

Bulletin

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Kathleen Fuller, a delegate for AFT Local 111 in Portland, Oregon, addresses St. Paul AFT Convention. She denounced McGovern and called on AFT to fight for labor party.

LABOR DAY 1972

ONLY A LABOR PARTY CAN STOP NIXON PLAN

Political Committee Statement

Delegate Raises Labor Party On Floor Of AFT Convention

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

ST. PAUL, Aug. 25—The American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, today concluded its 56th annual convention here in the midst of unprecedented attacks on teachers and public education by school boards, state legislatures, and the federal government.

The urgency of building a labor party to answer these attacks, which should have been the central task before the convention, was consciously opposed by the AFT leadership headed by President David Selden, who brought McGovern to address the convention.

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Guard Murders 1199 Organizer

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

PHILADELPHIA, August 30—Norman Rayford, an organizer for Hospital Workers Local 1199C, was shot and killed on the night of August 28 at a picket line at Metropolitan Hospital.

For the past few months, 50 workers at the Delaware Valley Laundry have been on strike. This laundry was set up by Philadelphia-area hospitals including Metropolitan in an effort to cut costs. The hospitals have been sending laundry as far away as Harrisburg to break the strike. The union has been picketing in an effort to stop this strike-breaking.

At 5:30 P.M. on August 28, Rayford went to Metropolitan to investigate the situation. He was shot and killed without warning

by a security guard, John Daniel. Daniel claimed that Rayford had lunged at him with a knife. No charges have been brought against the guard.

Rayford has been a union member for over three years. He was married only two weeks ago. He has played a very big role in the organization of 5,000 workers in Philadelphia in the last few months.

Local 1199C President Henry Nicholas charged that the hospital was attempting to white-wash the incident and that Rayford was not a violent man and would not carry a knife. The

union has called a mass demonstration for August 30 at Metropolitan Hospital and has called for mass support from the entire Philadelphia labor movement. It is demanding that Daniel be indicted. At the latest report the demonstration has been enjoined by the courts, but the union has announced that it will take place in defiance of the injunction.

This brutal murder is the culmination of a series of moves in a vicious anti-union campaign by the hospitals, as union organization has accelerated. It is part of the campaign faced by construction workers in Penn-

(Continued On Page 18)

Grave dangers lie ahead for the American working class. This is the meaning of the Republican Convention. In his acceptance speech Nixon openly revealed his plans for wholesale attacks on the living standards, rights and organizations of American workers.

The employers and their government confront the tremendous power of the American working class and its resistance to paying for the crisis of the capitalist system. It is the fear of the movement and the necessities of the crisis that lie behind the strengthening of the rightist, anti-labor forces within the ruling class at this convention. Taking his words from these forces, Nixon in his speech tried to paint McGovern as an "extremist," accusing him of being in league with the "Communists." His object is to whip up an anti-communist campaign aimed not at McGovern as such but at the workers and socialist movements.

Nixon praised the work of his Supreme Court which has begun wholesale attacks on the rights that working people won in the past. "Whenever I have the opportunity to make more appointments to the courts, I shall continue to appoint judges who share my philosophy that we must strengthen the peace forces as against the criminal forces in the United States."

When Nixon talks about "peace forces" he is talking about strengthening every repressive arm of the state for war against the working class.

Above all these "peace forces" are to be used to break the trade unions and the socialist movement. The cold blooded murder of the 1199 organizer last week in Philadelphia on the picket line where workers were fighting for their right to a union is an example of the kind of "peace" Nixon and his corporate backers have in store for the entire labor movement.

Nixon's talk about creating a "new American majority" with his appeals to the Democrats "who have been driven out of their home" are the preparations for the creation of one party rule and bonapartist dictatorship.

The capitalist class in the United States historically has used the so-called bipartisan system as a means of preventing the rise of an independent working class party. Today the Democratic Party which in modern history has been the traditional party of reform which tied the working class to the capitalist class is in its death agony.

As reform is replaced with repression and attacks on the rights and conditions of the working class, the basis for the alliance of the labor movement with the Democrats disintegrates.

This movement towards one party rule is combined with the encouragement of ultra-rightists and fascistic forces. It is now clear that such elements were paid by Nixon's Re-election Committee to bug the headquarters of the Democratic Party.

(Continued On Page 8)

General Strike Erupts Over Prison Murders In Argentina

BY ED SMITH

The hated Lanusse military regime in Argentina faces the spectre of all-out war with the working class after the national rebellion touched off last week by the murder of 16 imprisoned urban guerillas.

On August 15, ten urban guerillas, including the leader of the ERP (People's Revolutionary Army) affiliated to the Pabloite United Secretariat and several Peronist guerillaists escaped from military prison and hijacked a plane to Cuba. A group of imprisoned guerillas who broke out and seized the airport in the town of Trelaw were recaptured and returned to prison.

On August 23, in the course of an alleged "escape attempt," 16 of the prisoners were shot to death and the other three wounded.

OUTRAGE

News of the deaths sparked outrage throughout Argentina. The Supreme Council of the Justicialist Party, the main Peronist movement (followers of the exiled dictator Juan Peron, who still retains great popularity in Argentina) issued a statement denouncing the deaths as "a new violation of human rights."

In the important auto-manufacturing city of Cordoba, the "left-Peronist" leaders of the trade unions called for a two-hour general strike against the killings and for higher wages, later extended to 14 hours. Many

Demonstrators

Ask Asylum For Prisoners

BY A BULLETIN
REPORTER.

On August 23, 35 to 40 members of USLA (United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners) and other organizations demonstrated in New York demanding that the Popular Unity government of Chile grant asylum to ten Argentine guerillas who had escaped an Argentine military prison and hijacked a plane to Chile.

The prisoners, members of several Argentine urban guerilla groups, included Mario Roberto Santucho, leader of the ERP (People's Revolutionary Army) which is affiliated to the United Secretariat.

The demonstrators picketed the offices of Argentine Airlines and later the Chilean Mission to the United Nations, calling for asylum.

A letter from USLA on the case points out that those imprisoned guerillas who did not succeed in escaping were later shot down in a cold-blooded massacre.

Allende, confronted with the working class upsurge in Argentina and support for the escapees among Chilean workers, was forced to reverse himself and grant asylum. The escapees were then placed on a plane bound for Cuba.

hundreds of students and teachers were arrested for rioting in protests against the killings.

The next day riots and protests broke out in cities across the nation. The commanders of the armed forces held an emergency meeting to announce plans for elections in March were still in effect.

But meanwhile hundreds of labor, student, and political leaders were rounded up in a nationwide dragnet. That evening the fighting spread to the capital city of Buenos Aires after troops had invaded the headquarters of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) where a wake for three of the slain guerillas was being held.

Behind the great upsurge stands an increasingly desperate economic situation. Argentinian industry is operating at 60 percent of capacity. Skyrocketing unemployment reached a level of a million in June. In the same month, inflation rose 5.8 percent; prices rose 37.3 percent for the first six months of the year while workers' buying power went down 12%. While this was going on, the International Monetary Fund denied the government an urgently needed loan because wage restraint was insufficient.

The enormous popular dissatisfaction with such conditions has led to at least five insurrections in provincial towns this year before the present upsurge, as well as popular support for the urban guerillas and terrorist groups which have sprung up in the last few years. The guerillaists are split into several factions, including several considering themselves Peronist and one, the ERP, which is affiliated to the revisionist "United Secretariat."

The campaign whipped up by the Peronist leaders around the question of Peron's possible return to Argentina before the end of the year is a cover for their refusal to mount a revolutionary fight against Lanusse.

But the leaders of the ERP have no inclination to wrest the working class from Peronism even if they could. In an interview in the Jan.-Feb. 1972 issue of *New Left Review*, a leader of the ERP admits that Peronists participate in the ERP, that "The ERP does not engage in ideological debates with Peronists."

The ERP admits all sorts of "political influences," from Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Mao Tse tung, Gen. Giap, Che Guevara, and Castro. Finally, the ERP leader identifies his claim to leadership with the Tupamaros, the MIR of Chile, and the ill-fated Popular Assembly of Bolivia.



Thirty members of United Rubber Workers Local 913 have been locked out since the end of June at the Richardson Company, a plastics firm in West Haven, Conn. Since the local was organized, there have been two wildcats and one strike, over speedups and firings. The men were locked out one day before the contract expired. The main issues the men are fighting for are wages and productivity.

British Dockers Stop Racist March Over Uganda Asians

BY ED SMITH

Extreme right wing groups in Britain have launched a campaign to whip up hysteria over the mass deportation of the Asian community of Uganda by Ugandan government strongman General Idi Amin.

These forces are trying to panic sections of the middle class and the working class by shouting that Britain will be "flooded" by deported Asians. Actually only 55,000

Asians hold British passports and many of them have no intention of settling in Britain.

By encouraging racism, the extreme right wing Tories hope to divide the working class in the

face of massive capitalist attack and prepare for a General Election.

However, these right-wing forces suffered a tremendous setback when dock shop stewards declared that union members would have nothing to do with a demonstration organized by the racists.

Leading the pack against the Ugandan Asians was ultraright Tory racist Enoch Powell. He called the Asians "the thin edge of a thick wedge" and asserted that British obligation toward them was "infinitesimal."

BELL

Another MP, Ronald Bell, spokesman for the extreme-right Monday Club, asserted, "These British Asiatics are no more and no less British than any Indian in the bazaars of Bombay." A Monday Club statement called for confining the Ugandan Asiatics on an island in the Indian Ocean, under British colonial control.

RAILROAD

The Ugandan Asians were actually brought to Uganda in the first place by the British in 1895 to construct the railroad from the capital of Kampala to the port of Mombasa. Many of them stayed on as small shopkeepers and traders. Over the years they built up their economic strength so that today 90% of commerce and trade and 80% of the professions, medicine, law, teaching, are concentrated in the hands of Asians. Many of these people retained British citizenship at the time of Ugandan independence and so have British passports. It is these people whom the Tories wish to whip up a racial hysteria against.

In fact, General Amin, who expelled the Asians, was placed in power by a military coup engineered by British imperialism with U.S. and Israeli assistance. He supported all of British imperialism's crimes including shipment of arms to South Africa.

3000 Jews And Arabs March Against Zionism

BY FRED MUELLER

The demonstration of 3000 Arabs and Jews through downtown Jerusalem on August 23 marks a new stage in the development of the crisis of capitalism and the Zionist government in Israel.

Almost without precedent, the demonstrators marched together to the office of Prime Minister Golda Meir, chanting in both Hebrew and Arabic against the government's policy of refusing to allow the Christian Arabs who come from the villages of Berem and Ikrit to return to their homes.

The Christian Arab citizens of Israel were expelled from their villages near the Lebanese border in 1948. At the time of the expulsion the Zionists promised they would be allowed to return soon. They are still waiting. After 24 years the government refuses to even consider the subject.

The Zionists are in an embarrassing position because they cannot accuse these Arabs of disloyalty. They are among the few who chose to remain in their homes when Israel was established. For this they were expelled from their homes, and subjected to more than 20 years of discrimination and second-class citizenship.

Their homes were blown up by the army twenty years ago, as they watched from a nearby hill. According to one former resident of Berem, "Since then we have called the hill our Wailing Wall. We have learned so much from our Jewish brethren."

FEAR

The government will not entertain talk of returning these re-

fugees because it is committed to a policy of Jewish settlements on all the borders. The Zionists can only protect their rule by increasingly brutal measures against the Arab people. Their fear of the Arab workers and peasants as well as their shaky position at home drives them to desperate measures to secure their borders at the same time as they plan new expansionist moves.

It is no accident that extreme right winger Meir Kahane, Jewish Defense League chairman now living in Israel, attempted to lead a counter-demonstration at the time of the demonstration for Berem and Ikrit. Kahane is the most conscious purveyor of chauvinism designed above all to separate the Jewish workers and youth from the rest of the working class.

Meir's Zionist faith does not prevent her government from holding down the living standards of the entire working class in Israel and demanding that it pay for the economic crisis and the preparations for war. These attacks against the working class are being met by increasing resistance from Jewish and Arab workers.

This lays the basis for going beyond the protests against the Zionists' treatment of the Christian Arabs, toward the unity of the Arab and Jewish workers against their Zionist exploiters and their imperialist allies.

Nixon Widens Vietnam War As Bombs Hit China Border

BY DAVID NORTH

With the Saigon regime shaken by mass mutinies and devastating military defeats, a desperate Nixon is threatening a further escalation of the war by bombing China.

During the past week, it was revealed that American fighter-bombers have violated the "buffer zone" before China's southern border and have hit targets within 25 miles of the mainland.

Provocations by U.S. war planes have already resulted in the death of Chinese. Last week, fighters strafed a lifeboat flying the Chinese flag near the island of Non Ngu, killing the ship's captain, a deputy political commissar, and three sailors.

The attack was deliberate and the Nixon administration did not answer Peking's denunciation of the attack as "a grave provocation against the Chinese people."

In order to force the Chinese bureaucracy to apply more pressure on Hanoi to stop its victorious offensive, Nixon is replacing ping-pong diplomacy with bombing attacks.

Hanoi is determined to press the offensive forward as the South Vietnamese army is falling apart at the seams. On June 19, President Thieu promised to regain all the territory that had been lost in the early days of the NLF offensive. With only a few more weeks to go to fulfill his boasts, more territory has been lost and political chaos reigns in Saigon.

In addition to continuous set-

backs in the northern province of Quang Tri, the Saigon troops suffered one of their most serious defeats in the history of the war in the city of Queson, 25 miles from Danang, the second largest city in South Vietnam.

Following the destruction of Thieu's Second Division inside the city, the NLF withdrew and then sprang a trap on bewildered reinforcements who were rushed into the empty Queson only to meet massive bombardment from NLF artillery.

General Thieu is responding to the defeats with a panic-stricken shake-up of his corrupt officer corps. The government ordered the arrest of Col. Nguyen Van Lu, commander of Fire Base Ross, a critical Queson defense post.

DENUNCIATION

Hanoi and the NLF is pursuing the offensive in open defiance of the Kremlin and Peking Stalinists. The leading Hanoi newspaper, *Nhan Dan*, commemorated the August 1945 origins of the Vietnamese revolution with a scathing denunciation of Russia's and China's maneuvers with Nixon.

Nhan Dan attacked "disastrous opportunist tendencies of all shades from the outside" for "all sorts of none-too-agreeable actions."

The American Communist Party, which enthusiastically endorsed Nixon's trip to the Soviet

Union while pretending to support the Vietnamese revolution, have not published a word about the Hanoi statements in the *Daily World*.

Only the Fourth International supports the struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants; and carries forward their fight in the United States by seeking to construct a labor party to break the American working class from the Democrats and Republicans.



Three Days In Miami: Gas, Troops & Nixon

BY BRUCE MCKAY

MIAMI BEACH, August 25—As Richard Nixon delivered his acceptance speech Wednesday night, in the streets of this beach resort the ruling class was providing a brief demonstration with its well-oiled police state machinery of what workers will face as the world capitalist crisis deepens.

The carefully staged spectacle both inside Convention Hall and outside amidst the concrete canyons of luxury hotels was not directed at the millions watching their television screens, but more specifically toward members of the ruling class and rightward-moving sections of the middle class. It bore an urgent warning for workers.

From the first Platform Committee meetings prior to the opening gavel, this convention was characterized by the unity of the party's primary ruling class elements led by Governor Nelson Rockefeller and the ultra-rightist sections behind such figures as Goldwater and Reagan.

POLICE

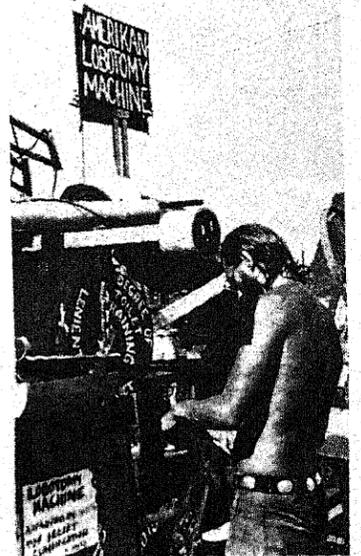
In the streets, police tolerated the remnants of the middle class radical protest groups until Tuesday afternoon in order to give a

free rein to ultra-rightist and fascist forces led by the American Nazi (National Socialist White People's) Party.

These forces faded into the background as police—following a well-prepared script—gradually imposed a decorous, but nonetheless real, military dictatorship on this city.

By Wednesday evening, the streets surrounding Convention Hall began to take on the appearance of Ulster as police moved in scores of old school buses to barricade three sides of the convention site and demonstrators erected their own makeshift street barricades to block the arrival of the first delegates.

By the time Nixon had uttered his first phrase to the assembled delegates and television audience, this island city was engulfed in huge clouds of corrosive tear and CS gas, sealed off by police from the outside world and under virtual martial law.



SDS anti-Nixon "machine."

Over 2000 police patrolled the streets making indiscriminate arrests, and well over 5000 National Guardsmen, Marines and paratroopers from the 82nd Airborne Division were on immediate standby alert in case they were needed to restore order.

DIRECTION

It was against this backdrop that Vice-President Spiro Agnew told the delegates in his acceptance speech:

"It has become a cliché of politics to say that America stands at a crossroads in its history. But that is a more valid observation today than it has been for many years. Certainly, the central issue of this campaign is one of national direction. There are hard questions to be decided by the American people."

These hard questions—being decided by the American ruling class and not the "American people"—concern the fate of the capitalist system as it plunges into an unparalleled crisis. And the "national direction" being plotted by the ruling class lies along the path marked by the Pay Board, union-busting, mass unemployment, and troops in the streets.

The shift of the ruling class toward Bonapartism was made clear at this convention not only by the extraordinary police state measures imposed, but by the open activity of ultra-rightist and fascist forces and, within the convention itself, by the promi-

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Top GOP Aides Cited For Raid On Democrats

BY FRED MUELLER

The dirty linen of the capitalist politicians is being washed in public, with the so-called Watergate affair and its aftermath. What is being revealed even in the earliest and half-hearted investigation is a maze of corruption in the leading circles of the government and sinister moves toward Bonapartist dictatorship.

On the night of June 17, five men were arrested at gunpoint at the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee at the Watergate Hotel in Washington, D.C. The leader of this group was a Miami real estate man by the name of Bernard Barker.

Barker was a former CIA agent who participated in the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in April 1961. One of those arrested with him was James McCord, also a former operative with the CIA, and a security coordinator for the Committee to Re-elect the President. The others arrested also had connections with either the Republican Party or various anti-Castro Cuban exile groups, or both.

Those involved in the break-in were either installing or removing electronic eavesdropping equipment.

CAMPAIGN FUNDS

Now it looks as though Nixon and his big business friends may not be able to prevent at least part of the truth from coming to light. The latest development is the long-awaited report from the General Accounting Office on its audit of Republican campaign funds.

It seems that the GAO has discovered "apparent and possible violations" of the Federal Elec-

tion Campaign Act, committed by the Committee to Re-elect the President. \$350,000 in campaign funds is involved. And one-third of this money passed through the hands of none other than Bernard Barker, leader of the Watergate operation.

Barker deposited \$114,000 of Republican campaign money in a Miami bank. \$25,000 of this was collected on a golf course in Miami on April 9, two days after the Federal Election Campaign Act went into effect. Yet the amount and source of the contribution was never made public as the law mandates.

The donor of the \$25,000, as it now turns out, is Dwayne Andreas, a Minnesota businessman who was one of the chief backers of Hubert Humphrey's Presidential campaign in 1968 and his primary campaign in 1972.

The Andreas contribution and several others were made after the effective date of the new Election Act and the Republican "high command" was openly flouting the law which had just been enacted and which Nixon had announced would guarantee "fairness" and "honesty" in election campaigns.

To top it all off, Andreas is one of a group of Minneapolis investors who have just been given a Federal bank charter. This was

(Continued On Page 18)

Workers League invites you to

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR A LABOR PARTY NOW! CHICAGO-OCT. 21-22

The purpose of this conference will be to establish an organization of rank and file trade unionists to carry forward the fight for the trade unions to call a congress of labor to establish a labor party. The conference will also consider the program around which such a labor party is to be constructed as well as the situation facing specific sections of the labor movement.

Workshops on Steel, Auto, Longshore, Teachers, Civil Service, others.

Young Socialists will hold:

NATIONAL PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE
FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A
REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT
Chicago
OCTOBER 22

Both events will be held at: Bismarck Hotel, Randolph & Wells (in the Loop)
Advance Registration Necessary: trade unionists: \$5.00 youth & unemployed: \$2.50

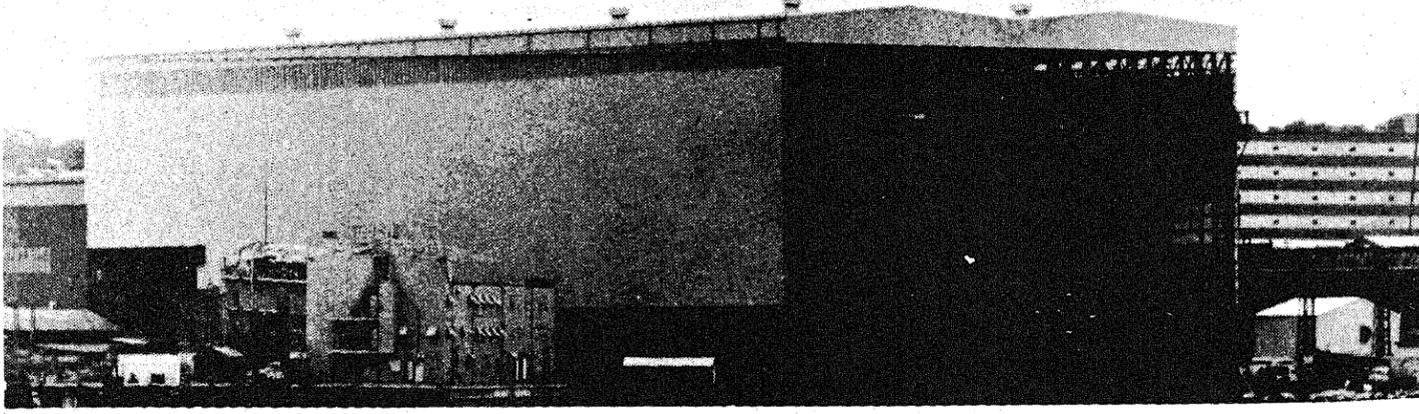
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General Dynamics pier in New London. Admiral Rickover told Congress that shipbuilders were lazy. Speed-up has cut workforce to 8,000.

Rickover Attacks Shipyard Ranks For 'Loafing'

BY SHEILA BREHM

GROTON, Conn.—In closed-door testimony that was released last week, Vice-Admiral H.G. Rickover told Congress that American shipyards are poorly managed, with many workers loafing on the job.

In sweltering temperatures, workers were outraged, as they poured out by the thousands from General Dynamics, Electric Boat Division, the largest shipyard in the nation, and read Rickover's statements which appeared on the front page of the local paper.

One young worker said: "He's got guts to say we're loafing. I'd like to get that Rickover down here. Here we are sweating in this heat, working hard, and he says this. Who does he think he is!"

The speed-up at the shipyard has been ferocious; employment has been cut from 15,000 to 8000—almost 50 percent. And according to Rickover's statements, the Navy has no intention of easing up and is preparing to aggravate the already unsafe working conditions.

Rickover went on to state that large numbers of workers are idle day and night:

"People arrive at worksites long after the work shift has begun and line up to get off the ships well before the end of the shifts; people leave early for lunch and return late; there are places in the shipyards where employees hide out, such as small sheds or shacks near the waterfront, and excessive numbers of people are assigned to jobs."

The military-like fashion and tight security that characterizes the running of the yard, makes Rickover's accusations extremely flimsy. And in an attempt to create a witch-hunting atmosphere, Rickover testified that the Russians are expanding an already superior shipbuilding capability.

Rickover's provocation brought out the ranks' growing discontent with the union leadership of the Metal Trades Council, which has extended the present contract twice. The contract was due to expire June 30; the second extension will be until Sept. 15. The feelings of many men were expressed by a member of Boilermakers Local 614:

"I'm sick and tired of these extensions. I think we should walk out. The union leaders are pulling the wool over our eyes, and now Rickover says this stuff. I've had enough of it."

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Open Letter To IAM Convention

Support Labor Party Resolution

BY AN IAM MEMBER

The questions now facing the IAM (International Association of Machinists) at the union's Los Angeles convention, are burning questions for the entire labor movement.

Massive unemployment in the aerospace industry represents the future for all workers as the Nixon Administration prepares to crush the working class.

In California alone, 200,000 jobs have been destroyed with 70 percent of the cutbacks hitting trade unionists on the production lines. In California and all across the nation, over one-third of all aerospace workers have been laid off and employment now stands at its 1965 level. Mergers and near bankruptcies have been the rule, with the threat of more plant closures hanging over the heads of all aerospace workers. Most recently, Grumman has announced that it may have to close its doors.

After losing the space-shuttle contract to North American, McDonnell Douglas has begun layoffs that will climb to over 13,000 in the Los Angeles area by the end of 1973 and is going to shut down a plant in Santa Monica that used to employ thousands.

IAM President Floyd Smith's policy of seeking government loans to prop-up the aerospace industry is completely bankrupt.

There is only one way to fight against this decimation of the IAM and of all the trade union movement. This convention must take the lead in calling for all labor to build a labor party now, a party committed to a policy of full employment through the nationalization of basic industry.

McGovern and the Democrats are impotent against Nixon's attacks. As one McDonnell Douglas worker put it: "There is no difference between Nixon and

McGovern. We should have a labor party. Inflation has wiped out all of my savings. If I'm laid off, my bills will kill me because nobody can live on unemployment. I'm for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay so people can be rehired. This would be good for young workers who are the first to be laid off, and now they don't even have a chance to enter the plants at all."

A resolution for formation of a labor party will be presented to the convention from the delegates of Tool & Die Lodge 113 in Chicago.

The number of tool and die makers in the IAM has been on the decline since 1969, as the employers job out work to—

(Continued On Page 18)

RESOLUTION

July 28, 1972

SUBJECT: That The Machinists Union Call a Conference of all Organized Labor
PURPOSE: To Form a Labor Party

Submitted by Lodge 113

WHEREAS, Organized Labor has been unhappy with many Democratic Candidates in the past,

AND WHEREAS, the choice Labor has in 1972 of Mr. McGovern is no choice at all,

AND WHEREAS, Mr. Meany, after the AFL-CIO

Convention, stated he would not support Mr. McGovern nor Mr. Nixon,

AND WHEREAS, this means Labor is the loser in 1972 and can only be faced with four more years of Anti-Labor Legislation,

THEREFORE, be it resolved that the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers call a National Conference representing, as far as possible, all Labor and its allies, for the purpose of establishing a Labor Party for the 1976 Elections.

Paul Grupp
Recording Secretary

Sealand Announces Boston Closure

BY PAT CONNOLLY

BOSTON, Mass., Aug. 18—SeaLand, the largest single containerized cargo shipping company in the world, which handles at least 25% of the tonnage entering the port here, announced abruptly last week that it is ending its operation in Boston.

The shutdown announcement came after the company stated that it refused to pay the additional \$1 per-ton-handled to the longshoremen's pension fund specified in the last contract.

This move cuts docking facilities in half, leaving only the Moran container terminal in Charlestown, while the huge new Castle Island container terminal, part of a \$35 million port modernization scheme, will be shut down.

After throwing hundreds of longshoremen out of work and

leaving hundreds more with less than full time work, the ship owners largest single representative now states that it will not pay \$1 per ton to the dockers' pension fund.

While the Pay Board slashed the wage settlement won by the ILA in the last contract, the shippers are insisting on maintaining the new work rules and gang cuts. Now they are out to slash even the pension benefits of workers who have spent their entire lives working on the docks.

Their insatiable drive for profits means that the shippers must try to smash the ILA and all

the conditions and rights won by union members over the past decades. This is the only meaning of the company announcement last week that Boston dockers were "just pricing themselves out of the market. We can't justify paying that kind of premium."

But it is clear that the large corporations are making money hand over fist, bringing in record profits. According to MassPort Director Thomas Soules, "the savings in manhours is fantastic. A container ship with 2,000 tons of cargo can be unloaded and reloaded by two cranes and two gangs in 8 hours. The same cargo in a conventional ship would take five gangs four days."

GAINS

The only way these vicious attacks can be defeated is first of all by mobilizing all longshoremen nationwide to protect the wage gains made in the last contract against the Pay Board; to turn back the new work rules and cuts that mean speed-up, loss of seniority and loss of jobs, and to defend pension rights won in the last contract.

The unbridled drive for profits by the shippers means that the only protection for longshoremen is the fight for nationalization of the docks under workers' control. This is the only way automation and containerization can benefit the working class, rather than being used to drive workers into poverty and unemployment.

Workers League & Young Socialists invite you to WEEKEND OF EDUCATION & RECREATION

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 2. Pragmatism and the Marxist Theory of Knowledge—Tim Wohlforth
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East Coast

Sept. 22-24

on a private lake in the Catskills near Port Jervis, N.Y.

Midwest

Sept. 16-17

at a camp on Lake Mendota near Madison, Wisconsin.

West Coast

Nov. 4-5

in the Redwoods north of San Francisco.



Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

Attend October 22 Conference Of Revolutionary Youth

At the Republican Convention in Miami Beach, the American ruling class boasted of its determination to destroy all the rights of workers and youth in the immediate future.

In every aspect of the convention, from the regimented proceedings to Nixon's acceptance speech, big business showed its hatred for the working class.

Even while Nixon addressed the convention and was greeted with carefully orchestrated cheers, youth outside the hall who protested against his policies were brutally clubbed, gassed and arrested.

With brutal cynicism, Nixon told millions of youth over television that his government could meet their needs while presenting a program designed especially to take away the little that they have now.

Nixon made it "perfectly clear" that he will press ahead with the attacks he started during his first term. Only recently he vetoed a bill that would have maintained the current federal educational program for working class youth. In his second term, he will try to make education all but impossible.

He also left no doubt in anyone's mind that the Vietnam War will not end, and that if the youth refuse to fight, they will be sent to jail.

Stripped of all its rhetoric, Nixon's speech was a blueprint for mass unemployment, war and misery. His demagogic patriotism and anti-communism along with the head-busting outside the convention hall revealed the outlines of big business' plans for dictatorship.

Nixon is being driven into a desperate confrontation with the working class by the deep crisis of the economic system he defends. The government will try to destroy unions, lay off workers, speed up assembly lines, lower wages and in this way create conditions under which youth will have nothing to live for.

Because their very lives are at stake, young people have no choice but to fight back. But they will not find a solution to the crisis within the Democratic Party. McGovern stands with Nixon in all the attacks on the working class; for he also is a political tool of big business.

What is needed today is a break with the Republicans and the Democrats and the creation of a new labor party that fights for socialist policies. All those who refuse to fight for this party are betraying the working class and youth and leading them to defeat.

The labor bureaucracy has refused to mobilize the ranks politically to fight the Pay Board and the attacks on the unions.

The Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League have played a treacherous role in trying to enlist youth for McGovern.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have refused to fight for a labor party or even concern themselves with the dangers that face the working class. Because they will not fight for an alternative to McGovern, the SWP and the YSA clear the way for the Stalinist attempt to railroad workers into the Democratic Party.

There has been only one movement that has consistently emphasized that a labor party must be built. Only the Young Socialists have fought within the communities and schools to bring this understanding to the youth and to turn them toward the struggles of the working class. We have insisted that the working class is the only force that can defeat capitalism and change society through a socialist revolution.

But workers cannot protect themselves unless a political fight is waged against the Democrats and Republicans. This is why the labor party is so important, to organize the labor movement politically. At the same time the labor party will prepare the working class for the socialist revolution by raising the question of workers controlling their own government and taking power.

The youth have the greatest responsibility in this period. They have to build a revolutionary movement that will bring a socialist understanding into the working class through the fight for the labor party.

The National Conference for a Labor Party and the National Preliminary Conference for the Construction of a Revolutionary Youth Movement, to be held on October 22 in Chicago, takes on tremendous importance in this period of great crisis. Youth can strike a devastating blow against the government by joining the YS, and building this conference to break the working class from the two capitalist parties through the formation of a labor party and move towards a socialist revolution.



Twin Cities Young Socialists lobbied for a labor party outside St. Paul AFT National Convention.

YS Labor Party Lobby Wins Support In AFT

BY LEO RUSSELL

ST. PAUL—On the day that Democrat George McGovern spoke before the American Federation of Teachers convention, over 30 youth and trade unionists joined the Young Socialists lobby, carrying banners and placards calling for the building of a labor party.

At the Workers League-Young Socialists meeting on the labor party here at the opening of the convention, a bookbinder declared: "What you teachers and youth have to understand is that my boss doesn't want his workers to read. Well, maybe enough to read a job ticket. He doesn't want educated workers. The boss knows the schools are going to hell. He doesn't care; his kids go to private schools."

SELDEN

This was echoed the next day by AFT President David Selden at the opening session when he complained that the school

boards no longer even pretend to want to reduce class size or to improve the quality of education. Instead, pupil-teacher ratios rise above 40 to 1, special classes are eliminated, and schools themselves degenerate.

PHONY

Senator Hubert Humphrey's pie-in-the-sky speech at the opening session painted glowing pictures of free lunches and "kiddie-care to medi-care." The contrast between these phony promises and Selden's report of the jailing of 300 teachers in the last two years speaks for itself.

A teacher from Buffalo, N.Y. spoke to the YS about the local school board's attack on edu-

cation, similar to the attacks on education all over the country. He spoke of cutbacks in art, physical education, and music in the grades K through 3. He stated: "Increasing class size is detrimental to the education of the child, to the teacher, and to the community." And he spoke of the growing together of the interests of teachers and youth.

POLITICS

During the convention, the Minneapolis Star accused teachers of being interested only in their own needs—being interested in politics, but not the needs of the classroom. But the question facing teachers is the question of politics. Last year for the first time, the teachers voted to raise \$1 million for supporting political candidates who are for labor. But there are no candidates in either the Republican or Democratic parties who are for labor. Only by confronting the question of a labor party can the attacks on the teachers be resolved.

OPPOSITION

This was the first convention of trade unionists where the YS has organized a lobby around the fight for a labor party. The strength of the YS fight was underlined by the one-third vote in opposition to endorsement of McGovern. During the week, the YS distributed the AFL-CIO "White Paper" which exposes McGovern's anti-labor record and sold hundreds of Bulletins and 200 pamphlets on "The Case for a Labor Party." On the day McGovern spoke, the YS lobby sold over one hundred of these pamphlets. The YS also won wide support and raised money for Juan Farinas.



Chicago Young Socialists gave a talent show last week to rally support and aid for the Juan Farinas Defense Committee.

Young Socialist



Model Cities hires youth as fire salvage men at low pay to replace unionized workers in NYC.

City Uses Poverty Program To Bust Fire Fighters Union

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

The government today utilizes every possible source to create a division among the working class so it can open the way for massive attacks. Poverty programs become a major weapon in trying to accomplish this.

The Model Cities agency which functions in poverty areas has initiated several programs which directly attack the unions. One such program is the Fire Salvage Corps which was launched on February 1970. Thirty-two young men were trained for 18 months in various techniques of protecting material belongings and in fire fighting.

Because a great majority of the fires are in areas like this, it becomes very convenient for the city to hire young men to perform the job of the unionized Fire Patrol (part of the Fire Fighters Union) and do it for less wages.

CHEAP LABOR

The program was said to have started "because it was beneficial to the community." But the actual purpose of the program is to train youth to do the same thing as unionized workers—only for a lower salary.

The qualifications for this job are that one must be from the model cities area and 20-27 years of age. No high school diploma is necessary. The reason for this is that it will qualify a lot more youth today to do this job which may not qualify them to do the regular unionized job.

The salary of these men is \$100 a week before taxes which is around 30% less than the unionized workers who do the same job. Moreover, they do not get paid for overtime and holidays even though they work a continuous shift.

Programs like this come as part of a massive offensive on the working class and youth by the government. It is aimed at attacking the real weapon the workers and youth have, unions. It's part of a campaign to bust up the unions and destroy the living conditions of all workers.

The Fire Fighters Union which covers the Fire Patrol was asked where they stood in relation to this particular Model Cities

program. They said: "We're opposed to anyone who works in an area where they receive less wages. Union men should be paid wages at union scale. This raises the standard of living of people."

It is clear that the government is responsible for creating divisions among the working class and youth. It is the tremendous amount of unemployment which places youth into a position where they are forced to accept jobs at low salaries, and at the same time pits them against the

older workers. The unions must begin the fight to unionize young workers against the attempts of the government to drive the workers and youth back.

All youth have the right to learn a meaningful trade. The schools should have real training under union and student control. On-the-job training must be at union wages. There must be an end to unemployment which is used to divide the workers and demand that there be full employment for all.

YS Activities Raise Funds For Farinas

BY

A YS REPORTER

Young Socialists throughout the country are campaigning for the defense of Juan Farinas. Activities are being held by all branches to raise money for the Defense Committee and to gain support for Juan's parole.

Last week, Brownsville held a cake sale at which \$17 was collected. New Haven held a flea market which raised \$170. Minneapolis raised money at the American Federation of Teachers Convention. Chicago YS put together a variety show and

performed in a skit on the Haymarket Day Massacre.

The defense of Juan Farinas is a critical task of the Young Socialists. Farinas has served 6 months of a two-year prison term on frame-up charges of draft evasion. His sole crime was to distribute a leaflet at an induction center stating that he was opposed to the Vietnam War because it is an imperialist war.

DEFENSE

The recent statements of the government against having jury trials is evidence that the measures taken against Juan are aimed at every worker and

Financial Aid Cutbacks Hit College Enrollment

BY MIKE NEWTON

ST. LOUIS—"Overall we find money is the biggest problem. Many students are applying for financial aid, and the money is just not there."

This is a statement from one of the college directors of admissions in St. Louis and expresses the crisis of the educational facilities for working class youth here and throughout the country.

Due to this economic crisis of capitalism, no money is being made available for working class youth to attend college. Because of this, a decrease in enrollment

in most St. Louis area universities has developed.

Every university is facing cuts in funds and increases in tuition. The University of Missouri is able to run only on emergency financial legislation and much of the curriculum is being curtailed.

A survey taken by the National Association of College Admissions Counselors of 669 institutions estimated 25 percent of the nation's colleges and universities will still be looking for students in mid-September.

A recent amendment to the

Community Accuses Cop In Murder Of Staten Island Child

BY HANK PADRO

STATEN ISLAND—The nature of the terror campaign which the Democrats and Republicans are beginning to mount against working class youth was exposed in the brutal murder of an unarmed 11-year-old child by police on Staten Island.

Ricky Bodden was shot in the back as he fled with two friends, all unarmed, from a stolen car. Two innocent bystanders, one 17 and the other 15, were wounded. The incident took place in the New Brighton section of Staten Island, a poor, working class neighborhood.

Contrary to police reports, all eyewitnesses agreed that no warning was given and that the officers shot directly at Ricky. The cop who shot Bodden had a gun in each hand. The police shot everywhere, including an area where about 10 neighborhood children were playing.

The youth from Jersey Street where Ricky's family lives who spoke to the Young Socialist were angry. One student who attends McKee Vocational described the reaction:

"At the community meeting they had, I was there for a while, everyone was shouting. They didn't want to hear anything from the commissioners. They just wanted that cop (who shot Bodden). There were cops all over because of the trouble the night before.

TENSE

"A lot of people are saying that if Ricky were white, they wouldn't have shot him. Since the shooting there has been a lot of racial tensions and rumors."

All the youth involved in the incident were Black except Ricky who was Latin.

One mother of five told the Young Socialist:

"Ricky was about four foot

seven, didn't weigh but 70 pounds and no policeman no matter how blind he is could not tell he wasn't shooting a child. Policemen on Staten Island brag of the fact that they know every trouble-maker in the streets. His mother brought this out in the newspaper that the policeman who shot Ricky knew him: I believe this is true."

CONDITIONS

The chaotic tense atmosphere that has dominated since the shooting had been building up for a long time. The worsening conditions and way of life for the poor on Staten Island is really the foundation for the racial divisions.

"As far as getting jobs from stores or general businesses now, the youth won't get it, and especially the very poor youth. We don't have enough business on Staten Island to even employ our older workers—never mind the youth. On top of this, the prices here are higher."

The conditions in which the government wants workers to perform can be seen at Willowbrook State School. An institution for retarded children where they are kept under medieval conditions, and the impossible situation that workers are forced to cope with, recently resulted in a strike there. As the Young Socialist was told:

"Willowbrook is going through tremendous shake-ups where the workers are totally dissatisfied. Their hours and the duty demanded of them is totally ridiculous. There are not enough workers so that the remaining workers are completely overworked and underpaid."

Nassau Smelting & Gypsum, another big employer, has a vicious anti-union record. Conditions for workers are hazardous. One accident that occurred was described to the Young Socialist:

"Recently a worker at Gypsum got his leg cut off by a machine and they (the company) offered him no benefits; in fact, they told him that now that he was handicapped he could not go back to work. They wanted to pay him just \$2,000, no benefits, just that."

"This was a worker just 32 years old who is married and has a baby. It is at this very company where an attempt to unionize these workers was smashed."

youth. The defense of Juan is the defense of the basic rights that workers and youth have won. For this reason, every youth can defend him by actively participating, planning and building the coming YS activities in their areas.

Activities are being scheduled for Brownsville, Lower East Side, Chelsea, and Upper West Side. A giant dance will be held at Brooklyn College on Sept. 15 to which all the Brooklyn and Manhattan clubs are invited. On Sept. 16 the Bushwick YS will hold a block party. Live bands will perform at most of these events. Everyone is invited to attend.

Student Aid Act unsnarling the red tape which was going to stop aid to thousands of students, is only good until March 1, 1973 and falls way short of what is needed for education today.

It is not just student aid that has come under attack by the Democrats and Republicans. The very programs in many areas are inadequate and waiting lists are long. A two-year program at the Junior Colleges which trains youth for work in medical labs has to be applied for a year in advance because there are not enough facilities to handle all the

applicants.

The only defense that students have is to bring the Young Socialists' program which demands that millions of dollars be pumped into education, calling on the unions to take a stand in defense of education for working class youth.

Youth can only fight for these demands by joining the Young Socialists and fighting for its program through the call for a labor party to be based on the trade unions and pledged to socialist policies against the Democrats and Republicans.

LETTERS FROM TRADE UNIONISTS

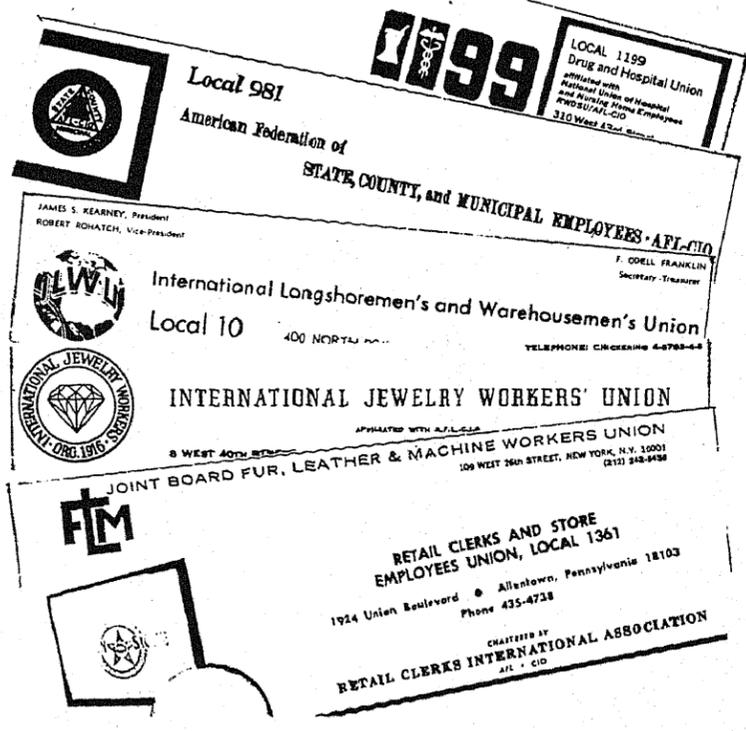
BY NANCY FIELDS

On this page are some of the many letters the Juan Farinas Defense Committee has received in support of Juan's petition for immediate parole.

The Parole Board has not yet responded to Farinas' petition and the Committee urges that all trade unionists and youth continue to fight for Juan's freedom as part of the defense of the rights of all trade unionists by sending telegrams immediately to:

U.S. Board of Parole
101 Indiana Ave. N.W.
Washington D.C.

Funds are also urgently needed in order to continue the campaign and to aid in the support of Juan's family. Mail contributions to:
135 W. 14th St., 6th Floor
New York, New York 10011



tive service regulation and is now eligible for parole. We believe that in view of the fact that he was sentenced in connection with his opposition to the war in Vietnam—a position that is in accord with millions of other Americans—and since he has already served six months, we would hope that your Board will act favorably on his request for parole. Such action would be based on justice and fair play.

Respectfully yours,

Leon J. Davis
President
Local 1199 Drug and Hospital Workers Union

Gentlemen:

Juan Farinas is worthy of parole. The Farinas Family should be reunited.

If Juan Farinas was guilty of any unlawful act, so too, was Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, et al, in 1776.

We respectfully request the Board of Parole look mercifully, compassionately and favorably upon the parole appeal of Juan Farinas.

Gratefully and sincerely,

John C. Brennan
Secretary-Treasurer
Retail Clerks and Store Employees Union, Local 1361

Dear Sirs:

I am writing to you this letter as an appeal for parole for Juan Farinas. Juan did not refuse induction or impede the induction process in any way. His only act was to oppose a war opposed by many Americans by distributing a leaflet opposing the war in Vietnam. His act was only an expression of his political views as are guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution. I would urgently plead that you consider the act of Juan Farinas and compare it to the acts of army personnel and their attempts to inhibit First Amendment rights in induction centers. Surely, when so many Selective Service cases are dropped by the government, Juan is being persecuted and punished for his political views.

Again, I urge you to end the persecution of Juan Farinas by granting his parole at your first opportunity.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Ed Schultz
President
American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO
Local 981

Dear Sirs:

Since Juan Farinas was convicted for exercising what must certainly be his right of free speech under the First Amendment, I respectfully urge you to consider his parole most seriously.

This is especially the case since it would also appear that the regulation of the Selective Service Act under which his conviction was obtained is itself unconstitutionally vague and restrictive.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert A. Mills
Business Agent, Local 10
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union

Dear Sirs:

In the interests of civil liberties and democratic rights, we wish to add our voice to the appeal for parole for Juan Farinas, who has been imprisoned for exercising his right to oppose the war in Vietnam. Surely, it is clear by now that such opposition is widespread among the American people. Your favorable action in response to this request would do you credit, and would help to remedy a grievous wrong done to this young man.

Respectfully yours,

Henry Foner
President
Joint Board Fur, Leather & Machine Workers Union

Gentlemen:

I have been made familiar with the facts in the case of Juan Farinas who is presently confined in the Federal Prison in Danbury, Conn., for violation of the Selective Service Act.

In essence Farinas was convicted for having distributed material opposing the war in Vietnam. His continued imprisonment is in direct conflict with our American beliefs in the basic right of the unhindered dissemination of printed material and free speech.

Mr. Farinas is a sincere and principled human being with no previous record of violation of any laws.

I therefore respectfully urge that you give favorable consideration to granting him a parole so that he may be reunited with his wife and family at the earliest possible time.

Sincerely yours,
Leon Sverdlove
General President
International Jewelry Workers Union

Dear Sirs:

This letter is to urge your approval for the parole request of Juan P. Farinas, presently a prisoner in the Federal Penitentiary at Danbury, Connecticut.

Recently released statistics show that 62.7% of the men convicted of draft violations during 1971 were given probationary rather than prison sentences. Farinas has consistently declared his willingness to serve in the army. This is amply proven by the trial testimony, and is further proven by his appeal for modification of sentence. This appeal requested modification in order to allow him to serve two years in the army, or in suitable alternate service in the public interest.

In light of these facts, his continued imprisonment can only be interpreted as a calculated attempt to keep Juan Farinas from speaking out on his political views.

I join with many other trade unionists in urging that you end this injustice and grant Farinas' request for parole.

Sincerely yours,

Jack D. Spiegel, Mgr.
Lake States District Council No. 4, United Shoe Workers of America, AFL-CIO

Gentlemen:

I am writing on behalf of our Union—which represents 60,000 members employed in hospitals and drugstores in some 13 states, in connection with the case of Juan Farinas whose wife is a member of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Union.

Mr. Farinas has already served six months of his two-year sentence for violation of the selec-

SUPPORT GROWS FOR FARINAS



Juan Farinas' family: wife Helena and daughter Marianna. Helena is a member of Local 1199, Hospital Workers Union. She works in NYC as an EKG technician. The picture was taken by Tom Rosenthal.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

(Continued From Page 1)

If Nixon is prepared to take such measures against the other party of his class, what is being prepared for the unions and the entire working class movement?

In 1968 the *Bulletin* warned that the Nixon Administration would not be a repeat of the Eisenhower Administration but that a whole new period was opening up in which the employers and their government would be forced to directly take on the working class in the U.S. and internationally. In 1968, we warned: "We say that the Nixon victory will mean real blows against the organized trade union movement and the whole working class as a whole in the coming period." We warned of the growing dangers of the Wallace movement.

Since 1968 these warnings have been confirmed. On August 15, 1971 Nixon announced measures which have changed the relationship between the classes fundamentally. The severance of the link between the dollar and gold was an announcement of the complete bankruptcy of capitalism. On that day Nixon also announced the wage freeze making it clear that America's war against Europe would be combined with a war against the American working class. Since August 15th this crisis has worsened raising the question of a major world recession and the complete collapse of the system.

The crisis is the background to the measures readied at the Republican Convention. The Nixon of 1972 is not the same Nixon of 1968.

This is what American workers face immediately:

- Massive unemployment as plants close and the employers seek to use unemployment to batter the working class into submission.

- A new wave of vicious attacks on the living standards of American workers slashing wage increases below the 5.5% guideline of the Pay Board. If the Pay Board is allowed to rip up union contracts, the very existence of trade unions is called into question.

- Laws against the unions. No sooner had Nixon said he would not push his compulsory arbitration law in order to win the support of a section of the trade union bureaucracy, than Secretary of Labor Hodgson said at the Convention that they had every intention of pursuing the bill to outlaw "transportation" strikes.

At the same time the capitalist class is preparing to go beyond this like they did in Germany where it was necessary to destroy the work trade unions and reduce the working class to slavery. The ultra-rightist and fascist forces that rallied around the Republican Convention are being readied for the future.

In the face of this, the trade union leadership lies prostrate. Meany and Woodcock, after being forced off the Pay Board by the movement of the ranks, have refused to mount a single action against the Pay Board. They have sat back while their members' pockets were robbed of wages they won. They have not mounted a single defense against the growing unemployment, against the massive plant closures that are throwing millions of workers out into the streets and denying them even the pensions they have worked their lives for.

After coming into collision with the Democratic Party in Miami, Meany has refused to take any step towards the construction of labor's own party.

Woodcock is attempting to mobilize the labor movement behind McGovern whose anti-labor record is clear. McGovern has been one of the strongest supporters of the wage freeze and the Pay Board. He has continually backed the right to work laws after having voted against their repeal. In the face of the sharp right turn of the Republican Party McGovern is moving in its footsteps re-establishing his ties to Lyndon Johnson, Mayor Daley, appealing to the Veterans of Foreign Wars and now Wall Street itself. McGovern made clear to Wall Street he was quite willing to scale now his proposals for tax reform and welfare as the *New York Times* says, "What Mr. McGovern is trying to say is that he, like FDR, comes to rescue, not to wreck American capitalism."

The crumbling of the Democratic Party is a result of the crisis of capitalism and its inability to grant lasting reforms. It is a result of the movement and strength of the American working class that now comes into direct collision with this party as it is determined to defend its jobs, wages and conditions.

In this situation the most reactionary role is played by the American Communist Party. The CP is devoting all its efforts to whipping up support in the labor movement for McGovern and seeking to revive the dying Democratic Party. At the same time they viciously lash out at those who are fighting for the construction of a labor party, the Workers League.

The Socialist Workers Party today is aiding the Stalinists in their campaign. They do not begin from the world crisis of capitalism which reached a new stage on August 15, 1971. Together with the CP they attack Meany's break with the Democrats in Miami only to support the "new coalition" around McGovern. Above all they refuse now in this period to fight for the construction of a labor party.

The Stalinists and revisionists proceed as if this system can be reformed. Capitalism cannot be reformed. It must be overthrown through socialist revolution.

This is why the American working class must take the first step in this struggle now by constructing the labor party which will fight for socialist policies. There is no solution to single problem facing American workers outside of creating its own labor party, creating through this party a workers' government which will nationalize and administer basic industry under the democratic control of the workers in the factories, in the interests of all society.

All the conditions are now created for constructing this party and through this struggle the building of a Marxist leadership.

It is this struggle which will be taken up at the conference called by the Workers League on October 21-22. This conference will lay the basis for organizing the broadest support in the labor movement for the calling of a Congress of Labor to build a labor party and will hammer out a program for this fight.

For the American working class Labor Day 1972 must mean the beginning of a new leap forward to building its own party to defeat Nixon and the class he represents.



What we think Communist Party vs. Leninism

In our discussion last week of the *Daily World's* polemic against the philosophical idealism of the National Caucus of Labor Committees, we pointed out that the author was constructing a pseudo-Marxist defense of pragmatism which in turn was a justification for the support to McGovern and the "new forces" in the Democratic Party.

The author of this article, Robert Phillipoff, attempts to prove that Lenin was a supporter and advocate of the two stage theory and of "peaceful coexistence." He states that the "correct strategy for the attainment of socialism is through the attainment of an anti-monopoly coalition" (the Stalinist euphemism for alliance with liberal Democrats such as McGovern). He goes on to quote CP leader William Weinstone's call for "a united and peoples front policy... a broad front for peace and democracy basing itself upon the working class—white, Black, Brown, Yellow, Red—and aimed at curbing and undermining the power of the monopolies."

It should be clear that the supposedly independent Communist Party campaign for President and Vice-President is based on pressuring Congress, and especially on pressuring McGovern as the aim of this "broad front."

Phillipoff, equating this liberal theory in the most dishonest way with Leninism, not only continues a conscious policy of the Stalinists to trample on Leninism but resurrects as an authority, Dimitrov, who was Stalin's mouthpiece in formulating the "Peoples Front" which was first implemented in France in 1935.

Against Phillipoff, Weinstone, Stalin and Dimitrov, we stand with Lenin and the Communist International, which spelled out the Marxist perspective in opposition to the "peoples front," in the "Theses on Tactics at the Third World Congress of the Communist International in 1921:

"The Communist Parties do not put forward any minimum program to strengthen and improve the tottering structure of capitalism... In the place of the minimum program of the reformists and the centrists, the Communist International puts the struggle for the concrete needs of the proletariat, for a system of demands which in their totality disintegrate the power of the bourgeoisie, organize the proletariat, represent stages in the struggle for proletarian dictatorship, and each of which expresses in itself the needs of the broadest masses even if the masses themselves are not yet consciously in favour of the proletarian dictatorship... The revolutionary character of the present epoch consists precisely in this, that the most modest conditions of life for the working masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society, and that therefore the fight for even the most modest demands grows into the fight for communism."

This is the essence of Marxist strategy, as developed by the CI and later

by the Fourth International, in its founding document, the "Transitional Program." It is on this basis that in the words of the *Communist Manifesto*, "the Communists... in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement."

For Phillipoff and Weinstone an alliance of the working class with a section of the ruling class represented by McGovern CAN fulfill the immediate needs of the working class WITHIN capitalism by pressuring the rulers into "peaceful coexistence" with the Soviet Union. This is completely opposed to Lenin who states that the revolutionary party must struggle to lead the working class to power through a fight to transform the consciousness of the working class, to make it conscious of its historic task, as a class. Above all this requires the kind of struggle Lenin ceaselessly conducted against revisionism, against capitalist thinking within the working class.

But the Stalinists, representing the interests of the bureaucratic caste within the Soviet Union and the other workers states, conduct a struggle FOR capitalist thinking and FOR capitalist politics within the working class in the name of accepting "reality." They then turn around and say that the working class is incapable of taking power. Weinstone writes: "The working class is not organized enough, not class conscious enough, not united enough, nor are its allies prepared to make the struggle for socialism the immediate task."

What follows from this is support by Stalinism to one or another representative of the ruling class—including Chiang Kai-shek, Hitler, Roosevelt, De Gaulle and McGovern, to name just a few. The popular fronts and similar support to the liberal bourgeoisie by the reformist Social Democrats paved the way for the triumph of Hitler in Germany and the victory of Fascism in Spain. The betrayals of Stalinism are written in the blood of millions of workers and communists. This is no academic question!

The "peoples front" of Stalin and Dimitrov corresponded with an unprecedented terror which led to the extermination of Lenin's entire Central Committee by Stalin. The justification of this terror was the monstrosity of the Moscow Trials. As Phillipoff and Weinstone well know,

Nikita Khrushchev in his "secret" speech in 1956 revealed that these trials which extracted "confessions" from Lenin's closest collaborators were frame-ups from beginning to end.

It was on the basis of this fraudulent testimony that the Stalinists asserted that Trotsky was in league with Hitler and the Mikado.

Today in opposition to the growing support for the demand for a labor party, the Stalinists in campaigning for McGovern are forced to attack Trotskyism by reviving all the vile slanders from the past. In an obituary on the late Max Bedacht, a founding member of the CPUSA, in the August 26 *Daily World*, William Weinstone explains that Bedacht's "leftist mistake" of working in an electoral bloc with the Socialist Workers Party in 1958 against the Democrats and Republicans, "...was due in the main... to the effects of the long, intense, misleading bourgeois propaganda which distorted the line and views of the Soviet Communist Party and the world Communist movement regarding Trotsky, following Stalin's death.

"While criticizing and correcting Stalin's mistaken and harmful actions, the Soviet Party and the world Communist movement did not change in any way its historic assessment of Trotsky's disruptive, petty-bourgeois, anti-Leninist, adventurist activities and policies. Trotskyism remains today's dangerous weapon of anti-communism and an aid—not an opponent—of imperialism."

Will Mr. Weinstone care to explain how Brezhnev was "opposing" U.S. imperialism, only a short time ago by rolling out the red carpet for the imperialist butcher Nixon when he visited Moscow?

As even the newspaper of the Communist Party of North Vietnam is forced to reveal today, the policy of both the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies is to open the door for a deal with U.S. imperialism under the guise of "peaceful coexistence," which will mean the betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution.

It is only on the basis of the most thorough assimilation of the history of Stalinism, its betrayals and its replacement of dialectical materialism with vulgar pragmatism, that a revolutionary leadership will be built.

Only Two Weeks To Go!

The sub drive has made a significant leap this week to 472 which brings the total drive to 3,712. However, this falls short of the necessary 575 subs per week that must be received if we are to meet the goal of 5,000 by September 15.

Branches which have surged ahead are Detroit, 52; Brownsville, 47; and Bethlehem. Branches which continue to do well are: New Haven, 27; St. Louis, 25 and Northfield, 29.

Certain branches have fallen behind and must make a sharp turn this week if they are to meet their quota. They are: East New York, Madison and Minneapolis.

From Sit-Down to Lordstown 2. THE AGE OF THE SIT-DOWN



UAW members at Fisher body plant Number One celebrate victory of their sit down strike.

THE CIO AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

The sharp internal conflict between the old forms and methods of narrow craft unionism and the new forms and methods of industrial unionism, that was to break apart the old AFL giving birth to the CIO, arose out of the material needs of the industrial worker to organize.

These workers refused to wait for the needed organizational changes to come about in the AFL. They were already moving in the streets and if the AFL refused to provide that needed vehicle then they would construct their own. The leadership contributions that John L. Lewis made in the formation of the CIO provided that needed vehicle to organize the industrial worker who was caught up by vast social forces and intense class struggle created by the crisis of capitalism.

This leadership was also swept along by social forces beyond their control as they opportunistically tried to adapt themselves to the circumstances in order to contain it so that they would still come out on top as "leaders."

UAW FOUNDING CONVENTION

Delegates assembled at the founding convention of the UAW represented sixty-five UAW federal labor unions with a paid-up membership, at the time, of slightly less than twenty-six thousand. At this first United Automobile Workers convention, which convened in Detroit on August 26, 1935, Green used every device at his command to keep the new international union strictly under the thumb of the AFL Executive Council. The constitution proposed by Green called for appointment of the new union's president by Green himself.

Led by the Toledo delegation, which was the largest single contingent in the convention and most influential, the delegates passed a motion, by a vote of 164.2 to 112.8 to elect their own president. After a three-day floor fight, Green personally took over and declared he would either appoint the top officers or there would be no charter. He then appointed Dillon president, and Homer Martin, of Kansas City

as vice-president.

Green simply turned the gavel over to Dillon after proclaiming that owing to the "deep division" in the convention it was necessary for him to appoint "probationary" officers.

Ellsworth Kramer, president of the Toledo local, seconded by Robert Travis of the same union, moved that the convention rescind its earlier decision to accept the AFL charter. This action met with popular delegate response.

Dillon, however, ruled this motion out of order, stating that the action taken was binding on the convention and that: "If there be those here who cannot conform to the terms and provisions of this document, then they must leave." The indignant delegates then resolved to select a committee of seven to carry their protest to the AFL Executive Council, and if necessary, to the next AFL convention to fight these arbitrarily imposed decisions and limitations of this new charter.

AFL CONVENTION

The October 1935 AFL convention held in Atlantic City saw the rupture between craft and industrial unionism finalized by John L. Lewis' symbolic "punch heard around the world." A harbinger of the fast approaching split between two irreconcilable opposing forces saw Lewis send Hutcheson toppling with a solid haymaker to the jaw of the carpenter's president as the former proceeded to organize the committee within the AFL called Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO).

Its purpose was "to encourage and promote organization of the workers in the mass production and unorganized industries." This bold move by Lewis was in direct response to pressure building up within unorganized industries that threatened to organize themselves independently under socialist and communist leadership.

Lewis had only to look at the labor movements of England and Western Europe under radical leadership to see what would occur if leaders like himself refused to take up this struggle.

Another factor that forced Lewis to move was the determined fight waged by militant auto workers at this convention.

The committee of seven submitted a resolution requesting the convention to grant the UAW exclusive jurisdiction over all workers in the auto industry. Upon rejection of this resolution, Carl Shipley offered a substitute resolution requesting that the UAW be granted "complete jurisdiction...over all employees in or around plants engaged in the manufacture of automobiles."

As this motion came under sharp attack from craft-minded leaders, it was vigorously defended by Shipley, Mortimer and Frank Martel, but the craft-unionists were in no mood for compromise and defeated this auto motion by a vote of 104 to

125.

Thus, decisions taken at the Atlantic City AFL convention led not only to the formal establishment soon afterwards of the Committee for Industrial Organization, but also made it virtually certain that the UAW would cast its lot and play an important part in the formation of this new rival of the AFL.

If Lewis still had trouble reading the signals correctly, he had only to pick up the newspaper outside this convention and read about a sit-down strike in the Goodyear plant in Akron, Ohio, that effectively reversed a wage cut. At the same time, one million French workers sat down at one time in key industries in France. These were early signs of one of the most important and inspiring tactics that were to become inseparably associated with the heroic rise of the CIO.

Dillon, as the newly appointed UAW president, in the months following this convention continued to antagonize and lose whatever support that remained among the auto workers. He did so by engaging in a continuous warfare against his "enemies" inside the UAW.

Because of the fight waged against Dillon by Martin, the latter increasingly gained support among the ranks. His major competitor in the UAW was the "Caucus of Progressive Auto Unionists," a Stalinist initiated "united front" of all auto "progressives" opposed to Dillon. This caucus backed the Stalinist, Wyndham Mortimer, for the UAW presidency, but Mortimer made a deal to withdraw from the race for the top spot shortly before the convention and the "progressives" threw their support to Martin.

The Trotskyist-influenced Toledo "progressives of United Auto Workers Union Local 18384" had been divided into two separate charters by Dillon in his continual efforts to avenge his critics. The Toledo Chevrolet workers were granted a separate charter as Local 12 and the old Federal Labor Union No. 18384 comprising 18 plants was left intact by Martin and Hall, who superseded Dillon's authority in order to prevent further dismemberment, and was reconstituted intact as Local 14.

The Trotskyists of Toledo supported the "Caucus of Progressive Auto Unionists" in a united effort to win the leadership of the UAW at the second convention to be held at South Bend on April 27, 1936. To the delegates who gathered in South Bend, "the prime purpose" of the meeting, according to the managing editor of the Federated Press, "was to run Frank Dillon out of the convention and keep him out, and all others like him—and this was done with great relish."

The left-wing progressive caucus group, in which Mortimer and Addes were chief figures, could count on the support of three of the four largest locals represented at this convention and was firmly in control of it. Indicative of the character of the UAW at that time was

their obvious sympathy for the large variety of ideological political groups of a radical or revolutionary nature who favored the CIO.

The first fight at the convention occurred over Dillon's attempt to prevent the seating of the militant Toledo delegation, comprising 17 percent of all delegates. It was these veterans of the Toledo Auto-Lite and Chevrolet strikes who set the pace. After William Green informed the convention that the UAW's probationary period had terminated as of that moment, the delegates lost no time in proceeding to remove Dillon and elect their own officers.

These first elected leaders revealed how close the UAW was to its own rank and file by choosing its representation on the basis of their record as class fighters in leading militant struggles to organize their respective locals. Homer Martin, elected president, rose out of the early struggles of auto workers in Kansas City and gained prominence through his fight to unseat Dillon. Wyndham Mortimer, elected first vice-president, had headed up the huge White Motor local and Cleveland Auto Council.

Ed Hall, second vice-president, was a welder by trade and had helped form the giant Seaman Body local in Milwaukee. Walter N. Wells, third vice-president, helped organize the Detroit Gear local. George Addes, secretary-treasurer, who worked as a metal finisher in the Willys-Overland plant, was financial secretary of Local 12 Toledo. Garst, Michel, Jones, Pieper, Kennedy, Soltis, Washburn, Marrer, Tucci, Merrill and Reuther were elected as members of the executive board.

This convention unanimously adopted a resolution calling for a break from the two capitalist parties and for the formation of a labor party.

Later in the convention another resolution was presented which stated that the UAW should endorse and work for the election of Franklin Roosevelt in that year's presidential election. Interesting enough these delegates, not to be fooled, regarded this as a contradiction to the labor party resolution and voted this pro-Roosevelt resolution down.

When Roosevelt heard of this he put pressure on John L. Lewis to intervene into this convention, through his lieutenant Adolph Germer, who threatened this convention with the withdrawal of their promised \$100,000 contribution from the CIO for an auto organizing drive if they didn't endorse Roosevelt. Under that pressure, the newly elected leaders already influenced by the CP's line of support to Roosevelt, gave in and allowed in the last five minutes of the convention a resolution endorsing Roosevelt to be brought to the floor and passed without enthusiasm.

A high degree of labor unrest existed in auto that was directly attributable to job

insecurity, low wages, inequity in rehiring and layoff methods, espionage, speed-up and displacement of workers at an extremely early age.

The heart of the worker's lot could be summed up in one word—fear.

Fear of losing one's job, fear of the foreman, fear of company spies, fear of old age and disabling injury.

This fear was exploited by fascist demagogues such as Father Coughlin in his weekly radio talks to a large following. These talks had influence over a sizeable group of auto workers, swayed by his spiritual and emotionally somber oratory, who contributed to his Shrine of the Little Flower's radio fund. Coughlin, who later openly proclaimed his preference for Mussolini and Hitler, demanded that unions must affiliate and subordinate their independent organizing efforts to his autocratic rule.

A number of auto locals endorsed his 16-point program which served as a diversion for the employing class' effort to confuse and disorientate the struggle to organize auto workers. Auto towns all shared a common characteristic—complete corporation dominance over all facets of the worker's life: political, economic, cultural, spiritual and educational.

This dominance was reinforced by a system of intensive espionage. General Motors spent a half million dollars a year for industrial spies to prevent the organization of its workers into the UAW. Labor espionage became the auto manufacturer's first line of defense against labor organization. Such was the conclusion of the La Follette Committee hearings covering this important period. The function of these spies was to infiltrate all union organizing activities for disruptive purposes and ferret out all information for management.

Ford Motor Company did not have to hire outside detective agencies for espionage. This task was handled with frightening thoroughness by its own Service Department commanded by Harry Bennett. Bennett was in charge of violence, underworld connections, gangster recruitment and personnel and, as one Ford employee recalled, "did a terrorizing job psychologically." He ruled the Ford empire with a private army of 3,000 men, mostly ex-convicts, but also boxers, wrestlers, known gangsters, all-American football players, track stars and cops who left their jobs under fire.

Ford workers were afraid. Discipline was based on terror—physical terror and job terror. Servicemen flashed lights out of the dark into the faces of workers reporting for duty on the night shift and screamed questions at them. A worker who protested assignment to a machine on which a man had been killed was beaten up in a factory aisle in full view of hundreds of workers by a squad of servicemen.

Spying eyes followed the men to the toilet in the plant and everywhere they went in the community. Workers' overcoats and lunch pails were searched. Spies stood around in bars, hole-in-the-wall supermarkets, listening for scraps of information. License numbers of all cars parked near Detroit union halls were noted and checked against Ford payrolls. Tactics of the Ford Service Department were modeled after the Nazi Gestapo that Ford openly admired.

One Ford worker who worked at the Richmond California assembly plant related how suspected union men would be required to report to the Service Department interrogation room and wait. As each agonizing moment would pass, the suspense would build up as the worker waited to see who would come through that door first, a pugilist with brass knuckles or a personnel representative with a verbal reprimand. He added that the suspense was terrifying. Many union men after this experience tore up their union cards.

Besides auxiliary spies and the network of in-plant stoolpigeons, GM also employed the services of Pinkerton and 14 other detective agencies. As a result, spies would be found checking on other spies. When the Chevrolet transmission plant in Toledo went on strike in April 1935, GM flooded the town with spies. These spies served their turn on the picket lines and not only shadowed union officers but also

spied on the US Assistant Secretary of Labor, McGrady, sent in by Roosevelt to "mediate" the dispute.

It was not uncommon to find many of these spies performing their duties, while simultaneously serving as union officials. Thus Lyle Lettner, a Pinkerton operative, also a Chevrolet worker and elected official of the Atlanta Chevrolet and Fisher Body local, was able to take union records to the local Pinkerton office to be copied. He was reporting on union activities at the same time that the union was pressing charges against Chevrolet because it had laid him off from his job.

Three of the thirteen members of the Flint Federated Executive Council, which represented the UAW locals in Flint, were Corporation Auxiliary Company labor spies, and the La Follette Committee attributed the decline of the Flint auto union membership from 26,000 in February 1934 to 120 in 1936 to labor espionage. Most of the 120 still left on the union rolls were company spies who had done their job effectively.

Where intimidation failed to scare off union supporters, the auto companies were aided by right-wing and fascist movements which sprang up on a world scale out of the reaction to the Great Depression and had been nurtured by Stalinist betrayals and defeats of the working class. Besides the notorious fascist religious activities of Father Coughlin, auto workers were confronted with a multitude of hostile organizations such as The Citizens Alliance supported by anti-union employers which seemed to mushroom up in all auto centers.

Adding to the intimidation and fears of auto workers was the pro-Nazi, Klan-style, William Dudley Pelley's "Silver Shirts," a para-military organization which called on the industrialists to bankroll them in their efforts to suppress trade unions and establish fascist dictatorship. They were supported by the fascist Rev. Gerald Winrod's "Defenders of the Christian Faith" who spewed forth their virulent hatred of Jews, Catholics, Blacks and "Bolshevik inspired trade unions."

Henry Ford also became intimately associated with these organizations as his Dearborn Independent newspaper devoted its pages for many years to anti-Semitic and anti-communist propaganda. This author personally viewed "Silver Shirts" marching and training on Henry Ford's guarded estate at Milford, Michigan, 1938-39 as Ford prepared America for fascism.

The most terrifying organization for the intimidation of early UAW organizers was the "Black Legion," which was responsible for a number of murders, arson, kidnapping and flogging of Blacks and trade union militants. Among its victims were two workers from the Hudson Motor Company accused by the "Black Legion" of Communist Party membership.

The Pontiac Police Chief was forced to resign by public outcry when it was disclosed that he headed up local Legion activities. When the burrowing for facts threatened to implicate the Mayor of Pontiac, who also was employed by GM as superintendent of Pontiac Motor Company, powerful forces intervened to effectively halt the investigation.

FLINT SIT-DOWN STRIKE

The approaching struggle in GM cast an ominous shadow before it as several flashes of lightning presaged the gathering storm. A successful sit-down occupation at the Bendix plant in South Bend captured the imagination of auto workers at Fisher Body plant Number One in Flint where Robert Travis and Wndham Mortimer were concentrating their organizing efforts in laying the basis for the momentous events to follow.

Travis and Mortimer were painfully meticulous in organizing a small group of in-plant organizers at Fisher Body Number One, free from all-pervasive spying eyes of company stool pigeons. They seized their opportunity to turn a spontaneous work stoppage over speed-up, which resulted in company retaliation and sacking of its leaders, into a badly needed union victory.

A four hour sitdown strike won a reversal of company action and solidarized the UAW firmly into Fisher Body Number One. As news of this victory spread by word of mouth throughout the city of

Flint, auto workers began to join the UAW and openly display their union buttons. Their confidence and expectations were heightened by the successful Midland Steel sit-down strike and five day sit-down at Kelsey-Hayes wheel plant in Detroit.

The union sought to select key plants which would cripple the entire industry and they considered Flint and Cleveland to be GM's most vulnerable areas. There were perhaps a dozen other plants equally as crucial to GM, but in only the two designated was the union strong enough to halt production. These two body plants were responsible for the production of the greater portion of Chevrolets, Buicks, Oldsmobiles, Pontiacs, and Cadillacs in "knock-down" form to be sent to the assembly plants throughout the country. In particular the great dies and enormous presses needed to stamp out the mammoth units of the new "turret top" bodies were located here.

The question posed before the UAW



UAW's organizing drive in 1930's to unionize auto workers on an industrial basis became driving force behind development of CIO against AFL's conservative craft unionism. Top left, UAW Constitutional Committee of 1935. AFL hack Francis Dillon (standing left) was soon replaced as

strategists was—if Fisher One led off in Flint could Cleveland Fisher be depended on to follow suit? The reason for concern was that the latter had reprisals, in which two thousand were laid off, as victims of the corporation's policy of decentralizing away from union "hot spots" which they also carried out against the militant workers at Toledo Chevrolet after their successful strike.

This question was soon answered catching the UAW strategists by surprise as these Cleveland Fisher Body workers took strategy into their own hands on December 28, 1936 with a sit-down in one department that swiftly spread through the entire factory. The local president was frantic and hardly knew what to do with the strike. He, too, expected Flint to take the lead and called Detroit for further instructions.

This strike was received with excited enthusiasm by the national officers who ordered: "No settlement without a national agreement" and quickly dispatched Mortimer to take charge of the strike. In Flint, two days later, on the morning of December 30, 1936, workers in Fisher No. Two saw inspectors being transferred for their union activities. They sat down. At plant No. One that evening, workers saw important dies being loaded onto trucks

and boxcars for Grand Rapids and Pontiac.

After a lunchtime meeting with Travis, they decided to move swiftly to prevent the movement of those important dies. They reentered the plant, stopped the power to the belts along its quarter mile length, and began to secure the factory against attack. Unfinished car bodies were welded together as barricades around each entrance; paint-guns and metal parts were stock piled as weapons. Bullet-proof metal sheets were positioned over the windows, and holes made to accommodate the nozzles of powerful fire hoses.

The plant elected a committee of stewards and a five man strike strategy committee. Committees were also set up to deal with food, the policing and defense of the plant, information, sanitation and health, safety, entertainment, education and athletics. Over 1,200 men remained in the plant and met twice daily, while the



Top, demonstration ends Fleetwood plant strike in Detroit.



UAW president by militant Homer Martin (standing right) as UAW turned to mass organizi g. Despite enormous strike-breaking efforts (top left, police defend scabs entering Chrysler plant), UAW won tremendous victories. Bottom right, Flint sit-down strikers declare their victory.

rest were sent out to see to other tasks. At the most crucial stage of the struggle, the Flint Chevrolet No. Four plant, where motor assembly was centered, was seized and occupied by the strikers. By the end of the strike, some 140,000 production workers either sat down or "hit the bricks" in the traditional strike method.

Victory or defeat for the GM workers centered around the most effective tactic of the sit-down strike while GM's strategy was to get the workers out of the plants by hook or crook so that the police, deputies, and the National Guards could disperse them by force and violence. All maneuvers between Lewis and the UAW leaders on the one hand and Roosevelt, Frances Perkins, Michigan's Governor Frank Murphy and General Motors on the other, involved the sit-down issue essentially.

BATTLE OF BULL'S RUN

The corporation needed violence to justify the calling in of the National Guard and outside police forces if it ever expected to force out and defeat the sit-down strikers. An attack on the well-guarded Fisher One, with its hundreds of defenders ready for battle was out of the question, but the city's other seized plant, Fisher Two, was reported by a Pinkerton

spy to be occupied by no more than a hundred men.

It was decided that this plant would be an easy objective. This plant was by no means a key plant and would mean little to the corporation in a practical way, but psychologically it would mean much in the way of creating violence as the pretext for calling in the National Guard and demoralizing the strikers.

On January 11 company guards began a provocation by attempting to stop the supply of food, turning off the heat to the plant and clearing all approaches to the factory even of parked cars. Suspicious aroused the union which hastened all available pickets to the area as well as a sound car.

Strike director Bob Travis directed the seizure of the main gate by strike pickets and encouraged the securing of defenses using the car's loudspeaker. With sirens screaming, squad cars came to shrieking stops in front of the plant. Dozens of heavy

downs in order to force the sit-downers back from their vantage points. But the men inside seized these with gloved hands and quickly doused them in pails of water.

Very few cops got close to the building this time as they were met by a thick barrage of popular ammunition. They had not expected so quick a recovery or so violent a defense. Some of the men inside had rushed up to the roof while others had crawled out on the top of the south wing where they had a perfect throwing position. The men were aided by a flood of rushing water poured from accurately aimed fire hoses. The strikers once more shouted exultantly as the police took to their heels, this time with the pickets in close pursuit behind them.

Several of the hard-pressed officers drew their pistols as they ran and discharged them indiscriminately into the ranks of their pursuers. The strikers began to fall. Those near them would stop to carry back the wounded while the

"liberal Rooseveltian" Democrat Frank Murphy, just elected to the Governorship. They demanded that martial law also be declared to prevent support buildup.

The corporation's provoked violence, intended to psychologically defeat workers' morale and procure the troops into the strike-torn area, backfired disastrously for the corporation as this victorious battle captured the imagination of workers everywhere. Hundreds of workers from Lansing, Detroit, Pontiac, Saginaw, Toledo, Cleveland, South Bend and Norwood poured into the city every hour. The newspapers screamed about "invasion" by "outsiders" and state police stopped all out of state cars coming into Flint and subjected the occupants to an insulting search for arms and recording their names as militia observation planes circled overhead.

Auto workers by the thousands were now singing "Solidarity Forever" and signing up with the union as their confidence soared. General Motors officials were strictly on the defensive as widespread resentment was expressed over their attempt to starve, freeze and shoot-out the sit-downers. Governor Murphy called for a conference in Lansing to resolve the irreconcilable struggle.

Auto workers were to get an object lesson on how victories won on the class battlefield can be treacherously given away by their class-collaborationist leaders. These leaders maintain a blind, child-like faith in liberal capitalist politicians like Roosevelt and Murphy who themselves consciously played the role of corporation power brokers. These so-called liberal politicians decisively intervened to cheat the workers out of their gains and victories. Governor Murphy, together with top UAW and CIO leaders, announced that a truce agreement had been reached for the sit-downers to leave five of the major struck plants on the weekend and then GM would agree to start to negotiate on Monday.

The Cadillac and Fleetwood workers in Detroit marched out of the plants led by Homer Martin and Walter Reuther with banners and brass bands. The next day, Sunday, January 17, the Flint workers were to leave their forts. Then the union learned that GM had wired Boyesen of the Flint Alliance that: "We stand ready always to discuss with your group" as well as the legitimate union. The truce blew up. Workers who were half way out of some plants rushed back in and took defensive posts. Others, preparing to leave, remained and locked the doors.

Now the siege was on in earnest. Lewis announced that: "GM was caught in a bare-faced violation of the armistice and so the evacuation of the plants was stopped. The men are not going to leave them."

ROOSEVELT,

John L. Lewis sought to bring pressure on Roosevelt to intervene in support of GM workers, based on his 500 thousand dollar campaign contribution to the Democratic Party, and appealed to Roosevelt's alleged "differences" with the "economic royalists" who "now have their fangs in labor." But Roosevelt was not mixed up and confused like Lewis—he knew what class he represented as he flatly rebuffed Lewis' appeal. GM was not adverse to intervention by Roosevelt, if no other course was open. The *Detroit News* had come out in the third week of the strike with a front page editorial titled: "Let Roosevelt Do It."

GM understood Roosevelt's role very well. His task was not aid to the workers, as Lewis assumed, but to get the company off the hook with the smallest possible concessions. These GM concessions would be represented as a "patriotic" response to the President's request not as a surrender to union pressure. As reported in Art Preis' book *Labor's Giant Step*, on January 31, Madame Perkins threw the Roosevelt administration's weight on the side of GM by telling the press that she had proposed to (GM's) Sloan the day before that the strikers were to quit the plants "as an expression by the union of good faith in General Motors" before any negotiations were to begin.

Subsequently, at the most critical point of the strike, Roosevelt phoned Lewis in order to persuade him to agree to a one

month contract in return for getting the workers to abandon their occupations. He raised the offer to two and then three months, but Lewis stood firm for a minimum of a six month pact. While the shadow play was being enacted by Lewis, Knudsen, Murphy, Perkins and Roosevelt between Washington, Detroit and Lansing, the live drama was unfolding in Flint.

There, 1500 National Guardsmen, sent in by Governor Murphy, set up an encampment in preparation for driving the strikers out of the plants if so ordered. Next, the company sought another injunction as the legal basis for compelling Murphy to use the troops to invade the plants and force the strikers out. On February 2, GM found another compliant judge, who issued an injunction ordering the strikers to vacate the two Fisher plants by 3pm the next day.

However, anticipating the Fisher injunction, the strikers moved on February 1 to occupy a still more strategic plant, Chevrolet Number Four, where the motors were assembled for the division. This action created a real bottle neck. The leader of the Chevrolet unionists was Kermit Johnson, a militant left-wing socialist who belonged to the same Socialist Party that the Reuther brothers belonged to. Johnson later was to move to the left and join the newly formed Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party.

Chevrolet Number Four had not been shut down, as it was not certain whether the union had sufficient strength in the plant. A bold strategem was devised to capture the plant by reinforcements from the outside. A diversion was created. Several thousand strikers marched to Chevrolet plant Number Nine from the union headquarters. They were led by Roy Reuther and Powers Hapgood. GM informers, as had been expected, tipped off management about the march on Number Nine. Armed Flint detectives and company guards had been installed in the plant.

The workers inside began yelling "sit-down!" and a forty-minute battle was waged inside the plant. The Women's Emergency Brigade, organized and led by Genora Johnson, fought heroically with long staves on the outside, smashing windows to permit the tear gas to escape from the plant. During this diversion, a group of Chevrolet Number Four men, with some squads from Number Six marched boldly into the Number Four plant, shut down operations, barricaded doors and gates and set up patrols. Steel gondolas, weighing hundreds of pounds apiece, were piled against doors and windows from the floor to the ceiling.

That night troops with bayonets marched ominously outside, but Murphy did not dare give the order to attack. Kermit Johnson, chief author and organizer of this strategy along with the bold imaginative tactics devised and carried out by workers with iron nerves, who seized and held Chevrolet Plant Number Four proved to be decisive as the key to victory in this amazing struggle.

The next day, when Judge Gadola issued his injunction setting a deadline for the following day, the strikers held meetings and voted to hold the plants at all cost. The Fisher Number One workers wired Governor Murphy: "Unarmed as we are, the introduction of the militia, sheriffs or police with murderous weapons will mean a bloodbath of unarmed workers. We have decided to stay in the plant. We have no illusions about the sacrifices which this decision will entail."

"We fully expect that if a violent effort is made to oust us many of us will be killed, and we take this means of making it known to our wives, to our children, to the people of the state of Michigan and the country that if this result follows from an attempt to eject us, you (Governor Murphy) are the one who must be held responsible for our deaths."

Early the next day, all the roads into Flint were jammed with cars loaded with unionists from Detroit, Lansing, Pontiac, and Toledo. More than a thousand veterans of the Toledo Auto-Lite and Chevrolet strikes were on hand. Walter Reuther, then head of the Detroit West Side UAW local, brought in a contingent of 500. Rubber workers from Akron and coal miners from the Pittsburgh area joined the forces

rallying to back the Flint strikers. The workers directed traffic. Barred from Fisher Number Two and Chevrolet Number Four by troops with machine guns and 37 millimeter howitzers, the workers from the other areas formed a cordon around Fisher Number One.

But when the showdown came, the sheriff refused to try to enforce the injunction. He passed the buck to Governor Murphy who was fearful of the political consequences and responsibilities of using troops against the workers. On February 8, the company tried to freeze the strikers out by turning off the heat. The workers let it be known that if the troops moved against them they would destroy millions of dollars of GM's equipment.

GM howled at Murphy to enforce the injunction and he, in turn, went literally screaming in rage to Lewis that: "You've got to do something about this, Mr. Lewis. I demand that you do something." Lewis replied: "I did not ask these men to sit-down. I did not ask General Motors to turn off the heat. I did not have any part of either the sit-down or the attempt to freeze the men. Let General Motors talk to them." This was the literal truth. The GM strike was an uprising of the rank and file.

Once more, after he had pleaded with Lewis to betray the strikers, Governor Murphy tried the threat of troops to frighten them. On the night of February 9 the National Guards were reinforced to 4,000 and 1,000 deputized vigilantes together with the state and city police. Now the Flint Alliance made ready to move against the seized plants after sealing off all highways to prevent reinforcements for the strikers. The sit-downers refused to budge; they made weapons of defense in assembly line fashion and awaited the attack.

Late that night, Murphy again went to Lewis and showed him an order he had signed for the troops to empty the plants the next day by force. Lewis told him: "Tomorrow morning, I shall personally enter General Motors Plant Number Four. I shall order the men to disregard your order, to stand fast. I shall then walk up to the largest window in the plant, open it, divest myself of my outer raiment, remove my shirt, and bare my bosom. Then when you order your troops to fire, mine will be the first breast that those bullets will strike."

Murphy, his nerves broken, fled from the room. Fearful that any attack on the strikers in their determined mood would mean devastation of its plants and machinery, General Motors cracked. The power of the auto workers was never to be enslaved or chained again. On February 11, 1937 after a 44 day sit-down plant seizure, GM surrendered its dictatorial "management's prerogatives" and signed a six-month agreement. It provided that the company would not recognize or deal with any other organization in the 17 plants closed by the UAW, that all unionists and strikers would be rehired, that unionism could be discussed on company property during lunch and rest periods, and that negotiations would proceed at once on wages, hours, production speedup, and other issues.

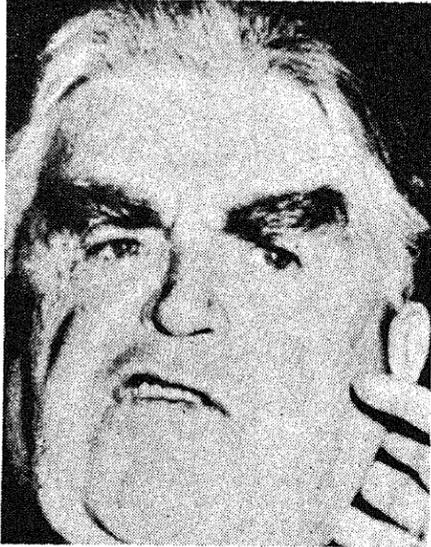
It was not much of a deal by present standards, but it was an inspiring victory to all American labor. The floodgates of the class struggle were opened. The cry "sit-down" echoed from one corner of the land to the other. One month after the end of the GM strike, some 193,000 workers engaged in 247 sit-downs; nearly a half million took up this weapon before 1937 ended. The number of all strikes rose from 2,172 in 1936 to 4,740 in 1937 with 1,861,000 workers involved. That is the way the CIO was built and consolidated.

The UAW was to show the way. The sit-down is the most effective strike tactic ever devised. It became an international phenomenon of the mid-thirties in almost every country. This tactic of plant seizure and sit-down maintained a higher morale factor among strikers over that of prolonged picketing outdoors in the rain, cold or snow, subjected to police assaults and violence. The sit-downs heightened the sense of comradeship and solidarity among the strikers and multiplied their strength.

One GM striker expressed his experience: "It was like we were soldiers

holding the fort. It was like war. The guys with me became my buddies. I remember as a kid in school readin' about Davey Crockett and the last stand at the Alamo. You know, mister, that's just how I felt. Yes sir, Chevy Number Four was my Alamo."

But, unlike the Alamo, the sit-downs seldom ended in defeat. Within a month of the GM settlement the sit-downs spread to every kind of industry and trade, from Chrysler auto workers in nine plants to 5-and-10¢ store saleswomen, Western Union messengers, restaurant and hotel employees, milliners, bindery workers, garbage collectors, glass blowers, and tire builders. They sat down in movie theater projection booths, WPA projects, shirt factories, and on shipboard.



John L. Lewis

What disturbed the employing class was the revolutionary implications of workers seizing control over the means of production. The most sacred right of the employing class—control over their own plants—was being questioned in the elementary stage of demanding union recognition. It took a couple of million workers in the 1936-37 sit-down wave to actually confront management prerogatives "to run their plant as they damned well please," by the seizure of hundreds upon hundreds of factories and other places of work.

WORKERS' STRENGTH

The first UAW contract was a one page agreement that gave recognition to the union and their right to represent and engage in collective bargaining.

The early shop stewards had no difficulty interpreting this one page contract. There were no umpire decisions to refer to, no grievance procedure, no lengthy written contentions, replies and dispositions to confuse the issue.

Early shop stewards would walk into a department and, if any worker complained about having too much work, the steward would merely "hit the button" stopping the line. As the foreman and other supervisors came running to see what the trouble was, this steward, conscious of the tremendous power invested within him by the militancy of the recent sit-downers, would declare that the assembly line would not move again until work was removed, satisfactorily, from this overloaded union brother.

Grievances were usually settled on the spot, seldom going over five minutes, compared to today's grievances that are dragged out for months and even years and then usually end up being compromised. Management screamed that the workers and their shop stewards had dictatorial powers, which represented quite a switch, and demanded that "responsible" union leaders curb and control these workers who were "abusing management rights" by stopping production continually.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS SHARPEN

The third annual UAW convention, held in Milwaukee late in August 1937, reflected both management's pressure to create a "responsible union" and the rank and file struggle to advance their class interest. Roosevelt's preparation for war and the sudden relapse of the economy into a deeper depression also imposed itself onto the beginnings of an intense factional struggle between two leadership cliques for control of the union.

Heading one faction was Homer Martin, whose specialty was red-baiting. The other faction, self-styled the "Unity" caucus, included the Stalinists and Walter Reuther. The Stalinists at this stage proposed to ban all caucuses in the UAW, which was to become their stock-in-trade method of suppressing all democratic rank and file expressions in any organization that they controlled or pre-dominated in. This convention ended up with a compromised division of posts.

In their anxiety to prove themselves "responsible" in the eyes of management and Roosevelt, these newly elected officers, in their first UAW National Executive Board meeting after this convention, voted unanimously to ban all union-local newspapers, and to subject all union-local printed matter to National Executive Board censorship. At the same time, they voted to inform General Motors that it could fire any workers engaged in "unauthorized" strikes. Reuther and the Stalinists joined in signing a letter to this effect and the October 1937 Communist magazine declared that the Communist Party was "against unauthorized strikes," as a small token to show capitalists like GM how "responsible" they were.

The fight between Martin and the Unity factions came to a head in early 1939, after Martin suspended the majority of the Executive Board. He then tried to drag the UAW back into the AFL. Split conventions were held, but the pro-CIO convention in Cleveland won the overwhelming support of the auto workers. Reuther worked with the Stalinists until 1939, although his first break with them came in 1938 in a squabble over a post for his brother Victor in the Michigan CIO.

The signing of the June 1940 UAW contract was termed the worst GM contract ever. It weakened seniority agreement and had only a one and a half cent hourly wage increase, which Reuther helped ram own the workers' throats using the "national emergency" as a ramrod. He said that: "Now we must accept even a bad agreement for the good of the country." GM was beginning to like Reuther better now.

THE ROLE OF STALINISM

The Stalinists today would like to conveniently forget the alliance they formed with the UAW and CIO leadership in that period and the treacherous class-collaborationist role their followers played. Those who recall the strike-breaking, speed-up, incentive pay policies of the Stalinists during World War Two, may forget that this was the continuation of the line the Stalinists pushed before the war, interrupted briefly only during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Every section of the top CIO leadership played ball consciously, at one time or another, with the Stalinists. Indeed, the Stalinists, by virtue of their false label of "communist" were able to deceive and disorient union militants who would not trust the old-line union leaders. They were invaluable to the CIO leadership in helping to bureaucratize the CIO and harness its native militancy.

Recognition of this role does not distract from the credit due to the thousands of hard-working, self-sacrificing workers under Stalinist influence who did so much to organize workers in many locals. Most of them were disoriented and disgusted eventually by the Stalinist twists and turns and dropped out.

THE FORD EMPIRE FALLS

The acceleration of the war preparations and the heightening of "national defense" propaganda, after the European phase of World War Two in September 1939, sparked Roosevelt's open campaign to destroy the right to strike and to establish government control over wages and conditions of employment.

The successful strike at Vultee Aircraft plant in Los Angeles, won 12.5 cents an hour raise plus two weeks vacation despite an unprecedented red-baiting onslaught from all quarters including government agencies such as the FBI and the Dies Committee who tried to smash the strike. This victory gave a spurt to organizing efforts most noticeably throughout the aircraft industry including Fords.

Ford, because of his company's feudal-like army of Servicemen (8000) fashioned after the Nazi storm troopers, still ruled

his empire by terror. Despite this brutal treatment, Ford workers were "afire with unionism," to the point where "the tension is becoming unbearable inside the River Rouge plant." Union men wearing their union buttons were physically attacked and slugged by Servicemen. These union men began to slug back and the strongly organized departments would chase these Servicemen out. These daily skirmishes were developing into departmental sit-down strikes that were getting fired union men reinstated.

On April 2, 1941, Ford workers took matters into their own hands in a sit-down strike that shut down the Ford empire. Bennett and his bully boys were routed; the strike that they said could never happen was now on.

Some nine hours later the UAW officially declared it a strike and ordered the workers to evacuate the plants. By the tens of thousands the workers who had been sitting tight marched out in mass, singing "Solidarity Forever." Ford's chief weapon to break the strike was racism and it backfired.

In the spring of 1941, Ford employed 10,000 Black workers as strike insurance against unionization only to find that their class loyalties were stronger than their gratefulness to their paternalistic benefactor as 8,500 walked out and joined the strike side by side with the white workers. Their solidarity gave a new awareness of the vital contributions of the Black workers to the labor movement and the necessity for the labor movement to take the lead in the struggle for full equality on the job and the fight against racism.

The union strategy of blocking all approaches to this fortress with a solid immovable barricade of cars proved to be effective in preventing any movement of scabs, Servicemen or police into or out of the area. The strikers agreed to a truce while the company and union negotiated and prepared for an NLRB election which, by more than 70 percent of the votes, swept the UAW to victory on May 22.

One month later Ford caved in and signed the first union shop agreement in the industry.

WAR PREPARATIONS

After the 1940 election, Roosevelt took off his gloves in a get-tough action against labor strikes using red-baiting and federal troops to smash strikes. His preparations for war required the disciplining and subjugation of the working class and its unions at every step of the way.

He attempted to break the Allis-Chalmers strike with threats to take over the plant but was frustrated by militant and determined groups of strikers who refused to be intimidated and won their strike after 75 days.

But Roosevelt was not to be deterred. Two months later he used federal troops to smash and defeat the North American Aviation strike in Inglewood, California. He acted with full confidence this time with UAW leadership support, led by Sidney Hillman and Richard Frankenstein, who approved of the use of troops to break this strike. These two government attacks on the right to strike were to dominate the stormy 1941 UAW convention.

The right-wing, pro-war Hillman tendency, led by Reuther was out to execute a factional power play to undercut the Stalinists. They raised the "communist" issue in order to smear the genuine rank and file militants who dared to strike amidst war preparations and without authorization from the UAW tops.

As the Stalinists came under fire at this convention, they refused to defend themselves or the right to strike because they were now trying to crawl into the anti-strike, pro-war camp of Hillman. The reason was that on June 22, 1941, Hitler's armies invaded the Soviet Union after a two year Stalin-Hitler pact. This sharply reversed world Stalinist policies and served to disarm and betray class struggles under their influence.

This UAW convention was to see the triumph of the Hillman-Reuther forces backed up by tremendous outside pressure of super-patriotic, pro-war propaganda and the treachery of the Communist Party whose subservience to the Kremlin, with its policy zig-zags and flip-flops, helped disorient many militants.

To Be Continued



Marty Jonas
Film

Steve Lewis Books

THE REBELLION OF THE HANGED. By B. Traven. Hill and Wang, 1972.

The early 20th century in Mexico was characterized by tremendous social upheavals, brought about by the demands of a developing capitalism. It is with this situation that the novel, *The Rebellion of the Hanged*, deals. Indian peasants, stolen off their land by large Spanish landowners and capitalists, are forced into the worst possible conditions of servitude. This is the actual prelude to the Mexican revolution itself.

It was during this period of Mexican history when the growth of large scale capitalist industry and world trade was most important, that the feudal organization of the economy in many areas was most restrictive. The Lord of the Hacienda, a feudal estate that produced for its own consumption, resorted to the abduction of peasants from their land for slave labor to prevent his own ruin. On the other hand, the industrial capitalists, in order to meet the drive for productivity and trade, used the same tactics to supply the cheapest labor for industry.

The peasantry bore the entire weight of this contradiction, forced on it by both feudal and bourgeois overlords. Out of this emerged the peasantry leading the bourgeois democratic revolution.

EXPLOITATION

B. Traven, himself once a revolutionary who later deserted the movement after World War I, portrays this process of ex-

'Land and Liberty'

ploitation very well, focusing in on peasant-slaves forced into a lumber camp. The lumber camp itself is a magnification many times over of all the brutality suffered on the journey there. (The "hanged" of the title refers to the most brutal torture employed.) Murder and torture become daily occurrences—until the peasant-slaves rebel, finally exterminating the foremen and the boss. At this point a leadership emerges which raises up the demands "Land and Liberty" and forms a revolutionary army out of the workers in the camp. The book ends when the rebel army has marched out of the jungle to meet the enemy in battle with the other forces of the revolution.

LAND AND LIBERTY

The program of the uprising was "Land and Liberty," and no more—the demands of the bourgeois democratic revolution. This was necessary only from the point of view that the peasantry was the leading revolutionary force. The leadership of the peasantry itself limited the revolution to democratic reforms and accommodation to the class system of oppression. The real purpose of the revolution, from the point of view of the leaders in the book and in history was only radical agrarian reform and political rights.

These limits to revolutionary action actually represented the limits of the peasantry as a class, because it held on to ties to small landed property. As long as the peasantry remained in the leadership of the revolution, it could never go beyond the bourgeois democratic reforms to the overthrow of class society itself.

The book itself is worth reading for the historical situation it portrays. However, the author is unable to go beyond the peasant outlook he deals with in *The Rebellion*. The narrative reflects all the limitations of the peasant outlook, and the peasantry as a class. Unable to go beyond these limits, the author cannot project beyond the democratic demands, and cannot perceive their revolutionary content from a socialist perspective.

MALCOLM X. Produced by Arnold Perl and Marvin Worth. A Warner Brothers presentation, with Betty Shabazz.

MALCOLM X is a documentary film compiled of footage of Malcolm up to the day he was assassinated. The narration, very infrequent, is Malcolm's own words from his autobiography, spoken by James Earl Jones.

This is an important and powerful film. It shows Malcolm's development against the background of the sharpening class struggle of the 1960s. In the course of this, it bangs up against the limits of Malcolm's own thinking. At the end of his life, the film shows, he began to question the ability of Black workers to fight the ruling class with Black nationalism. But Malcolm still posed this as a Black question, and one that could perhaps be resolved within the UN.

The film graphically shows why Malcolm went in the direction of rejecting Black nationalism. While Malcolm is shown still speaking on behalf of the reactionary Black Muslims, Black workers are shown being beaten and hosed in Alabama, and the first rebellions in the Black ghettos are taking place and being brutally suppressed.

In response to this, Malcolm—contrary to Muslim teachings, as well as to the preachings of all the civil rights leaders—tells Blacks to carry rifles to protect themselves. Then President Kennedy is assassinated. Malcolm has no remorse for the leaders of American imperialism and makes his famous statement that "the chickens have come home to roost."

BREAK

The Muslims place him under a 90-day ban from speaking publicly. Malcolm then breaks from the Muslims, representing the attempt of a whole section of the Black working class with a changing situation where capitalism was beginning to take back every concession given to workers in the postwar boom and where the entire

Malcolm X and Nationalism

working class—Black and white—was entering into struggle against the attacks on their living conditions.

This meant that every civil rights reform of the 1950s was being forcibly pushed back. Alabama and the ghetto rebellions not only showed the willingness of Black workers to fight but the lengths the bourgeoisie would go in carrying out bloody repression.

OPPRESSION

Every one of Malcolm's statements in this film shows how Malcolm grappled with the increasing sharpness of these attacks—how Black workers could fight back against what he first saw as white oppression, then as capitalist oppression. One of the last interviews before his assassination shows Malcolm expressing that he can no longer consider himself a Black nationalist, since he is faced with the fact that all over the world there are white revolutionaries as well as Black.

This important development in his thinking was undoubtedly connected with his assassination. Malcolm as a revolutionary would be much more dangerous to the ruling class than Malcolm as a Black nationalist.

The shot fired at Malcolm was a shot meant to stop the development of a revolutionary leadership in the working class. The film ignores this completely and instead sees only Malcolm X, the individual, the charismatic hero. This perspective, that great men make history, leaves out of this film any connection between Malcolm's theoretical development and the struggles of the working class erupting at that time.

To peddle "Malcolm X, The Black Nationalist," as the Socialist Workers Party does, is to hold back the working class at a time when the opportunity for its taking the power has never been greater in all history.

Seven years have passed since Malcolm's death. Millions of workers have now come on the scene internationally in a fundamental fight to protect their very right to live. The leadership that must be built for this struggle cannot be based on the limitations of Malcolm and of the working class ghetto revolts of his time. It must be based on bringing into this struggle all of the experience and lessons of the working class internationally in the fight to develop Marxist theory as the only means to power.

Ted Stein Film

Cartooned Racism

FRITZ THE CAT. Directed by R. Bakshi. Produced by Jerry Gross. Characters created by Robert Crumb.

Fritz the Cat is a film intended to appeal especially to those youth who are newly involved in politics—those who are beginning to seek political answers to the rotten conditions imposed on them daily. It is this freshly class conscious and potentially revolutionary section of youth whom the makers of this movie

seek to deceive if possible, by instilling in them fear and hostility towards the working class.

The film is a most carefully contrived cartoon, utilizing every slick gimmick imaginable including a super-mediocre sound track, to make digestible the most degenerate sort of human behavior on the screen. It's cast is made up entirely of animals endowed with human characteristics. And this particular technique is used as license—even inspiration, for the crudest kind of anti-working class sentiments, racism, anti-semitism and anti-communism.

CONTEMPTIBLE

The opening sequence offers us graphic description of where sympathies lie in this contemptible cartoon world. As a hippie strolls innocently along the pavement, guitar in hand, directly above him on the scaffolding, three reactionary sounding construction workers mouth off about the damn kids these days, and one of them urinates, hitting the long-haired passer-by. So, we're instructed from the outset, the working class is a threat to a body's peace and contentment.

Robert Crumb's cartoon strips are notoriously racist. His caricatures of Italians, Latinos, Jews and Blacks are nothing but racist stereotypes preoccupied with the grossest of activities.

Below is an interview by Bulletin Labor Editor Dan Fried with Bill Litch, Chairman and Ed Mann, secretary-treasurer of R.A.F.T. (Rank And File Team), an opposition caucus in the United Steelworkers of America. They are both members of Local 1464, Youngstown, Ohio.

Bulletin: What is the aim of your group?

RAFT: I ran against I.W. Abel in 1969, and I supported I.W. Abel in 1965, thoroughly. The previous president, McDonald, represented a "Tuxedo" leadership. There he was sitting up at the top and doing nothing for the rank and file. These same members were getting nothing for their dues dollar. So with his speech, and his coming up to Youngstown, we thought, by God, here's a guy who's trying to run against the President of the union while he himself is the Secretary-Treasurer! So after that happened all of us supported I.W. Abel because he did state that he was going to turn the union back to the membership.

Well, they try to tell you that there is change being made by the rank and file, through a few committees. But these committees are all bought off! Let's face it, the voice of the people is not there through a referendum vote, through their participation in each and every local. When we have a convention, it's stacked with staff people that aren't even welcome there as far as I'm concerned. And I think the late Don Rarick tried to express his opinion many a time at the convention, to do away with the staff personnel in the convention hall so that the rank and file can have a voice.

This is where the big argument has been in the past. Even to this day. We've got a steelworkers union with voting regulations that bind you so tight that you can't change it. And we don't want to elect a man President of the union that we can't get rid of! Our argument is that if you don't sweep up we'll get rid of you too!

For twelve years Abel was the Secretary-Treasurer under McDonald, and never opened his mouth. And we, the rank and file, should have seen this. But we were a little bit too blind yet, because we didn't have any education. So now he's been eight years as the President. That gives him 20 years—and the changes are still the same, nothing has changed, everything is still the same.

At the convention, they're planning to take the ceiling off our dues. You know how our dues are pro-rated—two hours' wages with a ceiling of ten dollars. They want to cut off the ceiling on the retirement age for staff men and international officers.

Another big issue at the convention is the election of international officers. They want to elect the international officers at conventions, like the UAW.

There's supposed to be something like 1100 staff personnel at this convention. Then there's going to be a lot of those lollipopers that they buy for ten cents.

Bulletin: But don't you think that it's necessary to have some kind of intervention, some perspective?

RAFT: We feel we do. I'm running for delegate.

Bulletin: What do you think the number one issue today facing the ranks in the union is, especially since the last contract?

RAFT: Preservation of jobs. In the last contract they came up with a productivity clause. I don't think we're so critical of the productivity clause, but we



Bulletin interviewed the leaders of the RAFT caucus of the USWA—Bill Litch (left), national chairman and Ed Mann, secretary-treasurer. Both men are in USWA Local 1464 and work in the Youngstown, Ohio plant.

DISSIDENTS IN STEEL UNION SPEAK OUT

also wanted a job security clause. If we're going to have one you must have the other.

You see, a lot of people are confused. They think they're talking about production. But they're not, they're talking about productivity. In other words, get more out of the hired worker. But you've got to remember most of us are in basic steel, most of us are in old plants, we're older, and the equipment we work with is junk, worn out, and now they want us to produce more. So we're all men, we're not kids anymore.

With modernizing of course they're going to have greater productivity. The old basic furnace you maybe get 280 tons, in four or five hours. You take your BOF (basic oxygen furnace), it can produce 250 tons in an hour. This is why I said one big steel plant can produce enough steel, can meet the needs of steel in this country. Let's face it, it can be done. And this is what happened in U.S. Steel, when they went down they kept producing. You take our plant in Briar Hill, we're up to five furnaces, we've been notified that in five years we'll have a 12 furnace shop. You take Republic Steel. They've lost every one of their 13 open hearth furnaces. They're all down, they haven't worked in the last 10 years. They moved up to the BOF plant in Cleveland. And Bethlehem, they're dead. There's no jobs, the guys have disappeared. If I'm not mistaken, in Lackawanna, Bethlehem had something like 18,000 workers, and at the present time, it's something like 8,000 or less.

Bulletin: What do you think about Abel's statement supporting a labor party?

RAFT: I don't think he was sincere in his statements on the labor party. If we know Abel, he's part of the system and he doesn't want anything to change or anybody to rock the boat or threaten his cookies. He wants Meany's job. They're not interested in any changes. A labor party would give them nothing but headaches and that's why they haven't started it.

Bulletin: But there's another side to it. Their membership is

getting hit every day and they are getting worried about it. They don't know what to do. So when they go down to Miami, what happens?

RAFT: Even they can only be kicked around so much until even they have to make noises about it—for their own protection! Not because they are going to carry it through.

Bulletin: But if everyone says "nothing's happening, no one's doing anything about it, so we might as well go along with McGovern," then it only sets the workers back. Especially those in the labor movement who have had experience with the labor leadership, and with the government and with the employers, who know that we have to have a political party representing the working people. They know for certain that the Republicans and Democrats don't represent them, and that the whole history of the labor movement shows that supporting the Democrats has been a trap. Someone has to take the initiative.

The rank and file must base itself first on the nature of the crisis we're in. It's not just a crisis of steel really. We can talk about productivity in steel, but if you look at the docks, and at auto, you see the same productivity going on. Now what is the role of the government in all this?

RAFT: If our union would have taken a stand against the government and against the companies, and against putting money into plants overseas, but put it into plants here, to make these technological changes and modernize our plants, we'd have work. Look at Japan. They're modern. Why wouldn't they be modern, they're building brand new plants. We work in a plant in Youngstown that was built in the 1800's. There's nothing new in it. They put all the money, our money, in investments overseas. Let's invest in America. Then they can build something here.

Bulletin: The company in order to make profit will invest anywhere, whether it's overseas or in the United States. The point is that they're in business to

make profit for the capitalist, the private owner.

RAFT: The company can't make a penny of profit if they don't have the laborer's hands there to make that profit. Let's face it. If you had a brand new piece of machinery sitting there on the floor, it couldn't do anything by itself. Then why are we made to believe that the industry has to have everything and the workingman nothing? This doesn't make good sense.

Bulletin: Isn't it better therefore to use the machinery, to bring in automation and reduce the work week, the number of hours that are worked, provide jobs for everyone, at a living wage? We can produce a lot more wealth than now, and distribute it on the basis of need, rather than require money to buy it, then we have a socialist system. But this can only take place if you nationalize the industries and turn them over to the control of the workers. That's why we need a labor party and a workers' government.

RAFT: Nationalization is not dangerous to the corporations if Rockefeller is now running the country. Whether they're running a steel mill or running the country, they still got the control. These young kids getting out of school think everything is a bed of roses and all they have to do is sit under a tree and yodel. They're yodeling up a long tree, because by God in order to reap any of the fruits of this country you're going to have to put manual labor behind it. There's nothing going to come easy. I've been 32 years in that steel mill, going on my 33rd year. I started when I was 17 years old. I've been there for a good while and nothing's come easy. I've been fighting and struggling ever since the day I set foot in the plant. A lot of guys say "Well, you had an opportunity to do this or do that." No. Maybe there were opportunities, but also there has to be someone in the plants in order to continuously give the wealth to this country. Somehow there's got to be labor. There's a top brain in that company. If there wasn't they would not keep him

there. Let's not kid ourselves. They don't hire anyone in these plants unless they can make some use of the employee.

Bulletin: I think you have to explain the economic situation. The fact that we face an international trade war and the price of gold at \$70 an ounce. These are things that definitely affect the future of the working class because it means that in order for the American capitalist to continue to make profits they have to do it either at the expense of Europe and Japan, or at the expense of the American workers, or both. But if they knock down Japan, as they have to, if they knock down Germany and England, in terms of the dollar and trade relations, they're going to destroy the whole world economy. They're going to destroy the market, and create massive recession in the United States. What we're saying is this is the future that workers have to face under capitalism.

RAFT: Do you really think that this is true, that this is really happening? Something puzzles me, it's that when I went to school if there were three cups made, they would become cheaper. The more you make, the less you pay. But evidently the economics of this country is just reversing itself. The more they make the more it costs, and the higher the profits go the more they want. Today they get a ten dollar bill, and say hell, we want a hundred. Why all this expansion, what's happening? It's only a few that are getting this money, and yet they're trying to blame it all on the workingman, that he is the cause or the fault of the whole situation. And a lot of the workingmen think this is true. They've been convinced. It's an old plant, and the people are scared that if we do anything "bad," they'll lose their jobs. Even safety laws, they'll shut the place down and then we won't have anything.

This is where I blame our leadership. Maybe they wanted to do something for the workingman, but as soon as they got to where they could sit down in a big chair and call to someone to go get them a cigar, they got to be authorities, and they forgot what the workingman's problems were. And this is our fight, our organization, RAFT, that I'm the national chairman of. We feel that the union is good, that it is all good, if it is run by the people. I don't think anyone, even in the government should be paid 100 times over the working class. Because this is why I think we're in this crisis. This is where I differ in our union.

Our International President makes something in the neighborhood of 60,000 dollars a year, plus an expense account of some \$15,000. I feel this is wrong. He can get more, for his effort or his "wisdom," than the workingman. But I don't feel he should get 100 times more! I think that his pension program if he ends his term should not be any greater than what he has negotiated for the workingman! This is how I look at it. And we would have a good union because then each one would be working for one another and not against each other.

Today everybody wants to become a staff personnel or something. Instead of going into the local union hall and expounding on the problems we have, they try to keep everything quiet, they don't want anyone to rock the boat. They feel "Well, if I rock the boat, then my director is looking at me. If I say something against the International, they're going to chop me out, they're not going to give me the staff job." This is what is happening today. I've been fighting this for years and I'll never change in that.

BY ED BELLINO & DAN FRIED

CRISIS IN STEEL Workers face new productivity drive

Since the signing of the 1971 contract in basic steel between the major U.S. steel producers and the United Steelworkers of America, the corporations have undertaken a sweeping campaign of job slashing, mass layoffs and speed-up.

Since Nixon's August 15 decisions cutting loose the dollar from its gold backing and setting up the wage freeze, U.S. corporations have hidden behind the Pay Board's formula which permits wage increases, if "justified" by productivity. In other words, while the wage guidelines are steadily pushed down, jobs are eliminated and the workers speeded up.

In steel, the "success" of the employers' productivity drive was given by the Pay Board as the reason for allowing the second year wage increase at all. At the same time, Nixon has preferred to avoid the possibility of a confrontation with the union which an outright slash might have meant at this time, biding his time until after the elections.

COMMITTEES

But the productivity drive which is eliminating thousands of jobs and which poses the decimation of the steel labor force, has been undertaken with the full cooperation of the USWA leadership under president I.W. Abel. The green light for this drive was given by the establishment of the so-called productivity committees as a concession to the employers in the 1971 contract.

While these committees themselves, according to the Wall Street Journal, have "accomplished little," they represent the agreement of the USWA bureaucracy to allow the employers unilaterally to improve "productivity." This is justified supposedly by Abel's theory of the joint labor-management responsibility to protect jobs by cheapening U.S. production against "foreign" competitors.

However, it is not, as Abel says, a question of stemming the flow of foreign imports. What is at stake is the very existence of the world economy and the profits of the huge corporations now tottering on the brink of collapse. A recent article in the Journal of Commerce explains the situation in the following way:

"If steel demand can be regarded as a reliable indicator of the trend in the general economy, the eagerly awaited fall upturn may prove disappointing... Many cities and states are strapped for funds and are postponing construction contracts of various kinds. Corporations, too, eager to show profit increases this year, are hesitant about going into planned expansion programs which would intensify competition in their industries, give rise to heavy start-up expenses and reduce liquidity."

It is this fundamental crisis of capitalism in which billions of dollars threaten to become so many pieces of paper, which is at the heart of the corporations being "hesitant" about expanding, and which now means



The sign in the picture shows that U.S. Steel expects workers to enjoy making profits for the owners.

that the productivity drive against steel workers must proceed as never before.

At the same time, every new investment in productive facilities that is developed in the U.S. is geared to the most productive furnaces available as developed by modern engineering, furnaces which mean a constant expansion of productive capacity with fewer men.

Thus, the plans for the Q-BOF furnace which is 25% more productive than the ordinary BOF, which were announced last year, are not even the latest. Last week, a plan to bring in a new process, known as SIP (submerged injection process) was announced by a Pennsylvania engineering corporation. This process will allow for the reconversion of the outmoded open hearth furnaces, but producing at a tremendous saving in production time, and at a lower cost of investment than other new furnaces.

CLOSINGS

In mill after mill, steel workers are learning a bitter lesson as technology and production slowdown wipe out jobs while speed-ups in other departments make working conditions intolerable. The closure of the U.S. Steel mill in Duluth and the probable shutdown of the huge Lackawanna works of Bethlehem Steel threaten to turn industrial cities into ghost towns and create conditions of massive unemployment and poverty.

The Lackawanna mill is one of the major employers in the Buffalo area and as recently as two years ago employed 20,000 men. But since last August's contract settlement, 11,000 men have lost their jobs, reducing the work force to between 4 and 8,000 men. One can see from the almost empty parking lots and lack of activity in the mill that operations are virtually at a standstill. The BOF facility is the only basic steel producer in operation, and of the 35 open hearth furnaces previously operating, 14 have been completely dismantled. In the coke ovens which

generally employ the most workers, only two of the seven batteries are in operation.

Already unemployment has reached 12% in Buffalo and the growing poverty can be seen in the deteriorating conditions in the downtown section where empty stores and "For Rent" signs on once-busy main streets bear witness to the decline of an industrial town.

LORAIN

In particular departments in mills where there have not been complete production stoppages and automation, such as in the machine shops, there is vicious speed-up. Following on the heels of the GMAD onslaught in auto, the steel companies are hiring brazen new managers whose job it is to crack the whip. At the Lorain, Ohio U.S. Steel works this drive has taken on particularly arrogant and vicious proportions, as a letter written by a General Foreman in the machine shop indicates. This letter, published in the Lorain Labor Leader, the organ of USWA Local 1104, exposes the intent of the steel owners to squeeze every ounce of work out of a man. Speaking to other managers, the foreman writes:

"It is your responsibility to get out into the shop and spend time observing—not only safety activity—but what each man or group is doing and how they are doing it. Begin checking on the rate of progress of each job on your turn. Where you find people who are not performing to expectations, you are going to have to begin to kick a few asses, and, if that doesn't work, assess time off."

Disciplinary layoffs, forced overtime and general harassment by the hirings of the steel owners is what workers in mills across the country can now expect. One worker at the Lorain mill told the Bulletin:

"Since the last contract there has been a lot of pressure from the management and especially since we got these two new bar mills. A lot of the guys here are getting pushed beyond the nor-

mal limits. Sometimes they tell you that you have to work overtime, but I don't think a man should be forced to work overtime if he doesn't want to. Management tries to get more out of you. Where they should have two men on a job they try to have one man make up for the extra man. I have done this myself. And if there's any kind of accident they want to give you a day off.

"In some of these departments they're not going by seniority, but by so-called 'ability,' in violation of our union contract. They've had people with 10 or 15 years seniority laid off here and actually replaced by new men."

An older worker at the mill told us:

"The old time foremen, little by little are getting pushed out. The old timers. They're bringing in the young ones with the whips in their hands.

"You know what I believe in? We ought to have a revolution and set up the American form of government. If you go by the Constitution you haven't got any rights. Corporations make plenty of money—but the work gets done by machines and they cut you out. I don't care if they have 100% automation as long as we're guaranteed work. We have to have money to live on.

"Is the shorter work week needed? You bet. The shorter the better. They're getting rid of men here under the guise of automation, but it isn't even automation. It's automatically out! The managers get a percentage for 'saving,' by getting rid of men. They don't come in here to manufacture—they come in here to save money—clip, cut, chop. We're non-deductable, them bastards are deductable."

The fight against productivity must now be taken up at the USWA convention to be held in Las Vegas beginning September 17. However, it is crucial for rank and file militants in the steel union to understand that the fight against speed-up and unemployment requires a political fight against the government and its two parties who side with the em-

ployers against the unions. It means, most of all, the bringing onto the floor of the convention the necessity of constructing a labor party in complete opposition to Nixon and McGovern.

The neutrality of George Meany and I.W. Abel is totally inadequate and is a cowardly refusal to give the required leadership at a critical juncture, where the very survival of the labor movement is at stake. Their refusal to lead at a time when sections of the labor movement begin to move toward and discuss the labor party question serves to turn the local leaderships of unions, back toward the Democratic Party and McGovern.

Thus, at the Lorain, Ohio U.S. Steel works after the local unanimously voted in favor of a labor party and forwarded the decision to Abel, the president of the local (1104), Pashkevitch, endorses McGovern! In an interview with the Bulletin he expressed extreme anger at the refusal of Abel to justify his break from the Democratic Party.

At the same time Pashkevitch excuses his support to McGovern with reference to the thoroughly bankrupt reply of Abel to the resolution for a labor party from Local 1104. Abel wrote the local that the creation of a labor party was a "little too premature."

A new leadership must be built in the USWA based on the accumulated experience of the international working class movement, on Marxist principle. None of the problems of the rank and file steelworkers can be solved outside of the perspective of socialism. This is what makes the fight for formation of an independent labor party the most urgent question at the forthcoming convention.

The need for a labor party whose number one job will be the nationalization of steel and other basic industries under workers control and without compensation to the owners, is paramount as the drive for productivity and the threat of world depression is held over the head of every steelworker.

Herbert X. Blyden Of Tombs 7 Denounces D.A. Hogan's Threat To Jury System

BY ESTHER GALEN

NEW YORK—In an open letter last week the jury of the Tombs Seven case attacked District Attorney Hogan's charges against them and said that they were a threat to the continuation of the jury system. Two of the Tombs Seven, Herbert X. Blyden and Stanley King, still await trial.

In an exclusive interview with the Bulletin, Herbert Blyden stated:

"The verdict itself proves, I think, that Black and Third World people indeed can see through some of the fallacies of the prosecution's case as presented. The justification, for example, which was ruled out by Birns, existed, and it was documented by the Times and by McGrath himself when he was Commissioner, that the conditions are deplorable. But over-

crowding is not just the factors that we have to deal with. It is the overall judicial system as it exists.

"So I think that Hogan's statement concerning the jury's verdict as being a miscarriage of justice proves that it is more political than meets the eye. I would venture to say that much as he used \$200,000 of the taxpayers' money to prosecute those three guys and lost, he's going to be more vindictive now. He is going to try everything much harder now to prosecute King and myself.

GRAND JURY

"The Grand Jury now is trying to show you what is going to happen. They are going to play around until Nixon is politically straight and he is just about now, and then they are going to hand down mass indictments.

"So what we got to do then is try to apprise the people out there that we should not be treated as criminals. And until people understand the war in America and not just Vietnam, we are going to have these same oppressive conditions existing.

"I think that in the interest of humanity (not justice, because that is illusive) the charges against me not only should have been dismissed, but since I've been sentenced already for the last sixteen months while I have been awaiting prosecution, what they should do now is put me out

where I belong—in the streets. I should not be in jail in the first place."

Curtis Brown, just acquitted, in a letter to the Bulletin writes:

"I am writing to thank you for all that the YS has done for the Tombs Seven and me while I was incarcerated in this camp! I am about to be sent back to Clinton Prison (Box B Dannemora N.Y. 12929). My number is 42955. I would like to continue getting the Bulletin. I have just become aware of the edition of Capital, and hope that you will send it to me.

"I am enclosing a copy of a form which the system has given out to the inmates of the Tombs! This form is the most disgusting thing I've read by the system. Not only are they attempting to get the inmates to become informers, but also want them to inform and place themselves in the position of adding new charges on themselves. Please reveal this to the people! Expose these racists as the Tombs Seven has exposed them!"

STANLEY KING

Sanford Katz, Stanley King's lawyer, informed the Bulletin that without Katz's being notified, King was transferred in the middle of the night to Sing Sing ten days ago.

The defense for Blyden and King are moving for dismissal of the charges.

Construction Ranks Face Mass Arrests In Philly

BY DIANNE ISAACS

PHILADELPHIA—The city administration of Philadelphia has begun making its move in taking on the construction unions here, aiming its first blows at Roofers Local 30.

WARRANTS

The prosecutor's office in Norristown, scene of a massive march of construction workers in June, last week issued warrants

for nine members of Roofers Local 30. The warrants charge conspiracy, riot, malicious destruction of property and arson, stemming from damage done to one of J. Leon Altomose's sites on June 5, and are aimed directly at the leadership of the local, including two organizers and a business agent.

DA

The District Attorney in Montgomery County has promised that this is just the beginning of the arrests. On the same day the men surrendered in Norristown, three of them were arraigned in the beating of Altomose the week before, and released on \$1000 bail each.

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Editor's Notebook

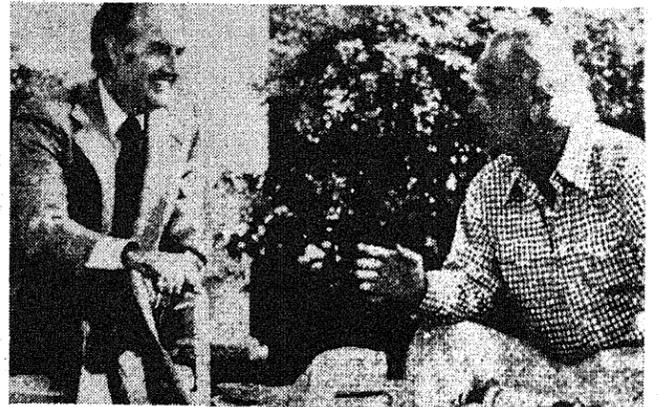
Hair

Who of all people did self-proclaimed peace candidate George McGovern visit last week in search of a handy endorsement? None other than Lyndon Baines Johnson, now living out his days on a Texas ranch from where he controls his far-flung financial enterprises.

But—heaven forbid!—McGovern did not compromise his lofty principles by asking

for the support of the man who ordered the slaughter of millions of Vietnamese. After all, the old warmonger has been touched by the spirit of the new radicalization sweeping ex-presidents.

As he greeted McGovern, Johnson proudly displayed his credentials for the candidate's "radical coalition": a wild growth of silver locks that extend all the way down to the shoulders.



George McGovern visits a longhaired supporter—L.B.J.

Heil Who?

In 1936, Leni Riefenstahl was the toast of the Third Reich and the special favorite of Hitler. The Nazis loved her for the three-hour cinematic hymn to fascism—Triumph of the Will—which she had directed in 1934.

When the Olympics came to Berlin, Hitler insisted that she film the proceedings for propaganda purposes. "Leni," Hitler said, "I want you to make this film because these functionary types are too dumb to know anything about art."

Following the collapse of the Nazi regime in 1945, not very much was heard about Leni Riefenstahl.

But today, the old Nazi propaganda wizard is back in focus. She is in Munich on assignment from the London Times to photograph the current Olympic games. It seems that the editors of the Times, the main newspaper of England's financial aristocracy, think that Riefenstahl will be able to lend her experienced talents to making all the phony pomp and glory that the bourgeoisie parades at the Olympics seem real.

Throw The Bums Out

With only two points on the agenda, the management of the Penn Central Company expected to breeze through the first share holders meeting in two years. They were in for a big surprise.

Four hundred stockholders stormed the meeting, and for the next five hours shouted insults at the company's officers. The meeting never got beyond point number one on the agenda—the election of company directors.

"Why should we vote for this board?" shouted retired railroad worker Leon U. Lovell. "We don't have a damn railroad man on the board. I could do a better job

than them myself."

Another shareholder angrily asked Penn Central President Archibald Johnson: "Where's the authority come from to make you chairman?"

Shareholder Evelyn Y. Davis expressed her disgust at the management by shaking a rubber alligator at Johnson and wearing fake leopard-skin hotpants, a black top hat, heavy eye shadow and a black sweater, saying she characterized "a robber baron for a robber-baron-run railroad."

When Johnson tried to call the meeting to order, he was answered with boos and shouts of "shut up."

Meat Prices Lead July Inflation

BY A BULLETIN
REPORTER

The just-released figures for July consumer prices show the new surge of inflation facing the working class. The government acknowledges a 0.4% rise, the highest since February. A major cause of the increase is skyrocketing food prices.

Meat prices are at record levels, rising 2.7% in the last month alone. Big increases were also reported for eggs, fruits, vegetables, and other necessities, including homes and home

furnishings.

A comparison of prices for August 1971 and July 1972 shows what the vicious combination of the Pay Board and Price Commission has meant to workers. At a time when wage increases in new contracts have been held down to less than 5%, housewives have seen meat prices zoom up to 10% above the level of one year ago.

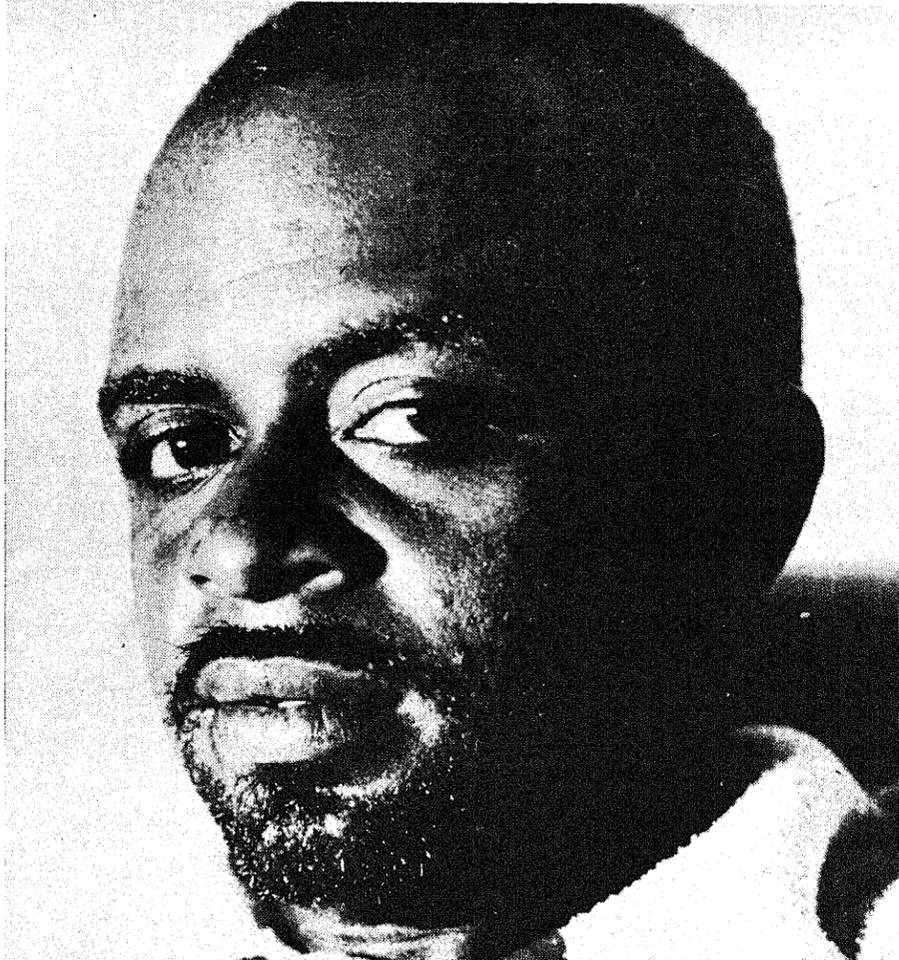
BREAD

Now the leading bakeries have asked the Cost of Living Council to approve increases of 2 to 3¢ for a loaf of bread. Their excuse is

the recently concluded deal between Moscow and Washington for the sale of 400 million bushels of wheat to the Soviet Union. The companies point to an increase of about two thirds of a cent in the price of flour, and then demand to pass on about three or four times this amount.

PROFIT MARGIN

The Price Commission has just announced the lifting of the extremely limited restraints on profit margins for those firms which lower or maintain prices at the levels of May 25, 1970 or August 15, 1971.



LANDER C. WARREN is a steward at Coca Cola's Minute Maid Groves in Fort Pierce, Florida, where the United Farm Workers signed its first contract in the South in February.

I think a labor party would be the ideal thing for the working class. We have so many people now against the union, telling people it's a bad thing, attacking us. I think we need something to protect all the unions.

Nobody ever really tries to do anything for the working class. There have been a lot of Presidents of both parties, and as long as I can remember they haven't done anything for the working class. The working class will always have to struggle.

Workers are never thought of too much by the government. Just as long as they can keep producing what the government and the big people want, that's all they care about the working

class. I've been a worker all my life, and I've never been able to accomplish anything. People just look at you as a worker and that's all. They'll give you a job and don't care whether you make a living out of it or not, just so you're working.

You know, that's right what you say about jobs in this manifesto. We're going to have to do something. If something doesn't happen soon, everybody will be out of a job.

If things keep going like they are, in 10 or 15 years there will hardly be anybody working. You can look back through the papers and find so many plants closing down and so many people laid off from jobs. Sometimes there are 2,000 or 3,000 people laid off on a job.

It will be continual closing and closing and closing down. And the workers won't have any jobs, any money, any food—nothing, and they got families to take care of. We've got to figure out some way to keep jobs for these people.

WILLIE WATTS of East Menlo Par, California, is a member of ILWU Local 6 (warehousemen).

I've been laid off now for two weeks. I read *The Case for a Labor Party* and I liked all the articles in it. I think we need a labor party, because nowadays they hire you for one day and lay you off the next day. Like that vodka plant, after I got laid off at the candy plant where I had been working, I worked over there for one day and then they laid me off, but they called me back the next day.

They hire you as they need you. I feel now that the labor movement is in the hands of the employers. They do what they want. We need a labor party.

I feel that everything that labor has fought for for years is going out of being nowadays. We don't have anything now. I think the only way we'll ever have a labor movement that's strong enough is to have revolutionary workers. You've got to go out into the field and do it. You don't get anything for nothing nowadays, because the big industries are going to do their thing, they're going to shut down and fire and lay you off when

they want. These things have got to be in the hands of the labor movement. We've got to have a labor party to survive, I think.

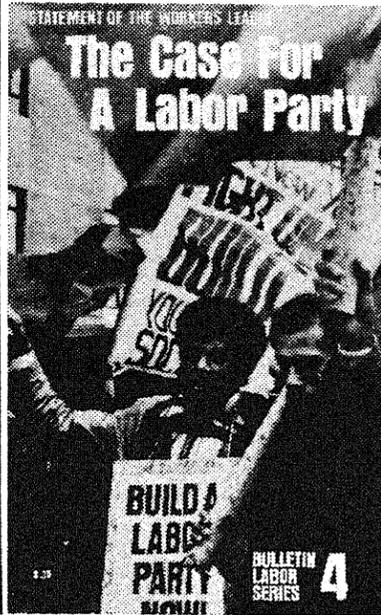
There's got to be an end to that Pay Board. It's nothing but for the big shots, the big business people. We were supposed to get a raise down at the job where I was working, and it was held up for 90 days when the freeze was on. We finally got it after the 90 days was up but we had to fight for it. The Pay Board has got to be done away with. It's only there to keep the rich man rich and the poor man poor.

I agree with the whole manifesto, because I understand what's going on. When people are working, they don't understand what's going on right now, but it's not going to get better, it's going to get worse, not just what they're laying off now. All big business and industries are banding together for themselves to keep all the money in one place. They're not going to give anything up, not for labor.

I work now at the vodka plant, Hublein. I went over there and I signed an application and they said I was hired. But each and every day I'm laid off. They said I'm sorry Mr. Watts, we like your work and everything, but we have to call you as we need you. And there's trucks coming in there each and every hour. I mean not one truck, but four, five, six, seven trucks.

But they don't want to have any excess labor so they hire you every day and lay you off every day. That's the way it's

TRADE UNIONISTS SPEAK ON The Case for a Labor Party



The following articles are part of a series of statements which will appear weekly in the Bulletin, by trade unionists, unemployed and other sections of the working class, on the labor party as outlined in the Workers League manifesto, "The Case For A Labor Party." The purpose of these statements is to promote a continuing discussion of the program in the manifesto in relation to the needs and the experiences of the working class. This discussion is part of the campaign for the mid-October conference of trade unionists and youth which will establish an organization to fight for the formation of a labor party.

I hand't thought of it this way, but I think cutting down the hours, like the manifesto says, at the same pay, could make a lot of jobs, and we could even make a lot of jobs right now. Like on my job right now, we need more people, but the company doesn't think we need them.

But I can see where we need them. Like right now we need a heavy equipment mechanic to work on the heavy equipment and also maybe a mechanic's helper to help the field mechanic and just little odds and ends like that. Here's a job for somebody who could be working and making a living.

That's one thing a labor party would have to be concerned with, that is, with so many people being laid off on jobs. Maybe if we could get a working class party we could get away from so many layoffs and everybody could work and make a decent living.

Another thing is the Pay Board. That's one of the main things. I don't think we even need the Pay Board, because they cut a lot of farmworkers' money. Like last year, I was supposed to get a 10 cent raise in September, and I haven't got that 10 cents yet.

They gave me my raise, but I couldn't get my money on account of the wage

freeze. Then, when the wage freeze was off—well, I still haven't received that 10 cents yet.

At that time, when I was supposed to get the 10 cents, the union hadn't started, but just as the union started coming in—well, the freeze was up, and I still didn't get my 10 cent raise. Then, after the union came in, they held up our contract for six months at the Pay Board.

Now, with the union, I'm making \$2.25 an hour as a tractor driver, but lots of workers without the union are making \$1.85 or even \$1.65 still.

I know this Pay Board cut a lot of people's living, with food and things in the store going up and wages staying at the same low rate.

We need something where the working class runs things for itself, for its own benefit. I think by having a labor party there wouldn't be anybody laid out of a job. Everybody would have work to do. We would keep the plants open and everything and keep the work going right on and make a decent living. I might not understand everything about it, but I understand it's really needed, and I think the working people will have to get together and form their own party, the way they want it, and start from there.

working in all big industries now. No matter how good you work, it doesn't matter. Because they're cutting back and they want the work out when they want it and to heck with the working man.

I agree with the part about nationalization. The only way things can be accomplished is by taking over these industries by the workers, but not by the unions because the unions are going hand and hand with the big industries, most of them. I know it's going to take a long time and a hard fight, but I think that the only way we're ever going to accomplish anything is by the working man. Because I know myself the big industries today, plants like, say, the Ford plant down in Milpitas, they're working three days a week, and then they're laid off three days a week.

But the thing about this is they're still selling as many cars, they're still selling the same shipment every year. And General Motors in Fremont, they're going the same thing, laying off, cutting back. You never understand what's going on until it hits you. Well, it hit me and I know what's going on.

I'm all for a conference of labor this year to launch a labor party. I'm going to vote for those two people mentioned in the pamphlet who are running on the ballot this year. We have to get something started right now because another four years will be too late.

That quote from Godfrey shows what's going on in all big business now. All these big outfits like warehousemen, cannery workers, and even electronics are doing



the same thing. If you can't do the work, well so what? It doesn't bother them. There are people waiting in line to go to work the next day.

The unions have made some great steps but they haven't enforced them. There are things that should have been done that were never done. I think all medical and dental costs should be free. We shouldn't have to pay anything.

I know that the Democrats and Republicans are behind Wallace and his right-to-work laws. And behind Wallace are the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. Wallace couldn't tell me anything about anything, because I know what he's about. But whatever he does, the Democrats and Republicans don't do anything about it, they follow right behind to see what happens to him, and they back him up.

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION . . .

(Continued From Page 3)
 nent position given members of the party's right wing.

Among those delivering seconding speeches Tuesday night for Nixon was New York Conservative Senator James Buckley. Completing the picture was the selection of Rockefeller—the man who ordered the Attica massacre—to deliver Nixon's nominating speech.

Combined with these moves to consolidate the party behind ruling class preparations for dictatorship were efforts to seduce the right wing of the labor bureaucracy.

John Carroll, introduced as President of UAW Local 544 in Pittsburgh and a Vice-Chairman of Democrats for Nixon, has the temerity to speak of the "full employment" supposedly to be brought about under the regime of the New Economic Policy, which has consciously sought to throw thousands of workers into the streets in the name of greater productivity. He also told the millions of workers watching their TV screens—in disbelief—that the Nixon Administration "has encouraged collective bargaining with a minimum of government interference."

The real situation for the capitalists was revealed by one of the leading spokesmen for the

ruling class who attacked Nixon for being too soft on the trade unions in his search for political expediency.

U.S. Chamber of Commerce Executive Vice-President Arch Booth told a reporter for one of the capitalist papers that the party platform's position on labor is "most disappointing."

"At a time when public opinion cries for labor law reform to curb union power whose misuse so frequently upsets the economy, the platform is conspicuously silent," he said.

"At a time when union abuses of workers' rights call for guarantees against their being forced to join a union to hold a job, the platform is conspicuously silent on the need for a national right-to-work law," he continued, repeating the stock slanders of the ruling class against the trade union movement.

He left no doubt, however, that the Republicans were soft on supporting capitalism: "We welcome the platform's ringing support of the private enterprise system and for the basic principles of capitalism."

Nixon's oratory about a "new majority" clearly revealed ruling class intentions to scrap the two-party capitalist democracy in favor of dictatorship, and this was brought out

with the very first bang of the gavel Monday.

DEMOCRATS

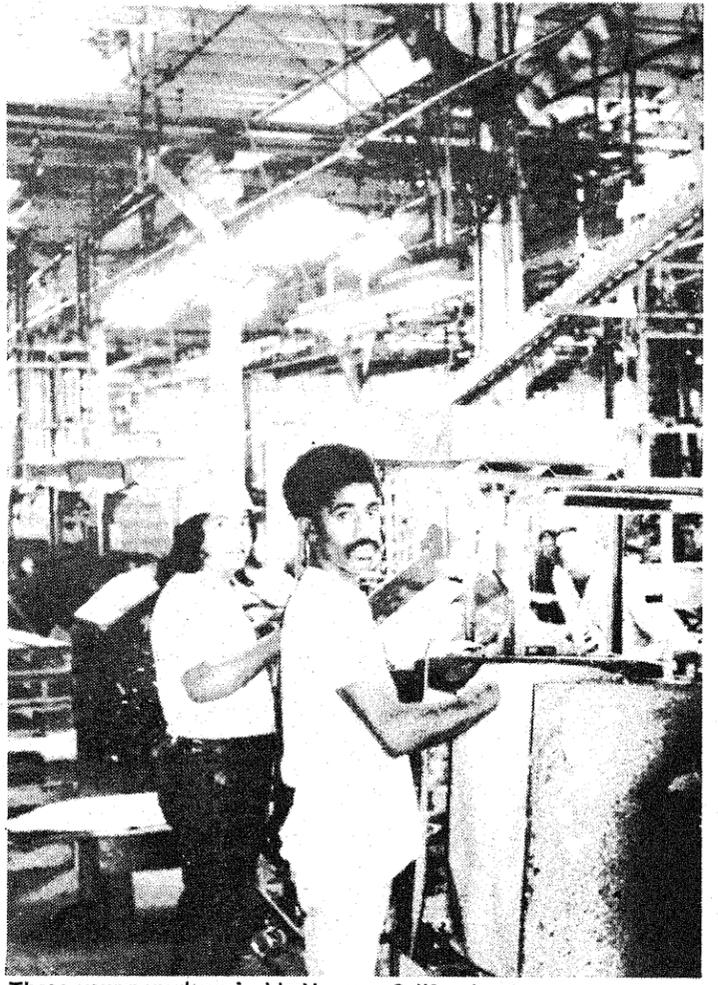
Florida's Democratic Governor Reubin Askew—who keynoted for the Democrats and was a serious contender for the vice-presidential slot—in his welcoming speech Monday made a desperate plea to salvage the two-party system.

Watching his party crumble under the weight of the capitalist crisis as the bosses prepare for dictatorship and workers begin to move toward the formation of a labor party, Askew cried out:

"I hope we will never have to form a coalition of parties to achieve a majority support that is so vital to a true democracy. I hope that we will always have a viable two-party system in this country."

The capitalist two-party system cannot be sacred, nor should it be. The Democratic Party is no longer really a dead end of compromise and class betrayal—it is a carefully baited trap which can only lead workers to defeat in the difficult days ahead.

Workers must now take up the struggle for the political independence of the working class through the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions.



These young workers inside Vernon, California plant are among the 800 who will be thrown out of work when American Can Company closes the plant. Company will move production to newer plants.

1199 . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
 sylvania who demonstrated 50,000 strong against employer and court attacks. It is also the product of the reactionary law and order campaign whipped up by both Philadelphia Mayor Rizzo, an ex-cop, and the Nixon Administration itself. When Nixon talks about "strengthening the peace forces against the criminal forces" he means a crack-down on the trade unions and the entire working class. The return to police and government violence against the labor movement shows the need for a labor party.

IAM . . .

(Continued From Page 4)
 organized shops, and create small "satellite" tool shops in an attempt to break the craft's union.

This has been sharply felt in the Chicago lodge, where records show a decline in the hot point department from 220 workers to 180. The automatic-electric plant now has 50 workers, down from 150.

Not only has the IAM been hit with speed-up and mass layoffs, but it was also the first to have their wages slashed under Nixon's Pay Board.

President Floyd Smith has revealed his bankruptcy in the face of the Pay Board. Even after being forced to leave the Board, he has refused to call for strike action against the wage freeze or a break with the Democrats who were among the most ardent supporters of the wage freeze. Now, Smith comes forward to try to keep labor under the thumb of the Democrats through support to McGovern, and in this he is applauded by the Communist Party.

Now is the time to act. Vote to repudiate Floyd Smith's endorsement of George McGovern, who openly supports right-to-work laws and anti-labor legislation. Approve the resolution to be presented by Lodge 113 and force the International to schedule a conference of labor before the end of 1972!

AFT CONVENTION . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
 Kathleen Fuller, delegate from Portland, was the first speaker after McGovern.

"This man," she said, "has proven which class he serves. This is a period when not even crumbs will be offered. This is a period of gains being taken away...It is an attempt by the wage board which takes away all workers' rights to bargain for wages, to push us back to the 1930s..."

"We cannot retreat now. We must defend the gains made in those 40 years. We, the teachers, fighting for our needs and the needs of those we teach, must go on the offensive. We can unite the strength and the power of labor to run our own candidates, answerable only to the needs of the working class."

Fuller fought against a McGovern endorsement with a call for a labor party. Support within was mobilized and encouraged by the lobby outside the convention by the Young Socialists carrying

placards calling for a labor party now. This helped to prevent any immediate, unanimous endorsement that Selden and the leadership had hoped for.

At the convention last August, the teachers, enraged by Nixon's wage freeze, voted to break a 55-year tradition of political abstention and fight to defeat Nixon. Hatred of Nixon dominated all discussion at this convention. This hatred was exploited by the Selden leadership and the Stalinists operating within the United Action Caucus to force through endorsement of McGovern by a two-to-one margin.

For many of the workers, no alternative to the two parties had even been presented before the Workers League-Young Socialists campaign at this convention. Harold Fisher, a delegate from Washington D.C. Local 6, told us after the session: "As an individual I can't make a statement (on the question of a labor party) because the first real proposal of that type where I

was personally involved was re-presented here."

Behind the widespread delegate concern with the political questions facing the convention lies the capitalist crisis, the basis of the attacks on their union, their wages, their jobs, their very livelihood.

NEA

Selden has centered on the question of merger with the National Education Association. About 275,000 teachers are in the AFT and another million are in the NEA, out of approximately three million teachers nationwide.

The NEA has historically been a non-union, professionally oriented "company union," dominated by principles and administrators. But in this period, the NEA too has been forced more and more to take up the defense of the teachers against the attacks of the school boards, and even to engage in strikes. In the face of common attacks, the existence of two rival organizations is a weapon for the school boards, not the teachers.

Reacting pragmatically to the present conservative stance of the NEA and fearful of their greater numbers, many of the militant smaller AFT locals like Minneapolis and Newark united in the UAC against merger.

But by a vote of more than two-to-one, the delegates elected the pro-merger Progressive Caucus of Selden, and passed a very principled pro-merger resolution.

Ken Miesen, anti-merger candidate for President of the UAC, who in 1970 came within 105 votes of defeating Selden, this year lost by the margin of 2937-1391. Yet early in the convention, his forces showed real strength when they defeated the unprincipled attempt of the Selden-Shanker forces to refuse to seat the Carole Graves-led Newark delegation.

The final blow to the standing of the UAC came Thursday afternoon by the Newark delegation itself, when Graves led a walkout of her delegation, supported by many of the Black Caucus delegates, after the convention rejected a special assessment for \$175,000 to aid the Newark local.

After opening her appeal for the money with "an injury to one is an injury to all," Graves threatened to further splinter the unity of the teachers by bolting the AFT if aid was denied.

In a press conference following the walk-out, she made it even clearer. Newark needed \$100,000 to fight for its contract, and she would go wherever she could get the money.

Only the Workers League presented an alternative to syndicalism. The Stalinists within the UAC and in the halls were the most vigorous campaigners for McGovern, hostile to any attempt to even consider alternatives. For them, to pose the basic economic questions facing teachers was seen as a diversion and secondary to support of McGovern.

Even their opposition to merger must be seen, not as they put it, as fear of "elitism" or opposition to "unity with racist elements," but because they see a larger merged organization as less amenable to their campaign for endorsement of McGovern.

It is these forces that the International Socialists provide a left cover for. They operate inside the UAC, although they had a resolution in committee from a Berkeley local calling for a labor party. They reserved their real fight for an all-out, almost successful attempt to pass a resolution calling for "repeal of the legislation permitting the establishment of wage controls."

While the Stalinists actively tried to mobilize the convention for McGovern and the I.S. provided a cover for them, the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party abstained from the whole convention.

The only resolution the revisionists fought for was the Minnesota resolution against the war, calling for support of the single issue demonstrations of the National Peace Action Coalition, which was passed, amended to drop reference to NPAC and instead support Labor for Peace. Outside the convention, they did pass out anti-McGovern literature. Inside the convention, they made no attempt to oppose his endorsement.

DEMOCRATIC RAID . . .

(Continued From Page 3)
 on August 23, just a few months after the anonymous contribution which did not remain anonymous.

CONSPIRACY

A Federal grand jury is still looking into the Watergate incident and its connections with Republican campaign funds. The GAO has asked the Justice Department, headed by long-time Nixon friend and Mitchell assistant Richard Kleindienst, to investigate the whole affair.

At the same time, local officials in Florida are pursuing an investigation to look into the possibility that a conspiracy involving the bugging of the Democratic headquarters originated there. Some of the Cuban exile groups implicated in the raid were on the streets demonstrating during the Republican Convention.

High officials of the Nixon campaign, including Midwest Finance Chairman Kenneth Dahlberg and former Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans, now the chief of the Finance

Committee to Re-elect the President, have been questioned under oath in Florida. Stans, who has raised millions of dollars for Nixon and made a big push for this money before the deadline, claims he cannot explain how the \$114,000 in campaign funds got into the hands of Barker.

The investigations so far have shown that at least the \$25,000 from Andreas went first to the above-mentioned Dahlberg, then to Stans himself, then to two others in the campaign, Hugh W. Sloan and G. Gordon Liddy, and finally to Barker. The only problem with this is that Liddy, a lawyer for the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President, was dismissed from his post and has refused to answer questions.

The government manufactures frame-ups with the aid of agent provocateurs, frame-ups so crude that they cannot get juries to convict. The government jails Trotskyist Juan Farinas for opposing the Vietnam War, while its own agents arrogantly flout laws passed by Congress just two weeks ago.

Drivers Fight Taxi Owners' 10 Hour Day Plan

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO—Yellow Cab Company here is preparing to force its 1100 drivers to pay for its financial crisis. Yellow Cab has declared that it no longer intends to operate in San Francisco unless the drivers accept increased work shifts, or a rate increase of which drivers would receive nothing.

The company proposed a 10¢ increase, bringing the total to 70¢ per mile. This was agreed to by the Teamster union bureaucracy, even though a petition was circulated among drivers against it. But the San Francisco Board of Supervisors refused the rate increase, and as an alternative Yellow Cab is demanding that drivers work a 10 hour day or that a surcharge be added on airport fares.

"Hell, it isn't safe working an 8 hour shift, let alone 10 hours on the street," said one driver who has worked for Yellow Cab 6 years. "They already got the surcharge on the wage forms, even though it hasn't been agreed to. What that surcharge will do is wipe out almost all of the tips."

Since the feeling of the ranks is strongly against the proposed 10 hour day, the company is attempting to force it through by threatening to sell individual cab permits to drivers. Three have already been sold, each at the pretty price of \$22,000. What the company would like to do is to sell off all of its 503 permits at this price totaling a nice \$11,000,000.

The company has no intention of taking a loss whatever way it goes. The Westgate California Corporation bought the Yellow Cab operations in San Francisco, Oakland, and Los Angeles in the early 60's for \$5.5 million. If Yellow Cab does sell not only would the company double its original investment, but it would retain the Oakland and Los Angeles operations.

Another cab driver who has worked 4 years said, "Yellow doesn't care one bit about its

drivers. I can't really buy that they're losing money here in San Francisco... But if they decide to sell, there are few drivers who could afford to buy a permit, and pay taxes, insurance, maintenance and other costs. No one I know could do it right now."

SCHEME

If this scheme does not work out Yellow Cab is discussing with the union a proposal to sell the company to the union.

In effect this would mean that the drivers "own" the company in that they work night and day without their present benefits to pay the \$11 million to the company. In other words they assume full responsibility for Yellow's bankruptcy.

The Teamster leadership refuses to inform the ranks of the current state of negotiations. That they are willing to engage in such secret talks however is a warning that a sellout is being prepared. This leadership begins not with the fight to maintain the conditions won by the union through years of struggle, but with how to keep the company from going into debt, at the expense of the ranks.

Under no circumstances must there be any "relaxing" of the present contract. If Yellow Cab claims that it can't operate its franchise the ranks must demand the city of S.F. take the operation over as it now controls rates and permits. This must be done without a penny of compensation paid to the company. The city must guarantee a decent wage of \$200 a week to all drivers. The ranks must demand an immediate mass meeting to bring all the present secret negotiations out into the open and fight for this perspective.

Shippers Plan Port Without Dockers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—While Canadian dockers fight for their jobs and conditions the drive to automate West Coast dockers out of their jobs proceeds relentlessly.

The August 27 Chronicle contains an article detailing the progress of automation and the insane war developing between ports as a result of containerization.

The anticipation of rapidly expanding trade with the Orient drove West Coast ports into a mad dash for automation. Seattle has sunk millions into new container facilities with five berths. Oakland already has seven berths and is planning additional container facilities. Long Beach is expanding to thirteen while Los Angeles is planning new facilities. San Francisco which has lost millions of tons of cargo to other ports is driving for new container berths and has now opened up the world's first LASH facility.

The development has been so rapid that the West Coast already faces overcontainerization with too little cargo to adequately utilize the available berths. It is estimated that by 1975, the West Coast will have a 50% over-capacity and this is based on the

happy assumption that trade with the Orient will expand right at the time that a trade war is opening up.

Ports such as San Francisco are actually going ahead with filling and seawall work to prepare facilities for tenants not yet in sight.

Neighboring ports such as San Francisco and Oakland, L.A. and Long Beach and Seattle and Tacoma are busily destroying each other by duplicating facilities. Even tiny ports like Richmond a few miles from Oakland are exploring getting into the container business.

The incredible thing is that the ILWU leadership encourages and openly collaborates in these developments. Harry Bridges sits on the San Francisco Port Commission urging the city on to the construction of new facilities.

The real logic of all of this will lead to the wholesale destruction of a dozen smaller ports in the next few years and millions of dollars worth of unused facil-

ities in the few remaining larger ports.

Dockers employed at the San Francisco LASH facilities described the decimation of jobs there. One man told us that a job that used to take four men an hour in unloading loose cargo can now be done in five minutes. A ship that would take eight days to unload with well over 100 men can be loaded and unloaded in less than two with only 20 men.

To make matters worse he claimed that for loose cargo on barges only four men are required by the union while in the hold of a ship the union demands eight men for loading and six for discharge. Soon there will be little loose cargo meaning one man in the barge.

With these developments the drive of the employers for a small crew of steady men and mass unemployment for the rest becomes completely clear. Right now according to the Seattle papers, dockers are engaged in a slowdown against Seatrain's insistence on steady men.

West Coast News



Over 300 members of UIU Local 500 (Upholsterers) demonstrated in front of AFL-CIO state convention in Los Angeles to demand support from the trade union movement for their fight against the Pay Board.

One Month After The Strike

Automation, Speed-ups Hit Milpitas Ford Ranks

BY BARRY GREY

MILPITAS—Ford Motor Company has opened up a total assault on working conditions and job security at the Milpitas assembly plant, just one month after the ranks ended a 24 day strike against intolerable conditions in the plant.

Forced by the ranks to partially correct some of the worst violations of the contract Ford has struck back by beginning a massive automation program to cut jobs and speed production along the lines of the GMAD plants.

In a letter sent to all UAW Local 560 members the plant manager called on the union to cooperate in implementing the new production techniques. The letter stated that \$1 million of new equipment has been installed and much more is on the way.

Echoing the standard demagoguery of the government since Nixon's August 15th wage freezing speech, the letter states that these changes will create jobs

and improve conditions.

A worker in the passenger division at the Milpitas plant told the Bulletin that automated prime booths have been installed. In the commercial division presses have been put in to replace spot welders.

BARBARIC

On top of this health and safety conditions are still barbaric. On the KD line and passenger division oil continuously drips onto the heads of workers and fumes make breathing almost impossible.

Within three days last week one welder on the KD line passed out and was dragged away. Another had the back of his head cut open by a welding gun. The

foreman refused to let him see the doctor and he subsequently passed out. The line never stopped.

While Ford has fired the opening guns of its productivity war against the union to this date the UAW leadership in Local 560 has not uttered a peep. They stand full square with Woodcock and his craven collaboration with the company and its political pawns Nixon and McGovern.

These are not local questions but require the full nationwide strength of the UAW in strike action and the political struggle to launch a labor party based on the unions. A new leadership must be built now to carry forward this fight.

VANCOUVER . . .

(Continued From Page 20)
ators permanently attached to the stevedoring companies, the resistance of the dockers brings them up against the full power of the capitalist state.

Offices of building trades unions all over the province were raided by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The provincial government faces an election August 30, in which the main challenge to the rightist Social Credit Party is from the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party.

Bennett, the premier, hopes to reduce defections from his party to the splinter Liberal and Conservative parties by creating an atmosphere of anti-labor hysteria to unite the middle class voters.

There has been open talk in the newspapers of invoking the War Measures Act, which was used by Trudeau in 1970 to jail hundreds of radicals and trade unionists.

TREACHEROUS

In this crisis, the reformist leaders of the New Democratic Party and the labor bureaucracy are playing a treacherous role. No efforts are being made to halt

the flow of scab cargo to Seattle or to permit ILWU members in Seattle to refuse to work diverted ships. First the union leadership left Vancouver out alone, and now they hope to contain the strike to Canada.

At the same time, the political leaders of the working class in the New Democratic Party are tip-toeing. In fact, they have tried to outdo Bennet in his red-baiting of the CCP, denouncing the Communist Party as being "more like the Soviets since they both have dictatorial tendencies."

SUPPORT

Longshoremen on the whole Pacific Coast must demand full support of the BC strike by the ILWU. All cargo from Vancouver and other BC ports must be boycotted all along the coast. No grain must go through. The Canadian labor movement must fight to return an NDP government in the provincial elections this week and in the fall national elections and force the NDP to carry out socialist policies of nationalization of dock and grain transport without compensation and under workers' control.

West Coast News

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Editorial

Future Of Labor At Stake In Defense Of Farmworkers

The United Farm Workers are fighting for the very existence of their union. The methods and techniques that will be employed against the entire labor movement are being refined in a grower-instituted campaign to break the UFW.

Already in a number of states such as Arizona, Idaho and Nebraska legislation has been passed which will make it virtually impossible for the UFW to organize.

The lettuce growers, the Farm Bureau and other agribusiness interests cheered on by Ronald Reagan are now throwing millions into a drive for a November ballot initiative that will literally outlaw the UFW in California.

In brief this bill will set up a five man Agricultural Labor Relations Board appointed by the governor with life and death powers over farm workers.

Secondary boycotts by any organization sympathetic to the UFW will be banned. An employer can obtain a 60 day injunction halting any boycott or strike, thus eliminating the threat of harvest time strikes. Migrant workers who are the vast majority will be effectively disenfranchised in union elections. The growers will be armed with a battery of weapons making it possible to resist the union even when elections are won. Entire areas of farmwork will be placed outside collective bargaining as "management rights."

The fight against this initiative was taken directly to the California AFL-CIO convention in a personal appeal by Cesar Chavez who maintained that if this bill went through it would destroy the UFW.

A labor committee uniting the entire trade union movement of California including the Teamsters, UAW and ILWU has been launched to lead the fight back.

Despite Chavez' reformist support to McGovern and the Democratic Party the UAW, with its back to the wall, has begun the fight in Arizona that shows the real potential of the labor movement to answer the strike breakers.

The UFW in a matter of months has conducted an organizing drive that has turned Arizona from a majority of registered Republicans to a Democratic majority. Over 25,000 Navajo Indians have been registered.

80,000 registered voters have signed a petition demanding the recall of the governor. 100,000 are needed to force a new election.

While Chavez confines this fight to the Democratic Party, its real meaning is that the UFW has taken the lead in a mass fight to mobilize labor, minority people and youth to force the governor of the state out of office and replace him with a labor supporter.

Chavez plays a criminal role in building up illusions about the Democratic Party. In Arizona the UFW is raising the question of labor fighting for the power. It is this and not the reformist claptrap about McGovern that has brought about mass support. The UFW has gone to the limit in Arizona.

The enormous resources of the California labor movement will now be thrown into the fight against this initiative. Already hundreds of youth are involved in manning registration tables and distributing farmworker material. This poses a fighting unity between the youth and the labor movement on a class basis. The campaign for the construction of a labor party must be placed at the center of this struggle.



Cesar Chavez called on Calif. AFL-CIO convention to protest proposed law which would destroy Farmworkers Union. The only defense must be a general strike against the law and the building of a labor party.

British Columbia Dockers Close Vancouver Port

BY MARTY MORAN

VANCOUVER—British Columbia's 3,200 longshoremen have gone on strike coming into open conflict with the provincial government of the reactionary Social Credit Party. The dockers' contract expired July 31, eleven months before the U.S. contract, and the struggle in Canada, particularly in the main port of Vancouver, is a warning to the rest of the ILWU.

The last week in July, ILWU Vancouver Local 500 passed a motion for all steady men to hand in their resignations and rejoin the pool of labor at the hiring hall. The

British Columbia Maritime Employers Association refused to hire dockworkers on a daily basis to replace the steady men.

On August 5, when most of the

550 steady men, who are machine operators, checkers, and maintenance men, handed in resignations and attempted to go out to their jobs through the hiring hall, they were refused work. The next day pickets went up at the hiring hall protesting the employers' stand, and all work on the Vancouver docks came to a stop.

Negotiations between the employers' association and all six British Columbia locals of the ILWU were going on at the time of the Vancouver walkout. On August 11, when the 1,800 Vancouver men had been out a week, a strike vote was taken for the province and the dockers voted by 93% to strike.

Authority to call everyone out was now in the hands of the leadership, but they continued to negotiate with the employers and left Vancouver isolated for two more weeks before the province-wide strike was allowed to begin.

SWEETHEART

During the last British Columbia dock strike, in 1969, the ILWU leadership had a sweetheart agreement permitting the loading of grain for exports, the key part of Canada's trade passing through Vancouver. This gutted the effectiveness of the strike, and allowed the leadership to portray the government as a neutral conciliatory force.

Now no such deal is possible. The local dispute in Vancouver choked off the grain trade, and the employers began to divert cargo to Seattle. Two piers at the port of Seattle have been set aside for scab cargo, and Seattle ILWU men will be moving it.

As the employers seek to automate the hiring hall out of existence and reduce the work force to a few tame machine oper-

(Continued On Page 19)

Nixon Renews Support For Anti-Strike Bills

BY DENNIS FULTON

PORTLAND, Ore., Aug. 23—Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson, speaking to the Oregon delegation at the Republican National Convention in Miami, revealed the plans of the Nixon government to push anti-strike laws after the November election.

Hodgson told a Portland newspaper that the Nixon administration "has not, as it has appeared, abandoned plans for support of strike settlement legislation along the lines of the bill introduced by Oregon's Senator Bob Packwood. We will be backing Packwood-type legislation and Packwood will take the lead."

The Packwood bill, entitled the Transportation Crisis Prevention Act, empowers the President to impose a 15-day extension of a Taft-Hartley cooling-off period, a scab "partial" operation of the affected industry and a final-offer compulsory arbitration procedure.

Nixon pulled back from his enthusiastic public support of the bill just prior to the Republican Convention. At that time, Packwood estimated there were 47 Senate votes for his bill, 45 against and 7 uncommitted.

Nixon also acted to prevent the Republican platform from including support for the compulsory arbitration legislation or for the anti-union "right-to-work" laws endorsed by the 1968 Republican Convention. The plat-

form instead praises organized labor as a part of the free enterprise system and the "statesmanship" of the labor bureaucrats in refusing to fight Nixon's wage-freezing and union-busting policies.

The statements of Labor Secretary Hodgson expose these cheap, hypocritical maneuvers. If Nixon is re-elected, he will escalate his support for the strike-breaking Packwood bill and "right-to-work" laws as part of the increasing government attacks against the trade unions and the working class.

Hodgson's statement also reveals the complete betrayal of rank and file teamsters by the endorsement given Nixon by Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons and his executive board. The Packwood bill, as the Senator has admitted, is aimed at the 1973 expiration of Teamster contracts. The Teamster statement endorsing Nixon chooses to ignore his record of hatred for the rights and gains of the labor movement. The statement ignores his plans to break what Packwood calls the "inevitable" Teamster strike next year.

Bulletin

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