather than see their stores picketed. But supermarkets generally continue to carry Gallo products.

The Gallo boycott may be directed in part at two other wine producers: Almaden and Italian Swiss Colony. Both have contracts with the UFW which expire in the next few weeks,

and the Farmworkers may be trying to show them that it will be costly to sign a sweetheart deal with the Teamsters.

Seattle has had one of the strongest Safeway boycotts and has continued it with only minor emphasis on Gallo. A few A&P markets have come to terms with the Seattle boycott committee.

Throughout most of the rest of the country, there have been hints that the boycott may take on Gallo in a serious way, but most of the emphasis remains on small and medium supermarket chains. Many areas have successfully forced one or more chains to stop carrying scab lettuce and grapes.

Chicago boycott supporters are picketing the Jewel chain, with no luck so far. They have, however, been extremely successful in raising money through collections at factory gates.

In Dayton, Liberals came to terms with the UFW, cut Cleveland has had no success against the large Fisher-Fazio chain, despite regular picketing.

The Detroit boycott has won at Farmer Jack's and Great Scott and has now turned its attention to Wrigley's. In St. Louis,

Schnuck's agreed to stop carrying grapes and to use union lettuce "as quantity, quality and price allow."

Boston is one area where A&P is still being boycotted. The Boston committee won agreements from the two biggest chains, Stop & Shop and Star, and is now going after A&P, which is relatively small in New England.

In New York, many Manhattan markets are clean of grapes and scab lettuce, with the boycott concentrating on Daitch Shopwell. In other parts of New York, however, the boycott has been less successful. The UFW is sending a large number of its organizers from other cities to try to bolster the New York boycott.

Growers Justice

The boycott has had success abroad. British market and dock workers have refused to handle scab products, despite a new law which supposedly prohibits this practice. A ship load of 9,000 tons of scab grapes recently had to be dumped at sea when Norwegian dockers refused to unload it.

The boycott has been attack-

ed from two directions. One is through the use of court injunctions to break boycott picket lines. *El Malcriado*, the UFW newspaper, reports that there have been more injunctions in the first three months of this boycott than during the entire 1967-70 boycott.

In some areas, injunctions have been defied and eventually defeated, but they are still being fought in a dozen states.

AFL-CIO Betrayal

The other attack is from a supposedly friendly direction. The AFL-CIO has been quietly demanding as the price of its support that the Farmworkers drop the use of their secondary boycott. But if they do this, it will mean surrendering the only effective weapon they have left. A boycott of just one product instead of the chain that carries it would have little effect.

The coming months will be critical for the Farmworkers boycott. If the UFW is to win any contracts this year, the boycott will have to be strong enough before the grape season begins in June to convince the growers they won't be able to sell scab products. ■

international report



The Mideast Carve-up

Henry Kissinger's whirlwind diplomatic maneuvers have produced an agreement to disengage Israeli and Egyptian troops along the Suez Canal. It is known that secret clauses promise a re-opening of the Canal. The projected next step will be negotiations between Israel and Syria, with the U.S. once again playing the role of mediator and strongman.

The western press is echoing Kissinger's line that the troop withdrawal agreement is "the historic first step toward lasting peace." In reality, the settlement marks the beginning of a new carve-up of the entire Middle East into spheres of influence among imperialist powers.

Inside the Arab countries, the appearance of unity that was created at the time of the October war has been shattered. Egypt's President Sadat has achieved the basic aims he went to war for in the first place — U.S. intervention and partial Israeli withdrawals. Not only does Sadat hail the agreement as an "Arab victory," he is playing the main role in pressuring Syria to the conference table and calling upon the oil-producing states to immediately end the embargo of oil to his good friend, the United States.

The Palestinian Arab people, who were promised by their so-called allies among the Arab rulers that there would never be a settlement until their national rights were guaranteed, have been viciously stabbed in the back. The stage is set for

another diplomatic stalemate, while Palestinians driven out by Israel continue to suffer in miserable camps.

Some Palestinian groups have begun to bitterly denounce Yasir Arafat, the leader of Al Fateh and the Palestine Liberation Organization who worked closely with Sadat and the Soviet Union in arranging acceptance of the deal.

Among the smaller Arab kingdoms, Kuwait has suggested that the oil boycott should be maintained against the U.S. and extended to those countries planning to attend Nixon's energy consumers' conference in February.

King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, however, the pro-U.S. monarch who has given tacit support to Sadat's deal at every step, has rejected this proposal.

Saudi Petroleum Minister Sheik Ahmed Azki al-Yamani declared that his country is not supplying "a single drop of oil" to the U.S. As everyone knows, however, the oil companies (who work very closely with Faisal) have arranged numerous "leaks" in the boycott to both Europe and the U.S.

Meanwhile, the U.S. government continues to put enormous pressure on the oil-producing states — not only to lift the embargo unconditionally, with all their demands unmet, but also to roll back the price increases they announced in December.

By combining open hints of military occupation with currency inflations aimed at reducing dollars held by the Arab kingdoms to worthless scraps of pa-

per, the U.S. is fighting to restore the complete domination of western imperialism over the supplies and price of oil.

The only major hitch in the U.S. strategy so far is that Saudi Arabia has turned to France, trading guarantees of oil deliveries to France for gigantic quantities of weapons aimed at making Faisal an independent military power.

This will give Faisal some leverage against the U.S., but more important will strengthen his hand against any threat of popular uprising from below in the Arab world.

Good Deal for Israel

Meanwhile, the troop withdrawal agreement itself represents the best deal that Israel could have salvaged from its near-defeat in the October war.

Despite the limited strategic retreat forced on the Zionist state, and the growing political crisis in Israel deepened by that retreat, Kissinger's maneuvering has placed the Israeli government in a much more advantageous strategic and political position for the next round of negotiations.

The Arab masses have not yet spoken with an independent voice in the latest Middle East crisis. As their expectations are betrayed once again, many will begin to realize that the October war was not fought, even partially, for their needs or in their interests.

A progressive fight against Zionist policies, a real struggle for Arab liberation, demands that the sheiks and the Sadats must go as well. ■

Riots Shake Suharto

In Jakarta, Indonesia, student demonstrations against the visit of Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan rapidly developed into riots against the Indonesian government itself.

In 1965, students played a large role in supporting the right wing coup which brought the Suharto regime to power. Half a million workers and peasants were butchered in the slaughter that followed — twenty times as many as have been killed by the junta which recently took power in Chile.

Under Suharto's dictatorship, Indonesia has been a profit carnival for western investment — especially the U.S. oil companies led by Atlantic Richfield which take 61 percent off the top of all oil production in Indonesia.

Many student leaders who supported the 1965 coup have long since taken jobs in the government apparatus. Today, a new generation of students has turned against the brutal and corrupt regime which has now held power for nearly a decade.

Students in Indonesia are drawn from the middle and upper classes. Working class families, whose income often does not exceed twenty-five cents a day, cannot send their children to college.

Nonetheless, these students expressed the bitterness of very broad layers of the population toward the pro-U.S. Suharto government and the widespread misery it has caused.

Tanaka's visit gave students an opportunity to move into the streets in protest against Japan's growing economic influence in Indonesia. Tanaka was met by similar demonstrations throughout his tour of Southeast Asia.

When the focus of the protest shifted to the corruption of the Suharto government, masses of workers from the slums joined in street fighting against the Army and police.

The outburst, which clearly enjoyed mass sympathy, was not suppressed until troops occupied the university campus at Jakarta, arrested the student council chairman and banned all gatherings.

So far, the number killed by government forces has not been determined, but will run at least into the dozens.

This uprising was the first real show of open resistance in Indonesia. Coming shortly after student actions brought down the military regime of Thailand, it offers further promise of political and social conflicts sweeping across Southeast Asia.

The world recession, especially the decline in world trade which threatens the markets for food and raw materials which are the main exports of underdeveloped nations, is creating such unbearable conditions that widespread revolts and uprisings are almost inevitable. ■

NOTES

China's seizure of the Paracel Island, claimed by both South Vietnam and China and thought to contain significant offshore oil deposits, is little more than a small border incident — at least for today. Socialists have no sympathy for the territorial claims of the Saigon regime, which is nothing but a U.S. creature.

But it will be interesting to see what happens after that regime is toppled and Vietnam is reunified under the control of the native Communist forces, the Provisional Revolutionary Government and North Vietnam.

When the leaders of the Vietnamese people politely ask China to return their islands, what reply will they get from their "great socialist allies" in Peking?

Here's an item which should interest Canadians who have been hearing that smash hit "The American," which glorifies all the wonderful things the U.S. does for other countries. Senior American officers, while denying any plans for military action to take over the oil-producing Arab states, nonetheless concede that "contingency plans exist for any operation you can name, including an attack on Ottawa."

It is now known that during the Middle East war, the U.S. oil giants withheld oil from the American military in tacit support of the policies of Saudi Arabia.

For this deliberate sabotage of U.S. military capability, the Nixon administration is rewarding the oil companies with new tax breaks and the promise of higher profits. Meanwhile, individual resisters and deserters from America's criminal war in Vietnam are denied amnesty by Nixon, who claims that they must be brought to trial.

The Russian trade paper TRUD reports in Moscow that pregnant women are made to work night shifts and overtime, and that underaged children are forced to push dangerously heavy weights, causing death in at least one case.

Denouncing serious breaches of Russia's labor laws, TRUD blamed last-minute efforts to meet planned production targets as the frequent cause of this brutality.

This is how the Soviet bureaucracy runs the economy which it calls "socialist"! That is the reality that lies behind the boasts about the "fulfillment of production norms" which the bureaucracy imposes from above on the working class!



From the New Deal to Watergate: THE STATE UNMASKED

In the unwinding of Watergate, much has been made of the fact that Nixon surrounded himself with second-raters and pathological zealots. This is true. Yet the differences between Nixon's men, from the ostensibly cleanest to the dirtiest, and enlightened capitalist government, are merely matters of degree.

When Nixon came to office, he inherited the State that had been forged in the decades before, by the needs of American capitalism.

During the Depression the Roosevelt administration pieced together a centralized State that on the one hand coordinated and rationalized the overall movements of capital, and on the other provided a patchwork social program — social security, relief, the right to organize and bargain collectively, and so forth — that became welfare liberalism.

The Second World War, not the New Deal, provided the real basis for economic recovery. During it, the State became primarily a highly-centralized instrument for foreign-policy making; war production was its domestic policy.

Roosevelt, like Churchill, Stalin and Hitler, took pride in planning the war personally, right down to troop movements.

Greenhouse

With the end of the war this apparatus was only partly dismantled, for soon came the Cold War and its domestic shadow, the permanent arms economy.

The United States' emergence as the world center of capital, and defender of the capitalist order against Communism, demanded the abandonment of such self-indulgent pre-War formulations as "isolationism," and the development instead of a coherent, centrally shaped strategy that matched the nation's new imperial position.

At the same time it demanded an unquestioning, devoted and self-sacrificing social base, willing to staff the United States' garrison world-wide, and dig in for nuclear war at home.

Thus in a greenhouse atmosphere of anti-Communism, among the lower ranks of the corporate and university trained intelligentsia, budded the Haldemans and Ehrlichmans of Watergate fame.

Nixon was not their only teacher. So was Kissinger, so was Kennedy, so were Humphrey, Johnson, McCarthy, Fulbright and McGovern. American capi-



talism demanded no less of its leaders.

Of Nixon's ruling class critics, we must ask, what do they want? The effusive Clark Clifford, one-time youthful architect of Truman's 1948 victory, lawyer to the du Ponts, advisor to Kennedy, and Secretary of Defense under Johnson, asks Nixon to perform the "magnanimous action" of stepping down, to assure himself "a place in history for his unselfish dedication to the nation's good."

Clifford criticizes Nixon for his "unilateral decision to bomb Cambodia and Laos and remain hopelessly entangled in Indochina." But surely this is the same Clifford who said in 1968, "We have no plan to reduce the number of troops in Vietnam at all."

And surely today's Fulbright is the same one who said, in 1961, that "The source of an effective foreign policy under our system is presidential power. This proposition, valid in our own time, is certain to become more, rather than less, compelling in the decades ahead."

Imperial Camelot

In an article called "Why we are Shaken," New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis summarizes the liberal ruling class case against Nixon by stating, "That Richard Nixon has made it impossible for the country to trust in him is not the worst he has done as President. The more grievous harm has been to damage trust in our institutions."

Lewis details the damage: loss of confidence in the FBI, which Nixon sought to involve "in a program of illegal wire-tapping, surveillance and burglaries," and which J. Edgar Hoover protested; disrespect for the CIA, which Nixon's top assistants "sought to involve...

in the cover-up of Watergate"; next, "Our military institutions suffered a painful loss of public confidence as a result of Mr. Nixon's secret bombings of Cambodia"; finally, abuse of Congress, the courts, and the Presidency itself.

Lewis's digest is a fantasy — but the fantasy spells out the wish. It is as if the war in Vietnam never occurred, apart from the "secret bombing"; as if seven years of Black rebellions, student strikes, GI revolts and mass demonstrations against "our institutions" of the military, the Spies, Congress, the courts, and the Presidency, never happened.

J. Edgar Hoover becomes a civil libertarian, the CIA, a bastion of democracy. The entire history of revolt is reduced to Watergate, and a "painful loss of public confidence."

Ruling class liberals want a return to Camelot, when the State made its decisions solely on the basis of its own desires and plans, and how other nations' ruling classes would react.

Kennedy never once had to consider opposition from below as a factor in making his foreign policy, from the Bay of Pigs through Berlin, the Cuba blockade and Indochina. In those happy days the State enjoyed "legitimacy," which is to say, it carried out its policies unopposed.

The Liberal Spies

The Spies were an integral part of the liberal State. The CIA had originally evolved out of the war against Germany, and later, the fight against Communism.

Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a foreign-policy advisor to Kennedy, writes of the CIA, "In my experience its leadership was politically enlightened and sophisticated. Not seldom CIA

representatives took a more liberal line in White House meetings than their counterparts from State."

During the McCarthy era liberals saw the FBI as protection against random witch-hunts. Rooting out subversives, they said, was a job for the FBI.

Nixon challenged all this. His compelling heritage came from Lyndon Johnson. Johnson's uniqueness is that he was the first President to be forced out by a mass movement from below, a potentially fatal characteristic of rule that stamped itself on Nixon from the beginning.

There had been rumblings before — against Truman during demobilization, and again during Korea — but not since World War I had a President confronted an organized, self-conscious and antagonistic movement over foreign policy.

Wilson destroyed the movement against his war; Johnson at first ignored it. Johnson sometimes fancied himself a Roose-

velt, leading an unbending phalanx to war. He had this in mind when he cried, while watching demonstrators on TV, "I'm the Commander-in-Chief. Why are they doing this to me?"

Nixon harbored no such illusions. His missions were twofold: to seize hold of the instruments of foreign policy, and wield them unhindered by what went on below; and at the same time, to rid them of encumbrances from within the State itself.

The first required Nixon's own apparatus of repression, the building of which proceeded clumsily and unevenly. The second required doing battle with, among others, the Spies.

Ultimately, as liberal and ruling class opposition to Nixon's Vietnam war policy spread, the two efforts were joined. In Nixon's paranoia, the liberals, the Democratic party, the FBI and the CIA, all joined the enemy.

The permanent arms economy has long been the real domestic policy of the United States. At least, under Kennedy and Johnson, it had been given a New Deal veneer, a show of concern with social problems and unrest.

Under Nixon, however, the gradual unravelling of America's "permanent prosperity" leaped into sharp focus. Nixon turned the centralized state into an agency of wage controls, dollar devaluations and brutal cuts in social welfare. All the while he kindled the State's apparatus of repression to keep himself in power.

This is Nixon's legacy: it was he who scraped the cosmetic blush of liberalism from the liberal State, and revealed its essence. ■

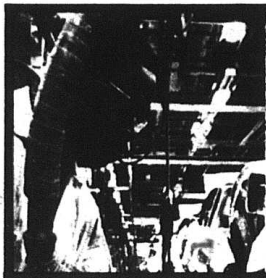
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Peace Prize Winner Speaks



When a friendly foreign Minister was discussing the Middle East war with Henry Kissinger, the Vietnam cease-fire was mentioned. The foreign minister commented: "But Vietnam wasn't much of a cease-fire."

"I know," said Kissinger, "but it could have been. I wanted to bomb the daylight out of Hanoi, but Congress wouldn't let me. That would have made it stick." ■



labor briefs

The latest attempt of the Duke Power Company to reopen its Bronckside, Kentucky coal mine was a big flop. The company issued a call for scabs to report for work and planned on having police get them through the **United Mine Workers'** picket line. But no scabs showed up. The cops sat on the sidelines and didn't interfere with the pickets.

More workers are finding it necessary to strike against the government in order to protect their wages from inflation. Members of the **Carpenters Union** in the California Bay Area have waged a six-week strike against the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee. The CISC is the government agency charged with holding down wages in the construction industry. It had denied the carpenters deferred wage increases which were due under their contract.

The director of Steelworkers District 15, Joseph Odorich, has called for a **one-day nationwide general strike** as a protest against the energy crisis. Odorich suggested lobbying with Senators and Congressmen, but if that doesn't work, "a one-day nationwide strike of organized labor will convince the nincom: poops we mean business."

Cave-ins in mine tunnels killed thirty-six miners during the first ten months of 1973. In part, the death toll may be due to an artificial shortage of the steel bolts which are used to secure tunnel roofs to the solid rock above them. These bolts cost about a dollar each, but steel companies have found that other products return a greater profit and have cut back bolt production.

Trans World Airlines made \$500,000 in profits in November, considerably better than its loss of \$3.2 million a year earlier. The profits were made despite the fact that TWA was shut down for the entire month because of a strike by its stewardesses.

The profits came out of \$50 million given TWA by other airlines which were operating under their **Mutual Assistance Pact**. The Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) has recently given its official approval to the Mutual Assistance Pact, proving that the only way to beat the airlines is to shut them all down at once.

Wives of striking steel haulers in East Liverpool, Ohio joined picket lines, charging police with brutality. One said that her husband had been told that he would be building his own coffin if he joined the strike.

The **Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association** has had to temporarily suspend its strike against Southern paper and pulp companies. Over 2,500 black and white woodcutters had been on strike for two months. In that time, they won contracts and some benefits from a few employers, but many of the workers had to go back without contracts.

GPA members got no strike benefits and had few resources to keep them going during a long strike. But Delbert Carney, a GPA leader, promises that they will be back on the picket line soon.

The Pittsburgh Junior Chamber of Commerce has named Steelworkers President I. W. Abel its "Man of the Year." Abel was cited for signing the no-strike agreement with the steel companies.

What's going on where you work? Send items for this column to: Labor Editor, Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, Michigan 48203.



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Teamsters Shut Food Markets

DETROIT — Teamster warehousemen and drivers for the major supermarket chains declared an end to the 1973 "year of labor peace" with a wildcat strike before Christmas.

After working for months without a contract, Local 337 members walked out, following rejection of a contract proposed by the Teamster tops, 5-1. That strike was ended by injunction, but now the food-handlers are out again, this time with the International's sanction.

Five of the six large food chains in Southeastern Michigan banded together to gut union power on the job. Their offer included: doubling the probationary period from thirty to sixty days, cutting new workers' wages from 10¢ to 25¢ less than scale, upping the company's quota of workers forced onto split shifts, hiring of casuals to replace regulars unable to work, and rerouting of drivers to speed them up.

Faced with firmly united employers Teamster leaders have called a joint strike. But there the workers' unity stops. There have been no membership meetings since the vote leading to the walkout in December; no strike-progress meetings of the members; no gathering of workers from different companies; not even a strike bulletin to build solidarity.

Communications are in the hands of Teamster officials who make the rounds of picket lines. Consequently, there are rumors in one place of returns to work in other places. Some official strike issues are big in one location, minimal in another. Since the five different company units will vote separately, joint discussion is a must for victory.

Through their joint action, the bosses have enjoyed a monopoly of media coverage for their side. A series of full page posters, reprinted as hand-bills, have denounced the strike as "senseless" and an attack on anyone who eats food. The news media have added their own frosting on this ad-revenue cake with

talk of the public held hostage, poor workers starving for lack of stock while Teamsters average 15-20 thou a year, and the like.

In interviews on the picket line, **Workers' Power** found that the majority earned in the \$11,000 - 13,000 range for full-time work. Said one Teamster, "A guy would have to bust his ass every day all year round, working every Saturday, to make the \$15-20,000 range. There aren't maybe two people here make that."

In fact, wages are not even an issue in the strike. That has already been settled with a 60¢ increase. The new base wage is about \$5.80, or \$12,000 a year.

The press is downplaying panic hoarding by shoppers, and the supermarkets are trying to stock the shelves with deliveries by scabs. Salaried personnel are sneaking stock to the stores in unmarked trucks, while unstruck suppliers are pressed into smuggling.

At first roving squads of Teamsters dealt with those scabbing attempts. Recently, pickets have been transferred from the idle warehouses to stores in order to shut off company smuggling.

But with strike control in the hands of an anti-strike union bureaucracy, the companies will probably cave in on one or two demands and win the others — a net victory for them in a defensive union strike.

David Shoemaker

NEW YORK — At about one in the morning on January 16, warehousemen at the enormous **Hunt's Point Terminal Market** in New York's South Bronx walked off their jobs. By six they were joined by truck drivers, bringing to about 1,500 the number of workers involved.

The Market, covering several hundred acres, handles distribution of about 95% of the city's fresh produce. It was completely shut down. Management and of-

ficials of Teamster Local 202 appeared caught by surprise. A glance at the situation reveals there was no reason for surprise at all.

Warehousemen at Hunt's Point, mostly black, make \$163.50 per week for the same work that other Teamsters do for about \$230. At a meeting shortly before the contract expiration, about 85% of the warehousemen voted to strike against management's \$9/week offer.

Nonetheless, Local 202 president Charles Ullrich called for "no strike." Yet within the hour, seven militant warehousemen had convinced Ullrich to give them picket signs and led the walkout which shut down the market. Ullrich reported to the press that the walkout was simply a "wildcat strike."

Produce normally handled at the Hunt's Point market was rerouted to other markets in the area. An attempt to unload market produce at the nearby Fruit Auction was thwarted when a rank-and-file leader convinced the ILA shop steward on that job to close down.

An almost complete lack of organization has hampered the strike. An impromptu meeting of about 60 of the most militant warehousemen elected several leaders to represent them in negotiations. Strike demands, such as \$35 per week each year, and a one-year contract were considered, but those present correctly refused to participate in negotiations until representatives had been chosen. A general membership meeting was scheduled but then cancelled when the union called an official meeting by telephoning members.

The union must have been selective in its calls, because many members were not present. In a majority black local a majority at the meeting were white.

At this meeting, a "new" contract offer was approved, which provides for an increase of less than \$3.00 per week over three years. ■

Edward Marshall

UFW, IBT Ranks Need Unity

As Teamsters across the country strike in disputes with food industry employers, the poor relations between the IBT and the United Farmworkers Union take on significance for the ranks of both unions.

The UFW organizes farmworkers who suffer barbaric working and living conditions at the hands of giant grower employers. But the UFW and its boycott were hit with a setback when the IBT began a campaign to sign UFW-members into Teamsters and agree to sweetheart contracts with the growers.

At Local 202, President Ullrich refused to allow his members to handle UFW produce when Farmworkers brought their new

boycott to New York. Farmworkers picketed the market in protest.

In Detroit, Farmworkers have been picketing supermarkets that sell non-union produce for several months. In the recent Teamster strike of supermarkets there, Teamster pickets could have strengthened their own struggle had they approached the farm workers to join forces against their common enemy.

Many rank and file Teamsters support the Farmworkers, and see their own union's anti-labor raiding for what it is. But without rank and file organization to combat these policies, the ranks of both unions will suffer. ■

Which Side Are You On?



1973-Boom For Bosses

[This article begins a regular column which will appear in each issue of Workers' Power. Its purpose is to discuss trends in the labor movement and to fight for the ideas and politics of militant, democratic trade unionism.]

Kim Moody has written extensively on the American labor movement and has been active in rank and file struggles for several years.]

The Economic Report of the President called 1972 a year of "unprecedented" labor peace and restrained wage demands. By all standards, the 1973 bargaining round was even more "unprecedented." The employers gasped with pleasure at the results.

In November, both *Business Week* magazine and the First National City Bank of New York's newsletter, *Economic Week*, called the 1973 wage settlements "surprisingly moderate."

At the same time, profits for 1973 were enormous. By the end of September, profits were running 30% above 1972 levels. Throughout the year the economy continued to boom. Yet, wage increases were smaller than in 1972.

Wage & Benefit Gains (first year of contract) 1972-73

1972	Quarter	1973
9.7%	1st	7.3%
8.1%	2nd	7.6%
8.7%	3rd	7.8%
7.3%	4th	

(from *Wall Street Journal*, 11/12/73)

The above table shows how total wage and benefit increases dropped from 1972. The average wage gain for 1973 was 5.5%.

In 1972, the labor leaders justified small settlements by the slower rate of inflation. Phase 3, however, put an end to that — from the first weeks of 1973 prices went berserk. Still, the unions settled for less than in 1972.

The unions that bargained in 1973 were the backbone of the American labor movement: the Rubber Workers, the Electrical Workers (IUE and UE), the Teamsters, and the Auto Workers. They were joined by the president of the Steel Workers, I. W. Abel, who promised that his union would not strike for any reason when its contract expires in 1974.

At best, only token strikes were waged in 1973. Even they were the result of rank and file pressure.

The United Rubber Workers made Goodyear their "target" for 1973. The Goodyear agreement set the pattern for the other rubber companies. Rubber Workers' president, Peter Bommarito, however, settled at Goodyear without a fight. He accepted a 6% wage increase and gave up the union's demand for a cost of living clause or annual wage reopener.

Wildcats at Goodrich forced Bommarito to call a strike there. But when he settled it was another sell-out.

The crucial job security demands for high severance pay and early pensions were dropped. Only the right to transfer from one plant to another in the event of lay-offs was won. The wage increase was the same as Goodyear.

Another token strike at Firestone produced even less. Firestone workers have since claimed they receive lower wages than Goodyear.

In June a coalition of 13 unions at General Electric settled for a 7% annual increase that included cost of living money. They dropped a union shop demand and allowed the upper limit on the cost of living clause to stand.

A joint statement from the two major unions at GE (International Union of Electrical Workers and the United Electrical Workers) called this settlement "worth-while."

The 1973 record for spineless submission, however, goes to Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters. Fitzsimmons promised his good friend Nixon that he wouldn't ask for too much. He kept his word. The Master Freight Agreement provided a scant 5.6% first year increase, including cost of living.

The prize for heavy-handed goon tactics in 1973 went to United Auto Workers' President Leonard Woodcock. In August, the UAW leadership established a new style of "social unionism" when it sent 1,000 officials out to break a strike at a Chrysler stamping plant in Detroit.

In November, Woodcock declared the Ford settlement ratified although the skilled tradesmen had rejected it. The UAW leadership accepted and pushed through ratification of the lowest wage settlement in memory, a 4% first year increase that included cost of living money.

While a lot of noise was made about 1973 being the year of big gains in benefits, the figures show the contrary. Average benefit increases for the life of a contract fell from 7.4% in 1972 to 6.3% in 1973. Inflation ran at 8% throughout 1973.

In terms of cold cash, everything that was "won"

in 1973 was wiped out before the ink dried on the new contracts!

Why, with profits up and the economy booming, did these labor leaders sign and push through such puny settlements?

Today's labor leaders view the unions and collective bargaining as matters of business and procedure. Bargaining, for them, is not a method of fighting to win. It is a ritual by which they reach an agreement, any agreement, they think they can "sell" to their membership.

Often, the strike is used to wear down rank and file resistance to a bad settlement, rather than as a means to fight the company.

The labor bureaucracy, from George Meany to Leonard Woodcock, shares the same general outlook as the employers and the government. That is, they favor private ownership of industrial production and the profit system. They will do nothing to hurt these giant corporations or their profits.

Big wage and benefit gains or long, hard-fought strikes would eat into profit margins. The employers know this and use it to get concessions from union leaders.

Nixon has done the same at the government level. Top labor leaders themselves have joined the chorus. Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, Abel of the Steel workers, and Woodcock of the Auto workers all said publicly they would not call nation-wide strikes because that would hurt the companies.

These leaders want to help "plan" the economy. But their role in this "plan" is to prevent a real fight by the workers. The results of this kind of unionism are clear enough for 1973: a victory for the companies, a defeat for the workers.

American workers need a new kind of unionism and a new kind of union leader. They need a unionism that cares for the workers' needs and not those of the company. They need unions that are democratic and leaders who know how to fight.

That is not a pipe-dream or a task for the distant future. The fight for democratic militant unionism is already underway. On the job and in the unions, militants are fighting to make their unions work.

They are finding new ways to fight and new ideas to rebuild the American labor movement. Socialists are proud to be in the ranks of that fight. This column will fight the ideas of today's labor leaders and discuss strategies, tactics and ideas that can help create a new unionism. ■

Abel Dodges Insults

The United Steel Workers' Basic Steel Conference met in Washington recently to set bargaining goals for this year's contract negotiations, but President I. W. Abel had to dodge insults from 150 rank and filers before it was over.

Five busloads of uninvited guests, members of Sparrows Point Local 2610 in Baltimore, showed up at the closed meeting January 9, demanding to see Abel.

When Abel refused, they forced their way into the hall to denounce his no-strike agree-

ment with the steel companies. They presented him with a white (foreman's) hat.

Ed Mann, President of the USW local at Youngstown Sheet & Tube, told *Workers' Power* that the conference delegates showed no enthusiasm for Abel's no-strike deal, and that many of them had been instructed by their locals to speak against it.

The Conference itself adopted a set of bargaining goals with the primary emphasis on pension and other non-wage issues. It called only for a "very substantial wage increase."

One local president said, "We all know we'll probably get 5% to 7% in wages, so there's no need to discuss that." But a "very substantial" increase of 5-7% with inflation over 8% in effect means a wage cut.

Dissident Steelworkers have initiated action on another front against the Abel leadership and the steel companies. Thirty-five USW members filed suit in federal court, claiming that Abel's no-strike agreement is illegal because the union's rank and file was not allowed to vote on it.

The suit was initiated by leaders of all the major rank and file groups in the steel union. Ed Mann, who is a party to the suit, told *Workers' Power* that he is confident of victory.

There are, however, considerable dangers in this course of action. Victory in court for rank and filers against the union leadership and the company is highly unlikely regardless of the

merits of the case. The danger is that union insurgents will come to rely on court action to the detriment of building a rank and file movement.

At the same time that rank and filers are fighting the no-strike agreement, the Abel leadership is trying to extend it to smaller

steel companies which so far have not been included.

Abel fears that strikes at the smaller companies would lead to increased militancy among workers who are covered by the no-strike agreement. ■

David Katz



BRITISH WORKERS LOCKED OUT



Gareth Williams is a British miner. He averages \$56.25 a week, straight time, barely supporting his wife and three kids. With the money he gets in disability payments, and the rent reduction he gets from public housing, he makes

more money out sick than on the job.

Williams is tired of killing himself for starvation wages. Early last November he and his co-workers began an overtime ban to back up their demand for wage gains that go substantially beyond British wage controls.

Britain's Prime Minister, Edward Heath, and the entire British ruling class are accusing the miners of blackmailing Britain and "holding the country ransom."

In response they have declared all-out war against the miners.

Heath has placed all of

British industry on a three day work week. As much of Britain's electrical power comes from coal, Heath claims that between the oil crisis and miners' overtime ban, a 40% reduction in energy usage is necessary to hold out against the miners' inflationary demands.

Rather than grant the miners

a living wage, Heath has thrown the entire British economy into crisis. Steel production is down 50% and over a million workers have already been laid off with many more layoffs expected if the three day work week continues.

Granting the miners' wage demand would cost only \$100

"A Strike is the Only Way"

MORLAIS, S. Wales — The Tory government has offered British miners an average of \$10.87 more a week. Gareth Williams, secretary of the coal miners' local in Morlais, S. Wales ridiculed the Tories' "generous" offer.

"The gross increase in my wages under the offer," said a statement issued by Williams, "will be \$6.25 a week. \$2.50 of that will go for a rent increase in public housing, another \$2.50 will go in taxes, and five percent of the increase will be docked for pension contributions.

"I will be left with about \$2.00 a week increase. I won't be getting that till March. By then the cost of living will have eaten that away and more."

Miners are angry — they want a living wage. The slightest mention of the government brings forth a stream of curses. Lifting the overtime ban before the Coal Board offer is substantially improved is not even considered.

Only about 18% of the

miners at the pit usually work overtime. Of these the hardest hit by the overtime ban are the craftsmen in the engineering shop, an enormous hanger whose only source of heat is a tiny coal stove.

Before the ban these men worked an average of six and a half days per week for a take home pay of \$85.50. Banning overtime means a cut of about \$32.50 a week in wages, but there are compensations.

As they gulped their tea and sandwiches during their morning break, most of them were looking forward to the "luxury" of a weekend at home with their families.

Will Weeks is 59, and has been working in the shops around the South Wales pits since he was 16.

"For all those 43 years, he says, "I've worked for seven days a week, often going to work Sunday morning and getting home Monday morning for a cup of tea before I start back again.

"They tell us to think of our country. Well, I don't believe in patriotism. You've

got to think of your fellow man, not your country. I haven't worked a day from any patriotic motive. I've worked for a decent standard of living and a sense of dignity at work, and I'm still working for it."

John Ephgrave, another fitter says that the miners are "the worst treated community in the country. We have been degraded, and kicked around for a hundred years and we never got anything till 1972.

"People outside the pits don't know anything about us. They don't have any idea

of the noise and stink in which miners work.

"Here's a simple example. If you saw men crapping on the side of the road, you'd think 'How uncivilized!' But we're living in those kind of conditions every day.

"Yes, you have to crap down there by the side of the road in the dark, and you and your mates will probably have to sit in it before the shift is out."

Many of the dayshift miners who stopped to talk were convinced that the overtime ban would be enough to finish the Tories, but many were not.

Griff Rees, 52, a local committee member told me: "We need a strike. Let's get it over with. We don't need to prolong the agony."

As a cluster of miners gathered around arguing about a strike, Philip Jones, a young man recently transferred to Morlais, shouted suddenly:

"A strike is the only way! When it comes to it, we'll have 100% throughout the South Wales coalfield for a

strike. It worked before and it will work again!"

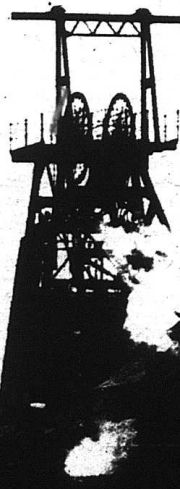
The shout of that young miner has more force and conviction than the dangerous hopes of union leaders who believe that the overtime ban is "a new weapon" which will do the job of a strike.

The government and the union leaders will be quick to pounce on any sign of weakness or division among the miners on the strike issue. But the Tories are up against enormous odds.

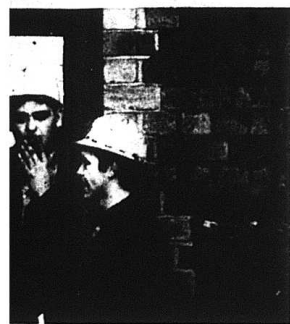
As John Ephgrave put it: "The miners will resist it something that festers slowly. All of a sudden it starts, it goes, and then nothing can stop it." ■

Paul Foot

[Paul Foot, a British journalist, is a member of the International Socialists.]



ESS FIGHT FOR A DECENT LIFE



million in full, while the reduced work week is costing British industry one billion, 350 million per week in lost production.

Simple arithmetic tells us that more is going on than a fight over wages.

Much of what is happening in Britain is similar to the problems in the U.S. — only more severe. After 18 months of boom, the entire western world is entering a severe recession.

Many capitalist nations are fighting bitterly with each other over control of world trade. Those least able to compete will face the most drastic contractions in their economy.

Capitalism's Weak Link

Britain is one of the weak links in the chain of capitalist world economy. Most of her capital plant, factories and equipment is quite old and inefficient. British imports surpass exports by 6 billion, 350 million annually.

Capital for investment leaves the country faster than it enters. This, combined with Britain's trade imbalance, creates a balance of payments deficit of over \$7.5 billion annually. This deficit is severely aggravated by the doubling of the price of oil.

Even with wage and price controls (something Heath learned from Nixon) inflation is expected to reach 15-20% in 1974.

Britain is facing the most severe economic crisis since World War II.

British capitalists are desperately trying to maintain their deteriorating position. The only way they can do that is an all-out attack on the living standards of their own working class. That is what the three-day work week is all about.

Miners are the strongest, most militant section of the British working class. In 1972 they struck and won a major victory against Heath's government, setting the pace for victories of other British workers.

During the 18-month boom, in fact, although the real wages of American workers declined while the corporations raked in record profits, it was a somewhat different story in Britain. The real wages of British work-

ers rose two percent, thanks largely to the lead given by the miners.

Heath knows that a victory for the miners will mean a working class better prepared to fight to maintain and improve its living standards. So it is here, on the question of a decent wage for the miners, that the class line is drawn.

Heath's Hoax

The claimed severe shortage of energy supplies is a complete hoax. Coal stocks are higher in Britain than a year ago, amounting to 14 million tons.

Normal winter power station needs are 1-1½ tons per week and coal is still being mined. Coal is also being imported from Poland.

Heath and the capitalists have fabricated a shortage in order to justify using their most powerful weapon — locking out the British workforce two days a week.

By bringing severe economic hardship on the entire working class the Tories are hoping to turn public support against the miners and break their struggle.

Thus far their strategy has failed. Each day support for the miners grows.

Next on Heath's agenda may be calling a general election in February. He will attempt to obtain popular support for his strategy of defeating the miners.

Heath is also running scared. The longer he waits, the worse things will get; and the worse things get, the less chance he and the Tories have of remaining in power.

Even calling an election now is a risk. Heath is losing support and the Tories may actually lose to Labor. Heath's whole political career is at stake.

Leaders In Retreat

But if Heath and the ruling class understand that the fight with the miners is a political fight between the working class and the capitalist class over who will govern Britain, the labor leaders deliberately avoid taking up this challenge.

The right wing leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) called the overtime ban because of tremendous pressure from their ranks for a fight.

The ban was a compromise between the miners' militancy and the refusal of union leaders to issue an all-out challenge to Heath's Phase 3 wage guidelines.

The ban was designed not to threaten the British system but to put on a militant face while demoralizing the men. Those laid off would begin to resent those still working and this division would enable the leaders to sell a compromise. This has not happened only because of the solidarity of the miners themselves.

It was Heath who then escalated the struggle throwing the

[Continued on page 15]

The Socialist Response

"We've heard from so-called trade unionists that the I. S. (International Socialist) was behind our strike. I say, if that's the case, let's have a lot more I. S. workers around who will be behind strikes," said Wolfie Goldstein, Chief Steward at Chrysler, and leader of a recent 14-week strike against the Tory government's wage freeze.

"So-called left-wing leaders of the trade unions ordered their members to cross our picket lines and work with scabs. We've got to thank I. S. stewards who made it clear that they should not cross the picket lines."

Goldstein was talking about a strike of electrical workers at Chrysler in Coventry, England. While the labor leaders told auto workers to scab, auto worker members of the I. S. organized support strikes in Chrysler plants throughout the country.

Test of Strength

The confrontation between the government and the unions in Britain is the first major test of strength between social classes in the 1974 world recession.

The Tories' national lockout, their response to the miners' overtime ban, has produced the greatest industrial crisis in Britain since the 1926 General Strike.

Not since World War II has the ruling class of an industrialized capitalist country made so open an attack on the living standards of working people.

British workers are faced with a serious choice: fight back — by any means necessary — or accept the severe hardship the Tories are dishing out.

The labor leaders have completely surrendered to the policies of the Tories. While many union officials call themselves "socialist," they are committed to the needs of capitalism.

Britain's rulers tell them that unless British industry maintains a healthy rate of profit the economy will fall apart and they go whimpering off, their tails between their legs.

The best known and most powerful of the "left" labor officials are Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones. It was Scanlon who

ordered auto workers to break electricians' picket lines at Coventry.

The International Socialists are fighting to break the influence of these rotten leaders in the unions. They have consistently urged workers to wage an all-out fight for their needs, and not to be confined by the limits of the profit system.

"If the capitalists can't run things while providing a decent living standard for all they'd better make room for those who can."

The International Socialists are a democratic activist organization committed to a socialist revolution from below and workers' control. The I. S. in Britain share common goals and a close fraternal relationship with the I. S. in the United States.

Recognizing that the struggle for socialism must be worldwide the British I. S. is committed to building a world revolutionary socialist organization, with no ties to either Washington or Moscow.

The principles of the I. S. are not a bunch of pretty words written down somewhere and never acted upon. I. S. members are active in all the struggles of working people for a decent life from trade unions to tenants' groups.

I. S. has aggressively fought the growth of racism in Britain. I. S. demonstrations in support of the rights of Black and Asian workers have brought out over two thousand workers. I. S.

also campaigns vigorously against British imperialism in Ireland and elsewhere.

I. S. has worked ceaselessly to mobilize support for the miners' struggle.

From the beginning, *Socialist Worker* (the weekly newspaper of the I. S.) and I. S. coal miners called for an all-out strike to smash the wage guidelines and beat the Tories.

I. S. called on other workers to support the miners by putting their own demands forward and backing their demands up with strike action.

"It's Their Crisis"

When Heath imposed the three day work week, I. S. called it a lockout and demanded a full week's work or a full week's pay. *Socialist Worker* pointed out that workers must not pay for the crisis. "It's their crisis and they (the capitalists) must be made to pay."

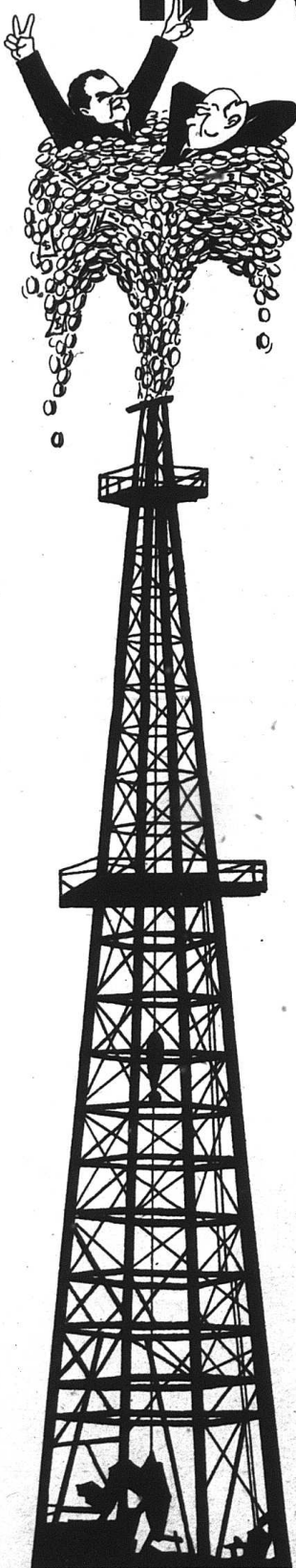
The activities of the I. S. in the struggles breaking out in Britain are closely linked to their main goal. That goal is to build a revolutionary socialist workers' party that will be a real alternative not only to the Tories, but also the union bureaucrats, the cowardly and reformist Labor Party, and the capitalist system which all of them support.

I. S. members actively engage in all possible struggles, and provide militant leadership where

[Continued on page 15]



BEHIND ENERGY CRISIS: HOW OIL GIANTS RULE



By any standard oil is the world's biggest business. Standard Oil of New Jersey is the biggest company in the world after General Motors, Mobil is the sixth biggest, Texaco the eighth and Standard Oil of California the 12th. Royal Dutch Shell is the biggest non-American firm.

That the oil companies have been able to reach such dominance, operating virtually independently of national governments and with tentacles everywhere, is a reflection of the business methods they have traditionally used. Competition has rarely been a feature of the industry.

In 1928 the chiefs of Shell, Standard Oil of New Jersey and Anglo-Iranian (now BP) met to plan ways of avoiding costly competition following a particularly vicious price war in India.

The outcome was a tidy little arrangement under which market shares were mapped out, production levels agreed and a world price structure laid down. These arrangements were later extended to the other major international companies: Gulf, Texaco, Mobil and Socal.

These seven sisters became, and have remained, inextricably intertwined, their interests closely bound up in joint producing, refining and marketing operations throughout the world.

Between them they control 80% of oil production outside the U.S. and Russia and 90% of Middle East production.

Price Fixing Scheme

The price-fixing scheme worked out in 1928 was extremely simple and extremely profitable. The price of oil was determined by the price of crude in Texas, plus standardized freight charges from the Texas ports to the port of destination.

In this way the companies protected their oil interests in the U.S., while ensuring that the profits on Middle East oil, which is much cheaper to produce, were phenomenal.

So, for instance, before the present crisis, the price of oil from the Persian Gulf was \$2.50 a barrel but production costs a mere 10¢ a barrel.

It has been estimated that between 1945 and 1960 the major companies shared profits of nine billion dollars on Middle East oil production.

And in the early years the royalties paid to the producing countries were minute. In 1947 Anglo-Iranian paid only about \$17 million to the Iranian government, yet the British government was getting well over \$100 million a year from its 49% holding in the company.

The oil companies would never have been able to pump wealth out of the Middle East on such a scale, had it not been for the direct support of the western governments, particularly the British government, which used to dominate the Middle East.

When the first agreements between the oil companies and the local states were reached much of the area was directly ruled from London.

Iraq was a mandated territory under British rule. The Gulf states — Bahrain, Omar, Qatar, Abu Dhabi and so on — were British protectorates, with a British military presence.

British influence in Iran was sufficient to cause the replacement of the Shah in 1941.

When direct colonial rule ended, a political set-up extremely favorable to the oil companies emerged.

Much of the oil was concentrated within the territory of minute sheikhdoms which could never have survived independently without the aid provided by the oil companies and the British military presence.

Sacred Boundaries

To preserve their control, the western powers have insisted that existing political boundaries are sacred — and backed this up by stationing the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, keeping the British military presence on the Gulf, supplying arms to "friendly" rulers, and pumping massive amounts of aid into Israel.

Direct military intervention has also been used — to preserve the status quo. For instance, after the overthrow of the pro-British monarchy in Iraq in 1958, U.S. marines flew into Lebanon, presenting a clear threat to the new Iraqi government if it nationalized the oil fields.

On other occasions less direct methods were available. When the nationalist government of Mossadeq tried to nationalize Iranian oil in 1950, the western governments and the oil companies jointly enforced an embargo on Iranian oil until the government was virtually bankrupt and then used the CIA to organize a coup and return the Shahs to power.

Today, much higher royalties are paid to the governments of the oil-producing states. But the mass of Arab peoples have never gained anything from a political set-up that has been so advantageous to the oil companies and the western governments.

While the oil monarchs worry about what to do with their wealth and spend vast sums on luxuries and military equipment, and while the oil companies continue to coin fantastic profits — the major oil companies made

\$8.89 billion dollars between them last year — the people of the Middle East subsist on very low level living standards.

Balance of Power

One cause of the present oil shortage has, of course, been the reaction of the oil sheikhdoms to the Middle East War. Cutting off some of the oil to the west has enabled them to buy popular support by making an easy gesture against Israel.

But this in itself does not explain the crisis. For during previous acts of aggression by the west and Israel, in 1956 and 1967, there were calls for an oil boycott. In neither case were they successful.

In 1956-57 the rulers of Bahrain and Kuwait tried to keep the oil flowing to the west — although their efforts were impeded in Bahrain by a general strike of oil workers.

In 1967 Kuwait, Iraq, Libya and Saudi Arabia imposed an embargo but it was rendered ineffective by the action of Iran in stepping up production and the Persian Gulf states in keeping their oil flowing. The Arab states, led by Saudi Arabia, were soon keen to life the embargo.

What has made the cut-back in production so easy this time has been a shift in the balance of power between the oil producing states and the oil consuming states — in turn a by-product of the anarchic organization of the world economy itself.

The world boom, which began in mid-1972, caused a massive eight or nine per cent increase in the world demand for oil and the fastest growing source of oil is the Arab world — with the Middle East now producing 41.3 per cent of world output.

At the same time the U.S. oil companies have been deli-

berately holding back their domestic production. U.S. output of oil and gas, which provide 80 per cent of American energy requirements, has not kept pace with rising demand.

Natural gas prices are strictly regulated by the Federal Trade Commission and the oil companies have been holding down their production in order to force an upward revision in price. So industrial users have been switching from gas to oil.

But the production of oil has also been held back: oil output actually fell in 1971 and rose by a mere 0.1 per cent in 1972. Demand, on the other hand, shot up by a massive seven per cent last year.

Profit per Gallon

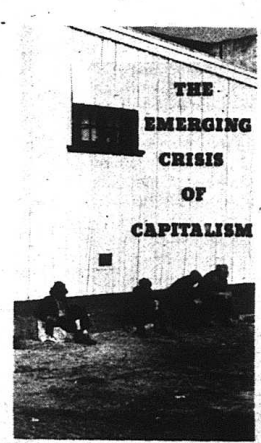
Inquiries by the Federal Trade Commission and a Senate subcommittee have suggested that the oil companies deliberately held down production in order to force oil prices up: once the price increases were agreed on, February output immediately shot up, but too late to prevent shortages.

Against such a background, it is doubtful if the oil companies are over-worried by the latest production cuts and price increases being pushed through by the oil producers:

Even the bitterest enemy of the Arabs in the Middle East, Iran, has not been slow to raise its prices. The long-term prospect of massive oil price increases means that the companies will be easily able to recoup on the reduced sales by increased profit per gallon. ■

Elana Gluckstein

[The author is a member of the International Socialists of Britain.]

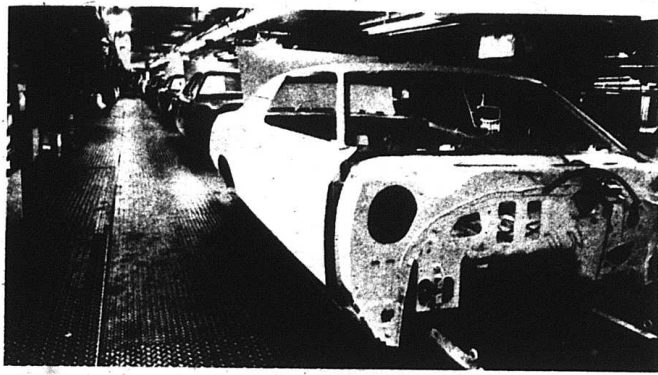


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Woodcock Must Go!

Several months after the Ford contract was signed and one month since the GM contract was ratified, there are still 132 unsettled UAW local agreements.

At these plants the company and union have not come to terms on in-plant conditions including questions of work standards, overtime and seniority rights.

Following the national auto strikes of the past, UAW locals without signed agreements stayed out on strike. Production was halted until at least the crucial plants had settled. This gave the union a somewhat stronger hand in local bargaining.

This year, however, UAW President Woodcock and the rest of the present bureaucracy pledged to the companies that they would try to get the locals to return to work following the national settlement.

This way, they reasoned, the companies would know that settling on the national agreement would mean the termination of any and all strikes which

could halt total production for the corporation.

However, the national settlement that Woodcock and Co. pushed through contained little of use to the membership. Voluntary overtime — very important to those working long hours — was made so weak as to be almost valueless. And no further protection was won against lay-offs.

Forced Settlements

What should have occurred during the bargaining was the ratification of all local agreements before the national agreement was voted on. This would provide the maximum force for both the national and local bargaining.

The fact that this was not done, that the contract negotiated was so weak and that Woodcock forced through these rotten settlements is due largely to the politics of Woodcock and those like him in the labor movement. The policies of the Woodcock administration, following closely those of Reuther, are those of cooperation with management.

Woodcock and the others feel quite strongly that the success of the corporations is important. If this means speed-up, unemployment, or racial and sexual harassment, then that's life.

The result of this attitude is very clear now. Woodcock's policies have meant over 150,000 auto workers are facing some form of unemployment. Meanwhile Woodcock has urged a cut by one-third in auto use.

Woodcock has relied in large part on the UAW leadership acting as a monolith, putting forward one position on all questions. The union bureaucracy has used every tool it has to prevent organized opposition to the fundamental questions of its policies.

Through their control of the grievance procedure, the national and local papers, the appointment of International Reps and all staff positions and their bureaucratic control of the whole union structure, the UAW leaders have succeeded in putting across publicly the notion that the union is united — around their politics.

But the truth of the matter is that the union is far from united. The complete failure of the bureaucracy to lead a fight against the attacks of the corporation and government has caused a large section of the union to become dissatisfied if not outright rebellious.

The low vote on the last contract, the rebellion of the Ford skilled trades workers against Woodcock's contract and the general cynicism that exists in the plants are all results of the actions of the corporations and bureaucracy. But nowhere is this split visible in the official union.

National Opposition

The ability of the Woodcock regime to put across its politics almost unopposed weakens the UAW rank and file. Those members who stand for a serious fight against the corporations are forced to fight the union as well.

Although it will take some time to build, a movement to get Woodcock's politics out of the union leadership must begin. Without a rank and file movement fighting the policies of the

Woodcock regime, all that may change in the next few years are the faces.

What is really important, of course, is the politics. And that is what must be changed.

The Woodcock regime should be challenged at every opportunity. Some supporters of Woodcock come up for local election this year. They should be challenged, as should the delegate elections.

Slates in every UAW local should be run on a political basis as part of a national movement to dump Woodcock. Local victories can be won, although it is unlikely that a movement would be strong enough this year to defeat Woodcock.

Nonetheless, the creation of a large organized fight against Woodcock's politics will help to open up the union to stronger opposition.

Getting across to other people, particularly other UAW members, the fact that there are large numbers of dissidents is an important step in dethroning the Woodcock regime and its politics.

Bill Hastings

Young

[Continued from page 3]

isn't really in a mood to play along.

They want Young to look bad. The phony announcement succeeded in its aim of calling attention to the squad's continued existence and made Young look very foolish indeed.

Young will be forced to deal with the DPOA in order to carry off his plan to give the department a new, more humane veneer. Control of the force will tighten up, with more responsibility demanded from supervisors up the line of command. Much greater use of temporary suspensions is in order, to be used mainly to teach cops a few manners.

Young is willing to make a pact with the DPOA, however. His decision to keep the STRESS program for now, and his retention of the old police chief, ex-FBI hack Philip Tannian, are clear indications that he doesn't want open warfare with the

force, just a few concessions.

At the same time Young has the active assistance of the black police officers' organizations, which have a large stake in Young's success as mayor.

Concerned Officers for Equal Justice (COEJ), a mostly black Detroit police officers' association, and the Guardians of Michigan, a black state-wide officers' organization formed in the wake of the Detroit riots in 1967, are both rallying around the new mayor, their man.

Tom Moss, former president of the Guardians, has taken a community-liaison job with the department despite the fact that STRESS continues. Moss had been a vocal opponent of the squad, spear-heading a petition drive in the black community to organize support against the operation.

The reputation of the force in the black community as a racist terror squad is one black cops haven't particularly liked, and they want to see it softened somewhat. That's Moss' main job.

The number of blacks who are accepted for police training is many times higher than the number who actually go through the program. Cops are no heroes in the black community, and tremendous social pressure is

generated against new recruits.

Black cops also want to see the force become more comfortable for themselves as well as new black cops.

Some blacks have already been promoted, and all expect promotions to occur much more regularly. Both COEJ and the Guardians will support Young's plans to tighten the ship, especially if it results in less racial abuse against themselves and black prisoners.

But their position will become more impossible as hard times hit the city. The role of the cops is to police the community — and black or white, that's what they'll be doing.

The gulf that divides the police force and the black community will become much greater as the year progresses. As the recession deepens it will become a full-fledged depression for blacks.

Layoffs in auto in Detroit have already been massive; inflation continues unabated. Street violence, already near intolerable, will rise as people develop more and more desperate hustles to try and make ends meet.

Hard narcotics, especially among youth whose lives are most unbearable, will flourish as the black community faces an extremely bleak year.

Young's inability to deal with these underlying problems — unemployment, poverty, racism, drug escape — will mean failure in his mild public relations reform campaign around the police force.

Control of the black community is a major job of the police force, and as life gets harder putting a slick face on that job will become impossible. ■

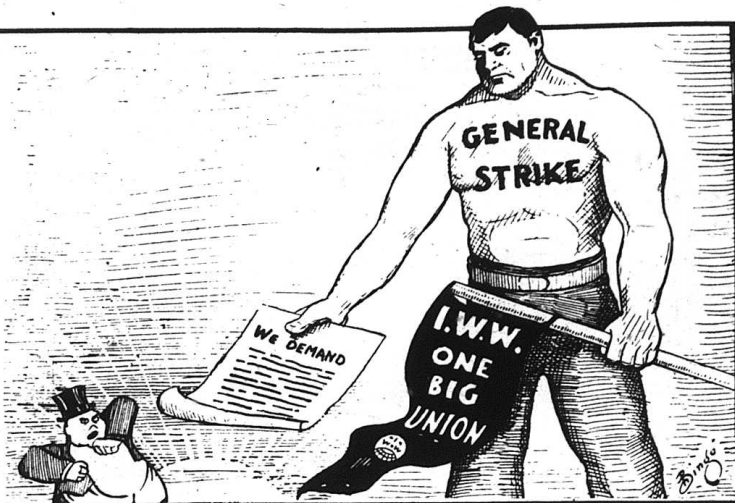
Kay Stacy



One of many mass rallies against STRESS in Detroit.

Workers' Power photo by Kit Lyons

1919: Workers Take Over Seattle



To most Americans, the city of Seattle is most famous for the Boeing 747 — the home of the jumbo jet. Lost in our working class history is that 55 years ago Seattle was the historic site of the first general strike in American history.

On February 6, 1919, 60,000 working women and men in Seattle and Tacoma laid down their tools and brought the city to a halt. For five days, the workers of Seattle ran the city in one of the greatest demonstrations of labor solidarity.

Revolutionary Year

The Seattle General Strike had enormous implications across the country. The year 1919 was a revolutionary year. In 1917, the workers of Russia, led by the Bolshevik Party, established a workers' state through a socialist revolution.

This revolution inspired workers in Europe and parts of the United States. Labor militancy

was on the rise. There was a national steel strike in 1919 as well as a coal miners' and textile workers' strike.

Beginning in the 1900's the Seattle labor movement was militant and class conscious. The Socialist Party (SP), which in Washington State was always in the left wing, had a tremendous following among Seattle workers. Among shipyard workers the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and the SP had tremendous influence. The SP and the IWW had agitated and fought for labor solidarity and industrial unionism. It was the shipyard workers who were the backbone of the Seattle labor movement.

General Strike

After the Armistice was declared in 1918 the lid blew off the Seattle labor movement. Prices had risen, there was growing unemployment; there had been no wage gains. Once the war ended, the shipyard workers demanded a wage increase. The

government and the yard owners refused.

Immediately the Metals Trades Council called for a strike of all shipyard workers. The ship employers took action against the workers, and with their help, other employers, such as the Retail Grocers Association announced that they would not extend any credit on food and other goods to striking shipyard workers.

The Seattle Central Labor Council (CLC) began deliberating the prospect of a general strike in sympathy with the shipyard workers.

One strong reason for labor support of a general strike was the impact of the Russian Revolution. Since the victorious Bolshevik revolution, parts of Seattle labor had enthusiastically supported Russia. They sent telegrams of support to Lenin and Trotsky, and demanded from President Wilson that the American government cease its counter-revolutionary intervention. In 1919, in defiance of the conservative AFL policy, the CLC sent

its president Hulet Wells, a leading member of the Socialist Party, to the formation of the Third International of the Communist Party.

A City Without Bosses

The Seattle General Strike proved to the workers that they could manage a city without the bosses. For five days a council of soldiers, sailors and workers set up and supervised the feeding, schooling, housing and recreation of the city. The crime rate dropped noticeably. None went hungry; no one went without medical care.

The Seattle ruling class fled the city. National guardsmen had their machine guns ready but all workers' demonstrations were peaceful.

For the majority of the workers, the strike was not seen as a revolutionary act. But the SP and the IWW hoped that it would inspire workers to follow the Russian example. One leaflet written by party members Harvey O'Conner and Morris Pass urged shipyard workers to

seize their industries. The leaflet was entitled "Russia Did" and pictured the workers pushing a fat capitalist into a coffin.

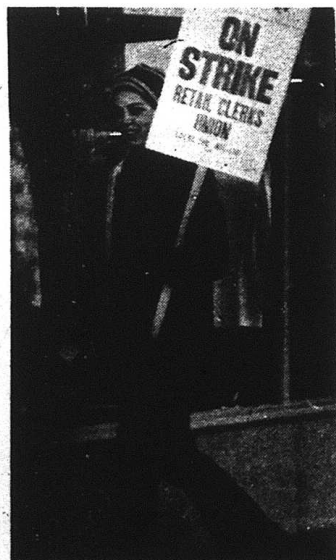
But the Seattle working class was not prepared for a revolutionary struggle against the government. The strike ended after less than a week. But the workers were not beaten.

Three months later, all the shipyard workers, with the support of the Seattle labor movement, refused to support America's policy of opposition to the Russian revolution. The Seattle Longshoremen refused to load arms going to counterrevolutionary General Kolchak, and called for a boycott of any dock which permitted the shipment of counterrevolutionary arms.

A revolutionary spark touched off America's first general strike in 1919. Seattle workers displayed an unprecedented spirit of international working class militancy and solidarity in U. S. history. ■

Celia Emerson

Women Strikers Build Boycott



SEATTLE — It's been a dismal winter for 70 women in Bellingham — a rainy town 100 miles north of Seattle. They've been on strike against the local Bon Marche department store since November 29.

These women are Retail Clerks, AFL-CIO, and they're demanding a 30% wage increase. Some women have worked fifteen years at the top wage of \$2.51 an hour.

The Bon is one of 150 stores owned by the Allied Store Corporation. Allied (Net Profit last year: \$28 million) has New York offices with notorious stockholders like the Rockefeller controlled Chase Manhattan Bank. Seems like the same names keep popping up everywhere!

The Allied Store Corporation likes to keep its workers divided: Seattle and Everett make 70¢ to \$1.00 more an hour than Bellingham, and all the contracts expire at different times.


The latest company attempt to break worker solidarity came in the last negotiating session. The company refused to talk wages unless they were given the right to keep 30 scabs after the strike — in other words, the right to have an open shop, free of militants!

Rank and filers in this union town have been on the picket line with the clerks, including AFT members, oil workers, Teamsters, and the local United Farm Workers Boycott Committee.

Bon strikers are speaking the line down to Everett and Seattle with the help of the Seattle Working Women's Alliance. At a rally in Seattle last week, one Bon striker called for support from all rank and filers, and for national rank and file caucuses in all unions to fight for decent contracts.

Don't shop the Bon Marche! ■

Todd Jefferson



For the 66th anniversary of International Women's Day, the International Socialists have reprinted a pamphlet written in 1920 for Russian working class women by Alexandra Kollontai, an outstanding woman leader of the Russian revolution. This edition contains an introduction by Celia Emerson.

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INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY
Alexandra Kollontai

reviews

books

The Prison Business

[Kind and Usual Punishment: the Prison Business, by Jessica Mitford. Alfred A. Knopf. 340 pages, \$7.95.]

On January 8, a federal judge declared that conditions in The Tombs, a New York City jail, would "shock the conscience of any citizen who knew of them." The judge ordered changes in living conditions and disciplinary procedures, and the hiring of additional guards.

Legal Aid Society lawyers who had brought the case before the court called the ruling "a great victory." They said it "guarantees that a place like the Tombs will never again be tolerated by a civilized society."

If they had read Jessica Mitford's book they would have known better. *Kind and Usual Punishment* is most important for one reason:

it is a complete, vivid, merciless exposure of every disgusting aspect of the prison system.

The prison rebellions of the last several years have made the public much more aware of what goes on inside prisons in this society. Yet, with the exception of those who are or have been prisoners, there is plenty in the book to shock most anyone.

There are the prison psychologists, who in the guise of modern science eagerly inflict the most barbaric treatment on those prisoners they decide are troublesome or uncooperative.

Torture Therapy

An example is their use of "aversion therapy." The idea is to make a particular behavior so unpleasant that the subject won't want to do it any more.

In 1970, the California prisons were using massive doses of the drug anectine in aversion therapy. In large doses, anectine causes the subject to lose all control over his voluntary mus-



cles, including those used for breathing.

With breathing stopped for a period of about two minutes, the prisoner experiences stark terror — the feeling that he is suffocating or drowning. While in this state, the therapist tells

the prisoner to be more cooperative in the future, or he'll get more of the same treatment.

Although the psychologists call this practice aversion therapy, a more accurate term would be torture.

Not only does Mitford

graphically describe how inmates are brutalized by the prison system, she demonstrates who it is that ends up in jail in the first place.

One example: several years ago, when wealthy high school students in Piedmont, California went on a rampage, indulging in arson, rape, assault, and car theft, the district attorney held a conference with their parents. He then released these students — whom one might think were dangerous criminals — in the custody of their parents without formal charges being filed.

In the very same week, in the same county, a nine-year-old black student was arrested, charged with "extortion and robbery," and thrown in the juvenile hall for six weeks to await a court hearing. He had allegedly stolen a nickel from a classmate.

Mitford does not believe that well-meaning reformers can accomplish anything. In fact, she

[Continued on page 15]



"Women In Sports"

The other night I accidentally watched Colgate's Women's Sports Special on TV. Accidentally, because I know little about sports.

This, in itself, is not an accident. Although I was a pretty good hitter, everyone knows "baseball isn't for girls." I was relegated to jump rope and knock hockey — but that's another story.

Although my interest in sports is now marginal I am fiercely interested in things about women.

Colgate Wasn't Kidding

The show began with a commercial by Colgate, telling us how proud they were to bring us this show saluting women athletes. "in the same way we have been saluting women for the last 100 years."

For as long as I can remember, Colgate (it used to be Colgate-Palmolive) along with all the other detergent, automobile, cereal and kitchen sink manufacturers, has used women to sell their products — usually in the most insulting ways.

Women in commercials are either barely intelligent human beings with nothing better to do than stare in dumb wonder at

the whiteness of their neighbor's wash, or sex objects having little to do with the product other than decorate it.

But Colgate wasn't kidding. Their special on women's sports, especially the commercials, was in the same tradition as the incredulous housewives and the sex kittens. Just a little more modern.

Throughout the one-hour show women athletes were used to sell us a variety of products. A professional golfer purred seductively as she told us how she always wanted to be a swinger (get it?) but "mother never told her about Ultra-Brite." But she found out, immediately improving her swing and attracting a very attractive male golfer.

Althea Gibson, one of the first woman or black tennis players to achieve national prominence, told us about the merits of Alpen breakfast cereal.

Another woman athlete scrubbed her sink for us, while her friend (also a pro) exhibited that oh-so-familiar expression of dumb wonder.

Susie Maxwell Berning, U.S. Women's Open titlist, also featured in the special, showed how some product speeds her through a busy day as wife, mother and golf pro. Her appre-

ciative husband looked on.

Male superstars like Joe Namath have been getting rich for years by modelling for shaving cream, after-shave, deodorant and dozens of other products. Disgusting as this whole set-up is, female athletes are certainly entitled to their cut of the gravy train.

But while male superstar ads build on the images of male superiority and their higher status, the female ads reinforced the oppression and degradation of women in this entire society.

Here the message was that women are also physically capable of becoming great athletes, and should be allowed to — if they can find the time after fulfilling their more traditional roles as housewife and mother.

Unintended Commentary

In between the commercials things got a little better, even inspiring — thanks to the athletes themselves, not the producers.

Billy Jean King told us how she demolished Bobby Riggs as we watched scenes from that most famous tennis match.

Olga Korbut, Russian gymnast, practiced over and over again the routines that made her an international celebrity at the 1972 Olympics.

We see Cheryl Toussaint,

black track star from New York's Bedford-Stuyvesant, running at the Munich Olympics and in New York City's parks. She has no place else to practice.

These are professional athletes, champions and beautiful to watch. But even the shots of magnificent women athletes doing their thing unfortunately carried a glaring, unintended commentary on the continued oppression of women in sports.

The segment on Cheryl Toussaint focussed more on her coach, a young black male lawyer and how he got into coaching Toussaint. The section on Susie Maxwell Berning discussed how she manages a household and what her successful businessman husband thinks of her golf. I'm sure Jack Nicklaus is interviewed about his swing and not his wife's opinions.

Only in the interview with Billy Jean King were the difficulties women face entering sports seriously discussed — because King raised these questions herself.

Royal Special

One of the longest segments of the show focusses on Princess Anne competing in Equestrian tournaments (fancy horse back riding). Only upper class people even have access to this sport.

Even here, much of the segment discusses how marvelous it is that Princess Anne's new husband also rides.

Princess Anne seems to have been included only because she is royalty. She is not the athlete the other women are. Her private instructor tells us how Anne started riding and how she progressed.

We then see her fall on her royal ass a couple of times while competing, but the Colgate special commends her determination.

There were also several short segments showing a woman jockey and women long-distance runners.

Hidden Struggle

In the end Colgate's Special on Women in Sports failed to give any real sense of what it means to be a woman athlete — the hardships, the pain, the struggle. What enabled these women to say "no" when they were relegated to jump rope? How did they fight?

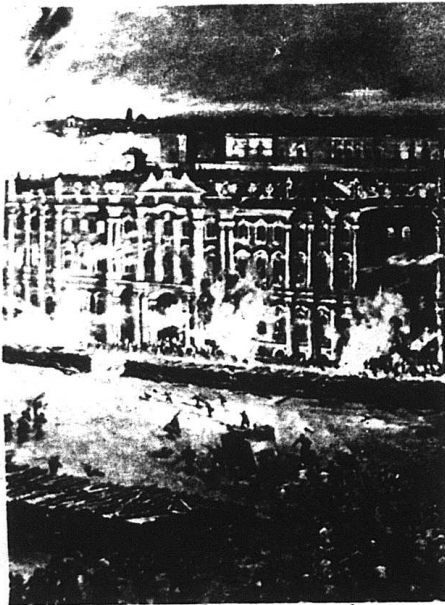
One almost got the feeling from this special that they didn't have to. Colgate's salute to women in sports was not that salute at all, but a way of using women pros to make a buck. ■

Rose Veviak

From Tsarism To Workers' Power

RED OCTOBER!

Duncan
Hallas



[The following article concludes the two-part series we began in the last issue of Workers' Power, analyzing the workers' revolution which took power in 1917. The discussion focusses on the central role of Lenin, the greatest leader of the Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik Party, who died 50 years ago this January. It illustrates the main role of socialists in a revolutionary situation — the job of winning over the majority of workers to the necessity of taking power.]

"The basic question of every revolution," wrote Lenin in April 1917, "is that of state power. . . . The highly remarkable feature of our revolution is that it has brought about a dual power. . . ."

"What is this dual power? Alongside the Provisional government, the government of the bourgeoisie (capitalist class), another government has arisen. . . the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. . . a power directly based on revolutionary seizure, on the direct initiative of the people from below, and not on a law enacted by a centralized state power. . . . This power is of the same type as the Paris Commune of 1871."

In the course of the revolt against Tsarism, the workers had organized their own councils, known as soviets, which had first appeared in the earlier 1905 Revolution. The councils were able to organize and direct production, transport of goods and weapons, and communications on a city-wide scale. As Lenin recognized, they represented the real power which could replace the entire capitalist state machinery.

A situation of dual power cannot, by its very nature, be a stable state of affairs. You cannot combine a Paris Commune with a centralized capitalist government. One side or the other must give way or be smashed. Which one?

The Provisional government was weak. It existed because it was tolerated, indeed supported, by the majority of the leaders of the workers' councils. These Mensheviks (social-democrats we would call them today) and leaders of the peasant party (Socialist Revolution-

aries) stood for a capitalist republic. In the long run that must mean the end of the workers' councils.

The Bolsheviks stood for, in Lenin's words, "Not a parliamentary republic — to return to a parliamentary republic would be a retrograde step — but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country, from top to bottom."

The great problem was to win a majority in the Soviets, among the workers, for a Soviet Republic. "The class conscious workers must win a majority to their side. As long as no violence is used against the people (by the ruling class and the Provisional Government) there is no other road to power," Lenin said. "We are not Blanquists, we do not stand for the seizure of power by a minority." (Blanqui was a nineteenth century French revolutionary who advocated the capture of power by a small group of armed conspirators.)

Meanwhile the Provisional government and its "socialist" backers were determined to carry on the war that was bleeding the country to death. The economic situation went from bad to worse. The American socialist journalist, John Reed, described what he saw: "On the freezing front miserably armed armies continued to starve and die without enthusiasm. The railways were breaking down, food lessening, factories closing.

"The desperate masses cried out that the bourgeoisie was sabotaging the life of the people. . . . A large section of the propertied classes preferred the Germans to the Revolution — even to the Provisional Government. . . . The speculators took advantage of the universal disorganization to pile up fortunes. . . . Foodstuffs and fuel were hoarded or secretly sent out of the country to Sweden. . . . Week by week food became scarcer."

A prominent Russian capitalist, Lianozov, told Reed: "Starvation and defeat may bring the Russian people to their senses."

And if not? "Revolution is a sickness. Sooner or later the foreign powers must intervene here as one would intervene to cure a sick child." Naturally the Lianozovs were foremost in denouncing the Bolsheviks as unpatriotic and Lenin as a German agent!

The Bolshevik slogans were "Peace, Land and Bread" and "All Power to the Soviets." On April 18 the Provisional government sent a note to the governments of Britain and France, assuring them that Russia would in no case make a separate peace. It provoked a massive armed demonstration in Petrograd, supported by soldiers of the garrison and sailors of the Baltic fleet.

"That army of 25,000 to 30,000 soldiers, which had come into the streets for a struggle with the prolongers of war, was quite strong enough to do away with a far solidier government than that of Prince Lvov."

In fact the government was helpless. The intervention of the "socialist" leaders of the Soviet was required to persuade the demonstrators to disperse. "The April days had unequivocally lifted the curtain on the impotence of the Provisional government, showing that it had no serious support in the capital," Trotsky noted.

Terrified, the ministers begged the Menshevik and SR leaders to join the cabinet, to provide it with some credibility amongst the workers, soldiers and peasants. The reformists lent their influence, earned in some cases by long prison sentences under the Tsar, to bolster up a government whose aim was to stop the revolution.

Gradually, however, they lost support. At the beginning of June, at the first Congress of Soviets, the Menshevik-SR bloc still had a big majority and was able to set up a Central Executive Committee composed of its reliable supporters. But that same month saw a massive anti-war demonstration in Petrograd carrying predominantly Bolshevik slogans.

Early in July much more formidable demonstrations demanding "All power to the Soviets!" led to bloody clashes and a near insurrection in Petrograd. The Bolshevik leaders tried to control and check the movement. Petrograd, they knew, was ready for the

overthrow of the government but Russia was not yet ready.

This line was badly received by many Bolshevik supporters. Necessary as it was, it produced a certain degree of demoralization and a growth in support for anarchist groups. The Provisional government saw its chance and struck back hard.

In what Trotsky called "the month of the great slander," a torrent of fabricated "evidence" was produced to show that the Bolsheviks were agents of the German Kaiser, sustained by German gold.

Reorganized under the "socialist" Kerensky and with a would-be Russian Napoleon, Kornilov, as Commander in Chief, the government was temporarily strong enough to arrest Trotsky, Lunarcharsky and others on a charge of treason. Lenin and Zinoviev were forced to go into hiding.

The effect was short-lived. Soldiers continued to desert. Peasants were seizing the land. The economic situation continued to deteriorate. Commander in Chief Kornilov planned a military coup. Late in August his troops began to march on Petrograd. Some, at least, of the ministers were in league with him.

The persecuted Bolsheviks threw all their weight into a temporary defense of the Kerensky government against Kornilov.

"At a night session of the military organization of the Bolsheviks, participated in by delegates of numerous army detachments, it was decided to demand the arrest of all conspirators, to arm the workers and supply them with soldier instructors and to guarantee the defense of the capital."

Kornilov was beaten. A tremendous swing to the left followed. The masses of people had learned what the revolutionaries had always claimed — that the ruling class would attempt to use violence and bloodshed to crush them. The Bolsheviks gained a majority in the Petrograd Soviet.

Moscow followed. Then city after city. Early in October the Bolshevik central committee decided that the time was now ripe. An armed insurrection was planned, to be carried out under the auspices of the Petrograd Soviet.

Amid rumors of another right wing attempt at a coup, detachments of soldiers and armed workers took over Petrograd on October 25 in the name of Soviet power. There was practically no resistance. Only the Winter Palace was, for a time, defended for Kerensky. The second Soviet Congress — "the most democratic of all parliaments in the world's history" — assembled at the Smolny Institute to ratify the seizure of power by the workers' councils.

The Bolsheviks and their allies were a large majority. The dual power was at an end. The first workers' state on a national scale had been born. ■

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD

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Britain

[Continued from page 9]

British economy into chaos.

Heath claims that Britain will wait it out. He has circulated statistics showing that Britain now has enough coal to limp along until March when demand goes down. Undoubtedly this is true, as the supposed shortage was a sham in the first place.

The overtime ban has weakened British industry, but it is clear that it cannot by itself bring the Tories to their knees. To win, the miners need an all-out strike.

The NUM leaders and the TUC (Trade Union Council - Britain's AFL-CIO) are terrified of taking that step. They have offered Heath a compromise: if he will grant the miners their demands, the TUC will not use the miners' victory as a basis for demanding higher wages for other workers.

If Heath will agree to treat the miners as an exception, then the TUC will respect his repressive program against the rest.

Fearing that the TUC officials may not be able to sell this filthy deal to their own ranks, Heath has turned the sell-out compromise down.

As we go to press it appears that Heath's hard line, combined

with growing unrest from the miners' rank and file, has forced the NUM leaders to call a strike vote. While 55% approval is needed for an all-out strike, the majority for a strike is expected to be much greater.

The Industrial Relations Act, Britain's Taft-Hartley law, requires a two-week waiting period before beginning strike action. The result could be a complete shutdown of the mines February 10 - or even sooner, if the ranks ignore the Act and take the initiative themselves. ■

Rose Veviaka

I.S.G.B.

[Continued from page 9]

possible, in order to help convince their fellow workers of the need to build a party that will really lead the fight for socialism, not just talk about it.

The International Socialists, along with the Communist Party (C. P.), have come under attack from the Tory press and government as "militant extremists."

As a force inside the labor movement, the C. P. remains many times larger and occupies more leading positions among

shop stewards than the I. S.

But while many C. P. members are important militant leaders, the party as a whole is committed to an alliance with "left" bureaucrats like Hugh Scanlon, who has taken the lead in organizing the sellout of his own Engineering Union and crippling workers' solidarity.

Thus, the C. P. will at best vacillate and fail to press the all-out, coordinated industrial action that would topple not only the Tories but the Scanlons as well.

In the event that Heath calls a general election, the I. S. calls on all workers to vote for the Labor Party.

The Labor Party, which is based on the unions, is a reformist party. While it represents the workers' organizations, the Labor Party supports the capitalist system and stands for policies that closely resemble those of the Tories.

The difference with the Tories, however, is a question of class. Although the labor leaders represent the views of the capitalists inside the workers movement, the union leaders and the Labor Party are (unlike the capitalists) dependent for their position on the masses of workers. They are therefore much more vulnerable to pressure from the working class.

"The return of a Labor government will create the most favorable circumstances for carrying the struggle forward. It cannot replace the struggle in any way." ■

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Prisons

[Continued from page 13]

points out that many of the so-called reforms of past years have turned into just the opposite of what was intended.

The indeterminate sentence, for example, allows parole boards to keep inmates imprisoned year after year without fixing a definite release date. It was originally dreamed up by liberal reformers who felt it was the way to reform prisoners instead of punishing them.

It is to the credit of *Kind and Usual Punishment* that it does not fall for any such reform schemes. Mitford says that the problem is not the way the prisons are run; the problem is the existence of prisons in the first place. No reform can change the basic nature of the institution.

Accordingly, she calls for the abolition of prisons. In her concluding chapter, Mitford presents arguments, facts, and figures to show that prisons do nothing to protect the average citizen against crime.

If anything, the prison system actually breeds more crime. Her arguments are impressive. But whether they are accurate is not the most important point.

In another context Mitford says, "Criminal law is essentially

a reflection of the values, and a codification of the self-interest, and a method of control, of the dominant class in any given society." And that's the real point.

The dominant class in this society says it's a crime to steal a loaf of bread from the supermarket, but not a crime to set the price of that bread so high that some have to choose between stealing and starving.

Nor is it a crime - at least not one that will get you put in The Tombs - for a landlord to charge exorbitant rents while

conditions like these that cause crime in the first place.

These conditions are not going to change as long as that dominant class continues to impose its values on society. And as long as it is able to impose its values, it will need to keep the prisons in order to impose its control.

So the abolition of prisons - desirable as it is - is not a serious possibility as an abstract proposition. It can only have reality as part of a fight to replace the conditions imposed on us by that dominant class, with values that



letting his building fall apart; for a hospital to give lousy medical care if a patient has no money; or for an employer to lay off a worker the week before Christmas.

Virtually all studies, including those of assorted Presidential Commissions, have determined that it is social and economic

put people rather than profits first.

Mitford does not go into this, apparently feeling that it is beyond the scope of her book. But anyone who wants to do away with prisons should have no illusions but that it means doing away with capitalism as well. ■

Jim Woodward

what's on

Joel Geier, National Chairman of the International Socialists, will be making a tour of the West Coast branches between February 20 and March 10.

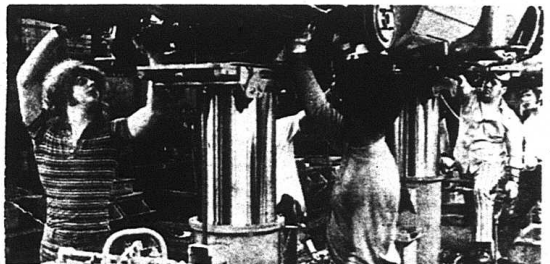
He will be giving public talks on the current world economic crisis and the need to build a revolutionary workers' party.

Geier will be in Los Angeles February 20-24, in the San Francisco Bay Area February 25-March 2, in Portland March 3-5 and in Seattle March 6-10.

Check the "What's On" column in the next issue of *Workers' Power* for the specific dates, topic, place and time in your area.

New York, Jan. 31—Debate: *Revolutionary Strategy in the American Working Class*. Stanley Aronowitz, radical journalist, and Kim Moody, regular contributor to *Workers' Power*. New School Auditorium, 5th Ave. & 14th St., 7:30 pm.

San Francisco, Feb. 9—Forum: *Nazism: How To Fight It*. Buchanan YMCA, Buchanan & Gary Sts., 7:30 pm.



Truck Drivers Move Toward New Strikes

AKRON — George Rynn is a truck driver from Akron, Ohio. He is also president of the Council of Independent Truckers organization with 22,000 members in forty states. In early January this year he and thirty other representatives of the Council went to Washington, D. C.

They called on the Department of Transportation, the new Energy Council, and the Interstate Commerce Commission. They asked for relief for the independent truckers.

Now George Rynn is back in Akron, working full time for the truckers' movement. "On January 24," he told me, "at 12:01 am," emphasizing the "01," "we're shutting down. They're (the government) just waiting to see what we do. They're not going to do anything until we do it."

Rynn and his group want fuel prices rolled back. They also want ceilings on the price of home heating oil, gasoline and diesel fuel. Until they get some action, they are prepared to "sit it out."

Workers' Power talked to Rynn at the headquarters of the

Ohio Owners and Drivers Club, several offices in a slightly dilapidated corner of the old P.I.E. terminal on the south side of Akron. He works there for nothing.

During the interview, truckers walked in and out of the offices. Several worked on posters for the strike.

The phone rang continuously. Nearly every call concerned the strike. Rynn warned callers that his phone might be bugged. He repeatedly assured them there would be no violence. And he asked for support. He told one company driver, "If you want to help yourself, you'll call in sick."

Rynn also said that many non-truckers called, offering support. Some suggested blockading streets with their cars, but "maybe they were kooks."

At any rate, there will be no blockade this time. "The public would turn against us."

Soaring Costs

Behind this strike are the hard facts of independent trucking. Rynn's partner, who preferred not to have his name used, said, "A lot of people will go under. It's started already. I don't expect to be in business much longer."

Costs have soared for truckers.



A year ago, a driver could buy fuel in Chicago for as little as 22¢ a gallon. In Akron the price was 28¢.

Today fuel in the midwest costs around 50¢ a gallon. And a driver has to shop to find that.

At the same time, however, there is "unlimited fuel available. If a driver wants to pay 63¢ a gallon on the black market there is no shortage whatsoever."

Where there is 50¢ fuel, there are limits, anywhere from five to 25 gallons in Ohio. On the Pennsylvania Turnpike there is a ten gallon limit, on the Ohio Turnpike, 25 gallons.

All costs on the road have risen. "On a 2,500 mile trip, the cost a year ago was about \$350. Today that same trip costs \$550. A man on the road has payments, taxes. The average trucker pays \$700 to \$900 on equipment payments."

Disunity Hurts

While Rynn's group plans to strike on January 24th, others will wait till the 31st, and still others have taken action already.

Mike Parkhurst, the editor of *Overdrive Magazine* in Los Angeles, has called for a strike on the 31st. The Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH) has done the same. This obviously annoys Rynn, who says, "We set this date a long time ago, six weeks ago, we're not changing it now."

Rynn distrusts Parkhurst. He's in business to make a profit for himself," Rynn admits that this disunity hurts. "But what do you expect from us. We're just beginning."

In East Liverpool, Ohio, 300 truckers set up picket lines at midnight on January 20, protesting insufficient rates for hauling steel in Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

At the same time, a caravan of more than 100 tractor-trailers set out for Washington from Oklahoma City.

Paul Polin, the spokesman for this group, called United Truckers, said he expects at least 500 trucks by the time they reached Washington.

Wide Spread Support

But while the truckers' movement is far from united, there is plenty of evidence of support. During the last strike, truck traffic on the main East-West road through Akron was down 75%. Rynn expects at least that much this time.

In Breezewood, Pa., William Sheffer, a spokesman for FASH, said, "90% of the drivers are behind us. We want fuel prices rolled back. I don't think this is just the trucking industry's fight. It's the American people's fight. It seems to me we are all being had."

Workers' Power asked Rynn about the problem of organiza-

tion. He said that eventually independents will have to go in the direction of labor type organization.

"The big companies, the trucking associations, they're not interested in us." He would like to cooperate with people like FASH.

Truckers Take The Lead

But though he is a member of the Teamsters himself, Rynn is not very interested in reforming the IBT: When he was in Washington he did not even attempt to see Fitzsimmons. "It's been so long since we've had any representation, why bother."

Besides, he says, "It's dangerous to fight the Teamsters. When Hoffa was President, not one person dared stand up and say 'no'."

On the other hand, Rynn said he admired the people who had started TURF. And he supported Miners for Democracy. "I'd like to see it happen in the Teamsters, but I'd hate to see someone get killed."

So the strike is on. And while Congress fiddles, once again the truckers have taken the lead. They have little experience, but more than enough courage. If their spirit continues — more importantly, if it spreads — Nixon and the oil barons can still be beaten. ■

Cal Williams

Workers' Power

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