

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER FORTY NINE 258

AUGUST 28, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

ANTI-LABOR RIGHTISTS RALLY BEHIND NIXON



Airline mechanics (IAM) demonstrated August 14 against being denied unemployment compensation because they were laid off while on strike against Northwest Airlines. Meanwhile, Northwest has gotten giant subsidies from the Federal government. See other picture of rally on page 4.

BY BRUCE MCKAY

MIAMI BEACH—The carefully scripted and acted-out nature of the Republican National Convention reflects important developments within the ruling class, which must now solidify the Republican Party behind it in preparation for a direct clash with the trade unions and the imposition of Bonapartist rule. The Convention is moving with awkward precision toward the renomination of Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew.

In the convention form Committee met in itself, the capitalist secret session over the press has emphasized the "orchestrated" nature of the proceedings with everything here "carefully controlled harmony" and even McCloskey's lone delegate from New Mexico unseated to prevent a single whisper of discord.

The Republican Plat-

Also very apparent at the Convention is Nix-

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McGovern, The Communist Party and Marxist Philosophy

What we think

At the heart of the political battle being waged today in the international working class movement of Trotskyism against Stalinism, is the question of Marxist philosophy. Corresponding to the opposed movements are two fundamentally opposed conceptions of reality and change.

In his essay, "On the Question of Dialectics" (Collected Works, Vol. 38, Pg. 359-363), Lenin outlined these two opposing conceptions, or theories of development, or motion, as follows: "Development is the 'struggle' of opposites. The two basic...conceptions of development are: Development as decrease and increase, as repetition, and development as a unity of opposites (the division of a unity into mutually exclusive opposites and their reciprocal

relation). In the first conception of motion, self-movement, its driving force, its source, its motive, remains in the shade...In the second conception the chief attention is directed precisely to the knowledge of the source of self-movement. The first conception is lifeless, pale and dry. The second alone fur-

nishes the key to the 'leaps,' to the 'break in continuity,' to the 'transformation into the opposite,' to the destruction of the old and the emergence of the new. The unity (coincidence, identity, equal action) of opposites is conditional, temporary, transitory, relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as development and motion are absolute."

Since the time of Marx and

the 'Communist Manifesto, Marxism itself has developed in a war against this first, "lifeless" conception because, through the cultivation of this gradualist, evolutionary, reformist, mode of thinking within the workers movement by the agents of the bourgeoisie, the ruling class has sought to oppose the struggle for revolutionary consciousness in the working class and thus to prevent it from taking power

and establishing a socialist society.

It is this first philosophical conception which sees development in a straight line forward march, or progressive evolutions of man without conflict, without leaps, and therefore without revolution, that was developed both in the philosophy and practice of Edward Bernstein and in the right-wing of the Second International. According to Bernstein, socialism would evolve gradually, as a result of a continuing series of reforms, which would strengthen the working class within the parliamentary framework of bourgeois democracy. Then, some time in the hazy, distant future, socialism would be peacefully introduced. Development through the conflict of opposites is denied.

The modern day followers of Bernstein—revision-

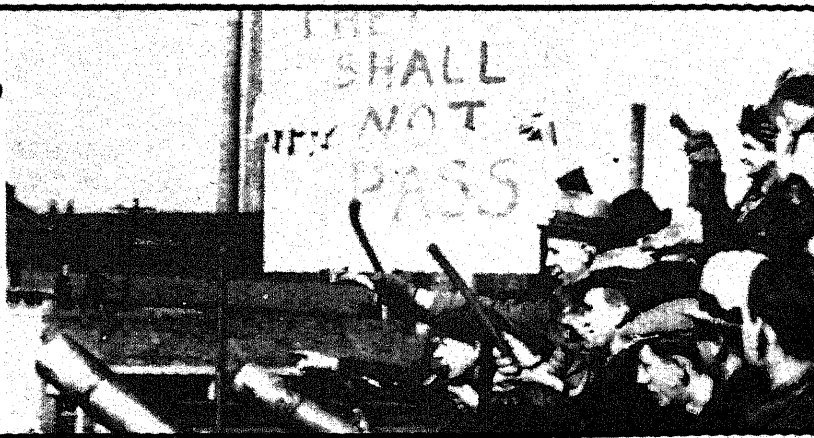
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From Sit-Down to Lordstown

The Story of the UAW

By Max Lewis

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British Dock Pact Threatens Loss Of 10,000 Dock Jobs

BY ED SMITH

Dockworkers in Britain returned to work on Monday after a twenty-four day strike. Dockworkers stayed out at Merseyside and Aberdeen and checkers continued their strike at Liverpool.

The dockworkers conducted a tremendous struggle against the Tory government and their own union leadership, showing their determination to fight and defend their jobs.

For the second time in two years the Tories were forced to bring in emergency powers to attack the dockers. The dockers defied the vicious anti-union National Industrial Relations Court and secured the release of their five members who were jailed. Throughout the strike the ranks were up against their leadership that opposed the strike from the beginning.

The lesson of this strike is that it could not be won by militancy alone. The strength of the dockers must be mobilized with socialist demands to solve the problems of their industry and to bring the Tory government down. The Jones-Aldington report, which had been rejected once before by the dockers and has now been accepted in slightly revised form is no answer at all to the threat of containerization that has been used by the dock bosses to wipe out 20,000 out of 60,000 jobs in the last five years and will wipe out 10,000 more in the next three.

Its acceptance follows unprecedented confrontations not only by the dockers but by millions of British workers with the Tory government and the exposure of the complicity of the "left" union leaders like Jack Jones, who has been boosted for years among the trade union rank and file by the Stalinist Communist Party.

The events of the past five weeks have made it absolutely clear that, in order to protect their jobs, incomes, and conditions, the British working class must throw out the Tory government of Heath. The Jones-Aldington report itself will solve nothing.

AUTOMATION

Under capitalism, advances in automation of dock work, the "container revolution," have been used by the bosses to cut out dockers' jobs by the tens of thousands. Under conditions where the present 40,000 jobs will be reduced to 10,000 by automation, the Jones-Aldington report is nothing more than an obituary for Britain's dock labor force.

The 1,650 dockers presently unemployed will be shared out among the employers. The government will pay part of the bill for the bosses and the dockers must make up the rest with lower earnings.

There will be pressure to put "groupage" container stripping and stuffing (containers loaded with goods from several sources) under the jurisdiction of dockers, causing unemployment among container workers who are members of the same union as the dockers, the Transport and General.

Finally, there will be a five month campaign to reduce the work force by voluntary unemployment. Unionists will be

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Tatars Fight Forced Exile By Stalinist Bureaucracy

BY FRED MUELLER

Twenty thousand Tatars are reported to have signed petitions in the Soviet Union asking that they be allowed to return from their exile in Central Asia to their original homeland on the Black Sea.

The forced deportation of several hundred thousand Tatars right after the Second World War

was one of the most brutal crimes of Stalin. Over 100,000 people died in the course of this shift to remote areas over 1300 miles from their homes.

The bureaucracy falsely accused the entire Tatar people of collaboration with the Nazis. It was Stalin who exterminated the leading generals of the Red Army. It was Stalin who staked everything on trusting Hitler and refused to prepare for the Nazi invasion. It was Stalin who was responsible, through his Great Russian chauvinist policies and his terror campaigns, for strengthening the collaborationist elements in the Ukraine and elsewhere.

In order to hide his own criminal role, Stalin sought to make a scapegoat of the Tatars and others. The Kremlin was forced in 1967 to admit that this was all a gigantic lie. But the Tatars have not been permitted to return to their homes.

Now the bureaucracy is preparing for a big celebration of the 50th anniversary of the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the union of the various nationalities into a Soviet federation. At this time, the Tatars are demanding "that 1972 should become a turning point in our history, a year when our national question should be justly solved in a manner worthy of Lenin."

This is a damning indictment of the bureaucracy. It is this reference to Lenin which they fear most of all. The Tatars know first hand the crimes of the Stalinists and thus, they represent a serious danger to the bureaucracy.

For this reason, the police prevented Tatars from gathering at their cemeteries in May of this year to commemorate, as they have in the past, the deaths of their brothers. This was followed during the summer by coordinated police searches designed to prevent the collections of petitions. Interrogations and searches took place in the Uzbek cities of Samarkand, Tashkent and Fergana. The authorities claimed that the petition was "defaming the Soviet state."

It is the Kremlin which defames the Soviet state. The opposition of the Tatars to the new persecution and their aggressive insistence on their national and democratic rights in the tradition of Lenin are another nail in the coffin of the bureaucracy.



General Amin

Stalinists Support Ugandan Dictator

BY ED SMITH

The Soviet Union Communist Party daily *Izvestia* has praised the decision of Ugandan military dictator General Idi Amin to expel all Ugandans of Asian descent from the country.

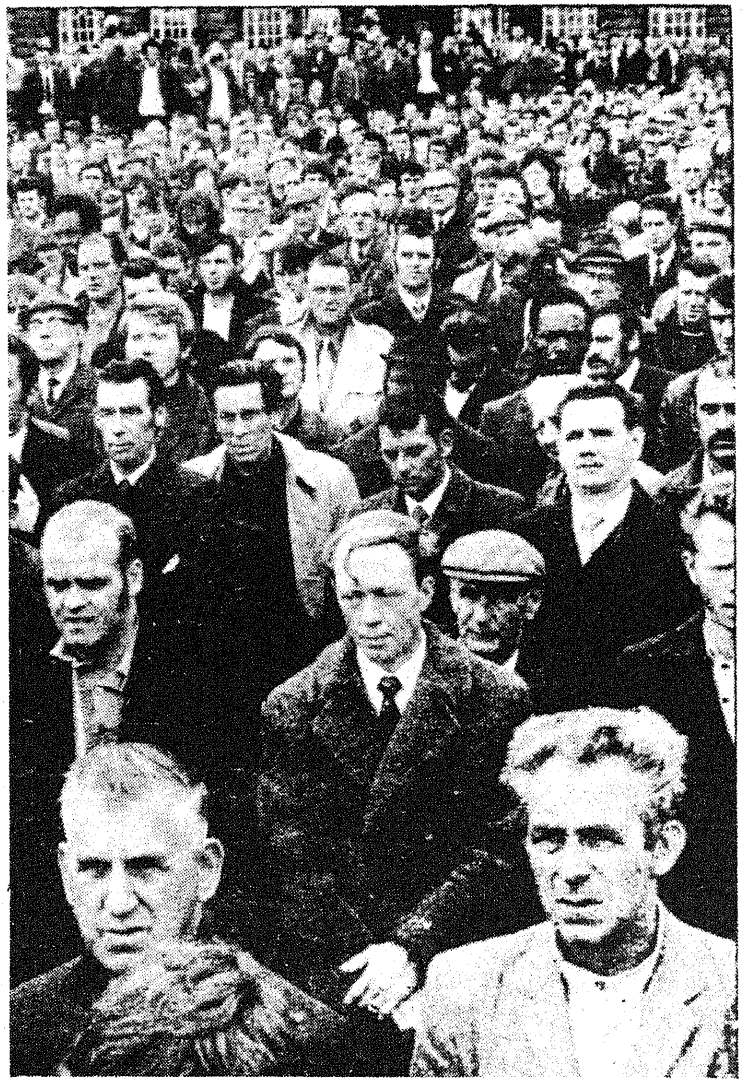
Amin had defied British "blackmail" in making his racist order, enthused *Izvestia*. Uganda was "full of determination to take the path it chooses and decide its internal matters without any external interference."

This disgusting attempt to curry cheap political favor with Amin follows after Amin had threatened a pogrom against Asians who remain in the country after November 7.

Amin is in fact an old servant of British imperialism. He was trained at the British military academy of Mons and fought against the Mau Mau of Kenya in the 1950's.

Following his British-inspired coup, he reversed the partial nationalizations of his predecessor, suspended parliament and dissolved all political parties and trade unions.

When he demanded the 60,000 Asians leave the country, he consented to let those who were professionals, landowners or bourgeois to stay. Now this racist reactionary is hailed as an "anti-imperialist" by *Izvestia*!



British dock workers in Liverpool listen in grim silence as their shop stewards advise them to return to work after three week strike.

Hanoi Indicts Moscow For Capitulation To US

BY BOB MICHAELSON

The North Vietnamese have launched a scathing attack in the editorial of their official paper, *Nhan Dan*, last week against the recent moves made by the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies to pressure them into a settlement of the Vietnam War.

Both Moscow and Peking have been pressing the NLF to accept a compromise with U.S. imperialism. This activity is the fruit of Nixon's trips to Peking and Moscow and the secret discussions held since then by these countries.

The Hanoi editorial did not mention China or the Soviet Union directly, but the inferences were clear. It stated that these two "big powers" are trying to seek "an equilibrium" of peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism.

It goes on to state that: "For the U.S. imperialists, reconciliation is but a Machiavellian policy to materialize designs of aggression, enslavements, subversion and peaceful evolution by new methods."

PLAN

"In other words, to carry out the Nixon doctrine, U.S. imperialists have applied the policy of reconciliation toward a number of big powers in the hope of having a free hand to consolidate their forces, oppose the world revolutionary movement, suppress the revolution at home, bully the small countries, break the national liberation movement, while not relinquishing its plan to prepare a new world war.

DEEDS

"The vitality of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism manifests itself first of all in revolutionary deeds, not in empty words. If out of the narrow interests of one's nation,

one tries to help the most reactionary forces avert the dangerous blows, just like throwing a lifebuoy to a drowning pirate, that is a cruel reconciliation beneficial to the enemy and not beneficial to the revolution...we Communists must persist in revolution and should not compromise."

The fact that Hanoi was forced to so vehemently indict the Moscow and Peking Stalinists for their counter-revolutionary collaboration with U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese revolution underlines the dangers which are posed.

BETRAYALS

The North Vietnamese leaders find themselves caught between the outright betrayals of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats, and the continued revolutionary determination of the workers and peasants of Vietnam.

The newspaper of the American Communist Party, the *Daily World*, has made no mention of Hanoi's editorial statements denouncing China and the Soviet Union for their activities. Where do the American Stalinists stand?

When the CP calls on workers to vote for McGovern, they are lining up with U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The only way to end the war and defend the struggles of the Vietnamese people is to mobilize the working class in the U.S. to form a labor party against both the Democrats and Republicans who are responsible for this war.

Revolt Shakes AFT Convention On Seating Issue

BY JEAN BRUST

ST. PAUL, August 22—The 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers opened here yesterday under the shadow of the most extensive and ominous threats to the future of public education and its own union in its entire history.

The opposition to the AFT leadership's policies in the face of this attack was expressed today in the defeat of the attempts by AFT President Seldon together with New York UFT head Shanker to prevent the seating of the delegation from the Newark teachers local. Shanker in his speech from the floor invoked the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act, accusing the Newark local of not abiding in its election with the law's provisions.

The AFT faces a retrenchment by local school boards, state legislatures and the Federal government that is hammering away at every gain won in the postwar period.

The main danger here is that these attacks will be seen as a temporary phenomena to be lived with for a period until some inevitable upturn, and as a matter facing teachers alone.

Instead of facing the responsibilities, President Seldon of the Progressive Caucus in his State of the Union Message announced his support for McGovern, open enemy of labor.

Opposition to the Seldon leadership has coalesced around the United Action Caucus, headed by Kenneth Neissen.

This caucus can pose no alternative to Seldon. This is reflected in its hostility to the proposed merger of the AFT with NEA. On political action the caucus states:

"The AFT must oppose candidates who favor a wage freeze, compulsory binding arbitration, and who reject the right of public employees to strike. It must support only those candidates whose records prove that they will fight for labor's rights, for better educational opportunities for all, for the immediate withdrawal of all forces from Southeast Asia, and for the eradication of all forms of

racism."

They go on to say: "To implement this policy the UAC calls upon this AFT convention to support the McGovern-Shriver ticket."

Therefore, on the fundamental question facing this convention, the urgency of fighting to launch a labor party, both caucuses are bankrupt.

Bob Matinot, president of the Indiana State Federation of Teachers, put it this way: "I can't support McGovern. The people I've talked to are not at all enthusiastic about giving money for him." He then spoke about attacks by the Gary school board which is attempting to cut the teachers ranks from 2400 to 1500. The school board is trying to cut the school year by 20 days, one sixth more students and 7% less pay. "You can't teach 180 days of lessons in 160 days. There is greater supply than demand. For the first time since 1950 the school board is feeling its oats."

A resolution from a delegate from the Portland Federation of Teachers, urging the AFT to call a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party at this writing is still bottled up in the Resolutions Committee. This is the demand the teachers must take up if the government's attacks are to be stopped.

Union Heads Ask Farinas Freedom

BY ESTHER GALEN

NEW YORK—Letters and telegrams from trade unionists across the country are flooding the U.S. Board of Parole urging Juan Farinas' release from prison. Leon Davis, President of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers Union has just sent a telegram.

Henry Foner, President of the Joint Board, Fur, Leather and Machine Workers, wrote: "We wish to add our voice to the



Literature table finds discussions continuing at a meeting held on the labor party by the Workers League in the midst of the AFT National Convention held in St. Paul, Minn.

D.A. Whips Up Hysteria Against Tombs 7 Jury

BY NANCY FIELDS

NEW YORK—Ricardo De Leon, Curtis Brown and Nathaniel Ragsdale were acquitted by a State Supreme Court jury here on all charges of leading the October, 1970 rebellion at the Manhattan House of Detention for Men.

The three, along with Herbert Blyden, Stanley King, Franklin Meyers and Louis Cabrera, were indicted in January, 1971 on 72 counts of kidnapping, attempted murder, coercion and inciting to riot. They have been held without bail since then and Blyden and King are still awaiting trial.

The case was a political frame-up from its inception. The District Attorney's office carried out an elaborate campaign in an attempt to ensure that the defendants would be convicted.

At the same time, the prosecution, in collaboration with the "impartial" Judge Birns, managed to restrict all the testimony to questions of identification.

FRAME-UP

The jury's verdict clearly exposed the government's frame-up and, following on the victory of Angela Davis, reflects the strength of the working class in this period. As Stanley King, one of the remaining defendants to be prosecuted, wrote before the acquittal:

"Since the people are sitting as the jury, it's quite possible that

he (Curtis Brown, who served as his own co-counsel) shall be able to relate the facts in relation to their true foundation in this system. As workers without power, and as they sit and listen to the lies presented by a system that stands against the people, it should become clear that power is theirs by unity which gives them the power to do that which must be done."

HOGAN

However, there can be no illusions that the verdict reached here will apply to King and Blyden. Since the acquittal, the defenders of ruling class justice, and their lackeys in the capitalist press have been thrown into a frenzy.

The entire forces of capitalist justice are being galvanized to create an atmosphere of hysteria. Manhattan District Attorney Frank Hogan, in urging that the jury system be abandoned, stated that the jury had committed "a miscarriage of justice." He further went on to say that they had not followed the judge's instructions but rather had made "a political statement."

His attack has been followed by a press release from the American Correctional Association Convention which declared that the prisons are the target "of a subversive conspiracy."

At the same time, the liberal section of the ruling class, through its mouthpiece William vanden Heuvel, has appealed to Rockefeller for "aid" by urging him to appoint a special district attorney to try Blyden and King. With Attica standing as a clear example of his aid, there is no doubt what the fate of Blyden and King would be.

It is clear that the ruling class is preparing the groundwork for the elimination of any constitutional guarantees in an all-out effort to beat back the working class. A campaign must be mounted among trade unionists and youth to ensure that the aims of both Hogan and vanden Heuvel are not carried out and that King and Blyden are acquitted.

LETTERS

Letters and telegrams urging Farinas' parole should be sent immediately to: U.S. Board of Parole, 101 Indiana Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20537, and a copy sent to the Defense Committee.

Funds are needed to support Juan's family and to continue the work of the Defense Committee. Please send contributions to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 West 14th Street, 6th Floor, New York, New York 10011.

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

Lectures:

1. Pragmatism and the Development of the American Labor Movement—Tim Wohlforth
 2. Pragmatism and the Marxist Theory of Knowledge—Tim Wohlforth
 3. A Methodological Approach to Marx's Capital—Dennis O'Casey
- \$17.00 covers everything including transportation

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.



Union Wives Lash Out At Scab Boss

BY

A BULLETIN REPORTER
PHILADELPHIA—J. Leon Altemose, the infamous non-union building contractor who publicly boasts of his intentions to eliminate building and construction unions around Philadelphia, made a big mistake Friday August 18.

Altemose decided to stop in at the First Pennsylvania Bank in Center City, which is financing the \$10 million Sheraton Hotel project his firm is building. Never a humble man, he walked through a picket line of construction workers' wives at the bank.

This incident occurred several hours after warrants had been issued for nine men police charged with raiding the project in June. He got inside after a shouting match with the women but was not so fortunate on the way out.

Proving they have every bit as much determination as their husbands to defend the union, the wives attacked Altemose, shouting "Scab! We will teach you to show your face in Philadelphia."

One of Philadelphia's finest, a mounted policeman, tried to get through the crowd to rescue Altemose, but his horse slipped and fell. Altemose received a beautiful shiner and quite a few bruises before escaping through a movie theater. Altemose was resting and not able to come to the phone when the *Bulletin* called him for his comments.

But Altemose is a man who means business and has the full backing of the courts and the cops. Warrants were issued after the attack for two organizers of Roofers Union Local 30, charging them with assault and battery and conspiracy. Construction workers and all trade unionists in Philadelphia must politically fight to take on not just Altemose but his entire class, which is intent on destroying the trade unions.

This means a demand from all trade unionists that the AFL-CIO council in Philadelphia take steps to construct a labor party with a program designed to meet the needs of working people instead of expecting help from the courts, which is the policy which the leadership of the Philadelphia Building and Trades Council is presently following.



Machinists held mass rally after demonstration in Minneapolis.

U.S. Steps Up Attack On UMW

BY DAN FRIED

The U.S. government, through the Department of Labor, is using the court-ordered election in the United Mineworkers of America to strengthen its domination over the trade union movement.

Utilizing the crimes of the Boyle leadership of the UMW against the rank and file and the obvious implication of the union leadership in the murder of Joseph (Jock) Yablonski, the government has riddled the union with observers who allegedly operate in a "cloak and dagger atmosphere in all mine union offices." Among other things, these observers "inspect almost all records and insist that union officials fill out detailed activity and expense forms before they are paid."

A UMW official at the Washington office claimed that this government supervision included the refusal to allow the sending out of an envelope containing xeroxed copies of clip-



Miners for Democracy leaders huddle at convention held recently to prepare for the elections to be held soon in the Mineworkers Union.

pings from three newspaper articles dealing with the UMW elections, on the grounds that the material was "political" and could not be sent at union expense.

The leaders of the opposition Miners for Democracy, which was initiated by Yablonski and is running a slate headed by Arnold Miller (who is opposing Boyle for UMW President), have relied on the courts and Department of Labor intervention in their anti-Boyle campaign.

The intervention of the government however, presents tremendous dangers, not only for the UMW, but for the entire trade union movement.

UAW Pulls Out Top Negotiators From Norwood Strike Talks

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NORWOOD—Despite the fact that the UAW strike has entered its nineteenth week here, Leonard Woodcock did not dare to visit the beleaguered workers on strike.

The President of the UAW was a two hour drive or a one-half hour flight away from Norwood in Columbus, Ohio, for a regional conference, last Monday but he was too busy drumming up support for George McGovern.

On a TV news show from Columbus, Woodcock stated that he had pulled out his first string negotiators from the negotiations. Woodcock stated the obvious: "GM doesn't want to settle."

One worker on picket duty in Norwood pointed out that on the TV newscast Woodcock fell back

on second hand information on the Norwood strike, stating, "I was informed by my assistant," and then he would lean over to consult his assistant. The worker remarked:

"What's Woodcock doing that's so damn important that he's not down here? He's probably busy seeing if he can dig up something on Shriver, so he might step in. A lot of members wish Woodcock would have gotten on the Democratic Party ticket, so we could get somebody else to represent us. Woodcock should have been down here from the first."

Some workers were wearing "Build a Labor Party" buttons which were being distributed. One Black worker stated: "With all this confusion, I would support Meany for President on a labor party ticket."

He stated that the "neutrality" of the labor leaders was playing into the bosses' hands. He pointed out that the government was using the murder of mine leader Yablonski as an excuse to drive labor out of politics.

The Norwood strike this Sunday, August 20th, becomes the longest strike in GM-UAW history. Workers on picket duty pointed out that on Sunday the strike enters its 135th day, the longest previous strike having been 134 days. The workers stated categorically that they will picket until they get their demands.

The chief negotiator of UAW Local 674, chairman of the Shop Committee Jim Young, stated that: "I'm not going to present something to the membership to ratify that is not what the members struck for and what they are entitled to." George Bluestone, UAW Vice-President and director of the GM department of the UAW, is finally meeting with Local 674 negotiators tomorrow.

Woodcock's failure to rally other GM locals to a unified strike struggle against this brazen new union-busting machine called GMAD, is a betrayal of his position as President of the UAW.

Woodcock, seeing how the English dockworkers reacted to the sellout of Jones, as carried by TV in Ohio, would no doubt not feel comfortable visiting the Norwood Fisher-Body plant. One worker stated, "Woodcock's pay should stop when the workers' pay is stopped. Then he might do something."

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THE BULLETIN, Weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$4.00, Foreign—1 year: \$5.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.

BUG Prepares Mass Layoffs

BY A LOCAL 101 MEMBER

BROOKLYN—"The utility meter reader is about to ring his last door bell." This statement in the business section of the *New York Times* reveals the situation that all workers at the Brooklyn Union Gas Company face.

It is clear that in an effort to reduce the cost of production, distribution and maintenance, the BUG bosses will stop at nothing.

This week computerized equipment is being installed at the Montague Street office. The mailing department is being completely automated. These new machines threaten not only to produce mass layoffs but also the demotion of large sections of the clerical departments to a lower status and eventually to lower pay.

AUTOMATED

BUG is preparing to replace the system of in-house meter

readings. It has been revealed that with the fully automated meter reading in the Hartman Village in Staten Island, two meter readers can now complete in one day what it took four meter readers to do prior to the introduction of the new methods.

"SKIPS"

This new system reduces to nothing the amount of "skips" and boosts productivity to over 200 percent. The new operation is now being tested in Brooklyn. Work loads are now being increased and new work rules are being enforced. BUG is proceeding to violate every section of Local 101's contract in its drive for productivity.

These attacks now take the form of harassment and open discrimination in promotion. Seven meter readers were fired on trumped-up charges in Queens. As the case goes to arbitration, it turns out to be nothing but an attempt to cut down on the work force as part of the overall productivity deal worked out with the Public Service Commission and the efficiency experts. One of these meter readers correctly stated:

"Their decision to reinstate one of us and leave the others out is completely discriminatory. It is a way of breaking down unity, pitting the one against the others. We won't let them get away with it. Only the unity of all the ranks

can help us keep our job and prevent them from doing the same to others. I must say it again, what we need is unity."

All this is being done at a time when Nixon and the Pay Board are moving to cut down the 10 percent wage increase won in the last contract more than a year ago to 2.5 percent. The Kirrane leadership of Local 101 has collaborated with the bosses and the efficiency experts on the new work rules and has refused to mount any fight against the company's attacks.

What is at stake is the jobs and working conditions of all members of Local 101. The ranks must fight for the reopening of the contract demanding that absolutely no changes are made in work rules, categories, or job content until these are negotiated with the union and all jobs guaranteed.

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez



Young Workers slave in Connecticut Valley tobacco fields for \$1.37 an hour. See full story on page 7.

Eruption Of Race Battle Diverts Dayton Youth

BY KENNETH WRIGHT

DAYTON—The employers and the government here are using unemployment to divide workers and youth and at the same time creating a situation where thousands of youth are being denied any possibility of jobs.

Unemployment among Blacks is running around the 30 percent mark. Both Black and white workers have been stunned by the suddenness of the shutdowns and cutbacks in the industries around Dayton. One thousand employees, who worked for the Sunshine Biscuit Company, confronted this when that company recently shut

down entirely.

Massive cutbacks have been implemented at National Cash Register, McCalls, Chrysler, and other companies, which have affected Black and white workers and youth.

These conditions are the result of the conscious policy of the bosses and the two capitalist parties who have created a racial war, which is ripping apart the city and has created the greatest dangers for workers and youth.

Shootings and stonings have resulted after an incident in which an unarmed Black, a burglary suspect, was shot to death by Police Chief Cheadle.

Since then, nationalist leaders have jumped in to divert and cover over the central issue. After denouncing the County prosecutor, Lee Falkner, a "liberal" Democrat, they called not for a fight against the government and the two parties but for white workers to stay out of the West Side.

Rev. Gilbert of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Project Cure, and an officer in the Republic of New Africa, were quoted warning white workers to stay out of the ghettos. What the nationalists want to cover is that thousands of Blacks and whites work together at McCalls, Inland Steel and other large plants on the West Side, which gives them a common interest.

Only the Young Socialists in Dayton can unite all youth around a revolutionary program that can lead workers and youth against the attacks of the government. Only this movement can bring the understanding to other youth and workers of the need to fight the government through the call for a labor party that fights for jobs for all through a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

number of stabbings and as one youth put it: "People were running all over with shotguns just a few months ago."

The dissatisfaction with this way of life is quite evident among young people here. Almost every youth looks forward to leaving this city.

REVOLUTION

Because of these conditions, the youth are realizing that a fight must be taken up. When the YS pointed out that a change of the economic system through a socialist revolution was needed, most of the youth agreed.

"We need a revolution but we also have to think about educating the people so that they will understand," one youth said. Another youth said: "We have to fight but what is lacking in Buffalo is a leadership. There are no leaders here, no one will stand up yet."

The program of the YS and the building of a revolutionary youth movement is the only alternative. The response to the Bulletin, when over 100 papers were sold on a Saturday sale, reveals the tremendous potential for building the YS in Buffalo.

Buffalo Layoffs Rob Youth Of Future

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

BUFFALO—In this city where multi-millionaire steel owners have implemented a drastic plan to lay off large numbers of workers, the Democrats and Republicans have revealed their alliance with big business by turning upon the youth in this city.

One youth told the Young Socialist that already the cutbacks in education have begun. "They (Democrats and Republicans) have already cut back on bus passes. Before we didn't pay that much, but now the amount of money we pay has been increased."

In Buffalo this cut in bus passes has been sharply felt by students and their families because of the scarcity of jobs and the high bus fares. On top of this, these politicians have the audacity to state that in a few months fares will be hiked even though they are up to 40 cents at this point.

If this situation looks bleak, it is only surpassed by the hopeless situation concerning the scarcity of jobs and the extremely low pay that is received by those who do find employment. One youth told the Young Socialist that:

"The summer jobs we get pay only \$1.60 an hour. This comes out to nothing. Some programs were set up because the unemployment has been the main reason why the amount of crime is so high in the area."

These conditions have contributed to the rise of gangs in Buffalo. There had been a large

Stalinists Aid Nixon's Attack On Schools

President Nixon, with the aid of the Democrats, successfully vetoed a bill that would have maintained the current federal educational program for working class youth.

In Philadelphia, teachers are determined to strike for salary demands that are needed. In Detroit Democratic and Republican politicians have threatened to lay off teachers, or cut the school year, or both. In New York, the two capitalist parties, not satisfied with the 5,000 teachers they threw out last year, are now demanding that another 3,000 be laid off to resolve the budget crisis of the city.

Under these conditions, in the face of attacks that cut into the rights of every worker to a secure job, and every youth's right to a decent education, the Communist Party continues to hold hands with the spokesman of the enemy of the working class, George McGovern and the Democratic Party.

All the talk about the anti-working class nature of the Nixon Administration is thrown up by the Stalinists to boost the Democrats and McGovern. But the Nixon Administration could not hold office for one week without the support of the Democrats in Congress.

At the American Federation of Teachers conference in St. Paul, Minnesota, the Stalinists are exerting all their energy in gathering support for McGovern. In the August 19 issue of the Daily World, they state that the task before the teachers' conference is to oust Nixon simply because of his Vietnam War policy. The questions that primarily confront the teachers such as job security and salary gains, are given only secondary treatment.

The Stalinists have to play up McGovern's position on the war because they know that his position on unemployment, plant closures, and cuts in education are the same as Nixon's. This has been clearly revealed in his history.

At this point, when students are affected by this drive to take away all their gains, they must unite with the teachers union and call on them to take up the fight against the budget cuts, the Pay Board, and to build a labor party against the two capitalist parties. Only this action can defend the rights of both teachers and students.

The issues and class positions are clearly posed in the battle between the United Federation of Teachers and the Board of Education in New York. The fight here is one against the Board of Education which has offered a miserable 3.6 percent increase which doesn't even come near the amount that teachers need to keep up with the inflation caused by the monetary crisis. On top of this more layoffs are being demanded.

The government is mobilizing all its forces to defeat the coming strike. Nationalists are once again playing a reactionary role by trying to pit the community and students against the teachers union.

The Stalinists, using the same political line that leads them to support McGovern, wind up against the interests of both teachers and students and supporting community control.

In the same issue of the Daily World, support is given to Luis Fuentes, Superintendent of School District 1, who is calling for community control. It's no accident that Fuentes was also involved in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville fight during the last teachers strike. Fuentes' role is clear: to break the teachers union.

In the Daily World he states: "I think that the real issue is who is going to control our schools—the parents or the teachers union." In the New York Post of August 19, he stated that every teacher was going to work for their pay.

It is clear that the attack upon the teachers union is part of the attack upon workers and youth as a whole. For this reason the students must take up a defense of the struggle that the teachers are waging for decent wages along with their own fight against the budget cuts.

By intervening in this battle, the Young Socialists can bring in the revolutionary understanding of the tasks confronting the unions today.

It is the unions that must take up the defense of the rights of all workers and youth by demanding decent education, decent wages, and the formation of a labor party that will fight for socialist policies.

It is critical that all students and youth concerned with their right to a decent education and a job join the Young Socialists now.

Join the Young Socialists!

— I would like to join the YS.

— Please send me information about YS activities in my area.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

PHONE _____

Young Socialists 135 W. 14th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011

Young Socialist

YOUNG LORDS EMBRACE ANTI-COMMUNISM

BY A YS REPORTER

NEW YORK—In this period of the break-up of capitalism and the movement forward of the working class all the groups that based themselves on the stability of this system are now thrown into crisis.

The Young Lords Congress held June 30 and July 1-3, and the Peoples' Solidarity Day Conference (P.S.D.C.) on August 19, showed the crisis and rightward turn of the YLP leadership.

The resolution on the "World Situation" declared that there are two main enemies—U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union which is termed "social-imperialist." Now that all the imperialist countries are preparing to crush the gains that were made by the workers and peasants of the October Revolution, the YLP under this pressure refuses to defend those gains. There is no difference between this stand and those of the middle class intellectuals who state that the Soviet Union is the same as the U.S. and in this way excuse themselves from fighting capitalism.

This position which is hostile to the working class was also behind the recent expulsions that occurred a few weeks ago. The YLP expelled a number of members who had been around the Communist Party. It was not done because the Communist

Party is Stalinist but rather because anyone who even remotely connects himself with the October Revolution has come under attack in the YLP.

HATRED

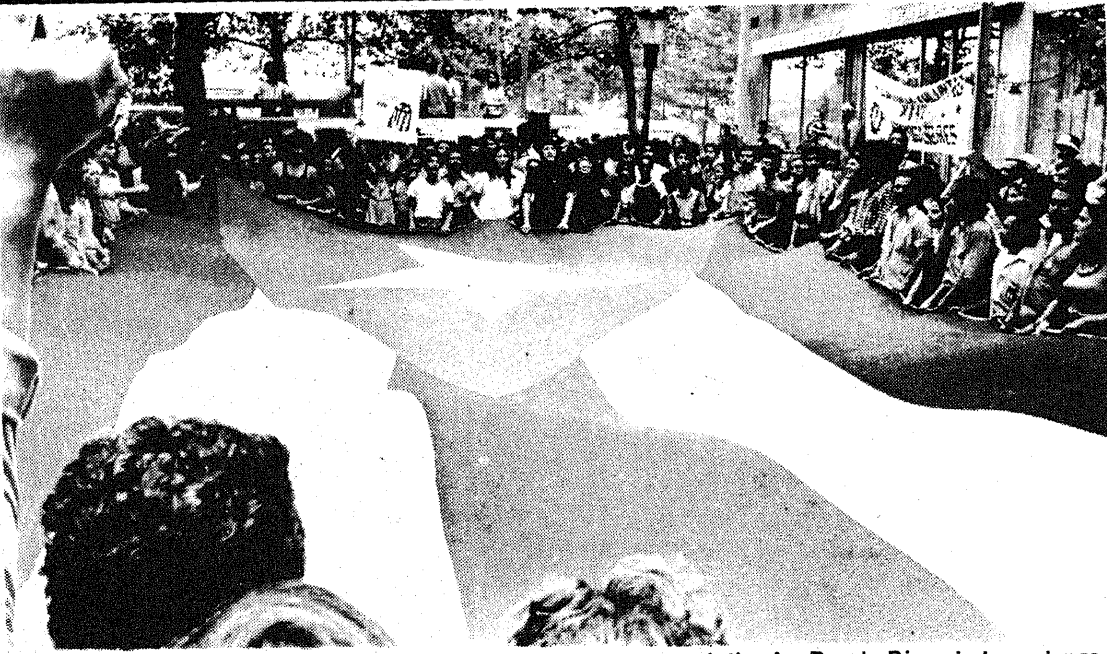
At the Peoples' Solidarity Day Conference all "Trotskyite" organizations were excluded. Members of the Young Socialists were forced to leave. This hatred towards Trotskyism is related to the stand taken by the YLP in complete defense of Stalin.

Gov't Slashes St. Paul Youth Corps Jobs

BY A YS REPORTER

ST. PAUL—"Neighborhood Youth Corps is nothing but a racket. It's close to slave labor." This is the attitude prevalent among St. Paul working class youth who are being forced out of summer jobs and onto the streets.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps project in St. Paul started at the end of the school year and was scheduled to run through August. Participants in the project were



Nationalists demonstrated at UN to support Cuban delegate's resolution for Puerto Rican independence.

The crisis of the YLP stems from its refusal to confront the historical development of the Marxist movement particularly the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism. Instead of defending the gains of the October Revolution they wind up against those gains and supporting the Stalinist bureaucracy that endangers those gains.

At the same time their moves toward Mao and reactionary Maoist organizations such as the Revolutionary Union are just a cover to enable them to keep their anti-working class, nationalist position. While mouthing solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and peasants,

what do they say about Mao having cocktails with Nixon, and Mao supplying weapons to Yahya Khan to slaughter the Bengalis?

Their history they see as one of "right opportunism," or "left opportunism, and extremism," but they cannot write one word of assessment as to why this situation developed and what their history is all about.

U.N.

The YLP's entire past of jumping from one position to the other, from the lumpen being the revolutionary class to the working class (only if it aids colonial struggles), reflects not the Marxist method but the prag-

matism of the ruling class. For the Young Lords revolution has become a question of gimmicks, taking a little from here and a little from there. If one does not work maybe the others will. Above all the YLP maintains nationalism.

This is why they have no perspective for the youth. Now the headlines of Palante tell the youth that Puerto Rico will attain its independence not through the struggle of the Puerto Rican working class for socialism, but rather through the United Nations—in other words through the goodwill of the imperialists.

Flowing from this the YLP cannot even take a stand on the elections, to pose any program to fight unemployment, the budget cuts, repression and racism.

The Young Socialists have a stand on the elections. We are calling for the working class to break with the two capitalist parties and for the formation of a labor party pledged to socialist policies. In this way we can mobilize masses of workers and youth to defend their gains and prepare them for the taking of power.

Only the Young Socialists which bases itself on Marxist theory and the continuity of Marxism, Trotskyism, can pose an alternative to the youth today.

to work 26 hours a week at \$1.60 an hour.

But now, another government promise is exposed as a lie and funds have been cut nationally. Since July 28, large sections of youth were laid off and the remaining youth have worked only 13 hours a week. On top of this, the entire program was ended early on August 11.

ANGRY

One youth said, "If N.Y.C. isn't improved by next year, most kids

won't want jobs next summer." The youth are angry, but there is only one way that youth can defend themselves against these attacks and the bleak future held in store for them under capitalism.

By joining the Y.S. and fighting for its program which calls for jobs for all at union wages and to build a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans a revolutionary movement can be constructed to fight for socialism which can guarantee a decent life for workers and youth.

IRISH YOUNG SOCIALIST SPEAKS OUT ON ULSTER

The following is an interview with a member of the Irish Young Socialists, taken as British troops were being brought into the ghettos of Northern Ireland earlier this month.

What was the situation as you left Ireland?

Well, as you know, there are now more than twenty thousand British troops in Ireland. Some of them were just flown in from Germany in the last few days. Things are moving very quickly now, as they want to use the troops in Ireland, and then be able to bring them back against British workers. They are now going in to smash the no-go areas, the barricaded areas of the Catholic ghettos in Belfast and Londonderry.

What is the situation where you live?

I live a few miles from Belfast, in a mixed Catholic and Protestant neighborhood. In Belfast itself, everything shuts down at six or seven at night, and nobody goes out. The shops are all closed and the streets are empty.

In the ghetto, people stand out in the streets, but there are troops all over. Plainclothes and uniformed, in mobile units. They

stop and search whoever they please, and of course have the power to intern you without trial or charges, to jail you.

Since internment started almost exactly a year ago, they have jailed hundreds and hundreds like this. When it started, the soldiers just swooped into people's houses in the Catholic districts in the middle of the night and took suspects off. There was a fierce reaction to this and still is. The upsurge in the bombings was in reaction to these policies.

Now, with direct rule from London, all the reactionary and right-wing forces are gathering. The UDA (Ulster Defense Association) works very closely with the army, and terrorizes Catholic families and calls for the wiping out of the Irish Republican Army.

What has been the role of the IRA?

Neither the provisionals nor the Officials have an answer to the troops. Their policies led to the truce and opened the way for what the army is doing now. The

Provisionals finally broke the truce, but they still call for the troops to be withdrawn to the barracks outside the city, not for their complete withdrawal. All those who supported the troops coming in, supposedly to protect the Catholics, and who supported direct rule, are now in a trap. The Tories are using direct rule and the troops to try to impose dictatorship.

What is the policy of the Young Socialists?

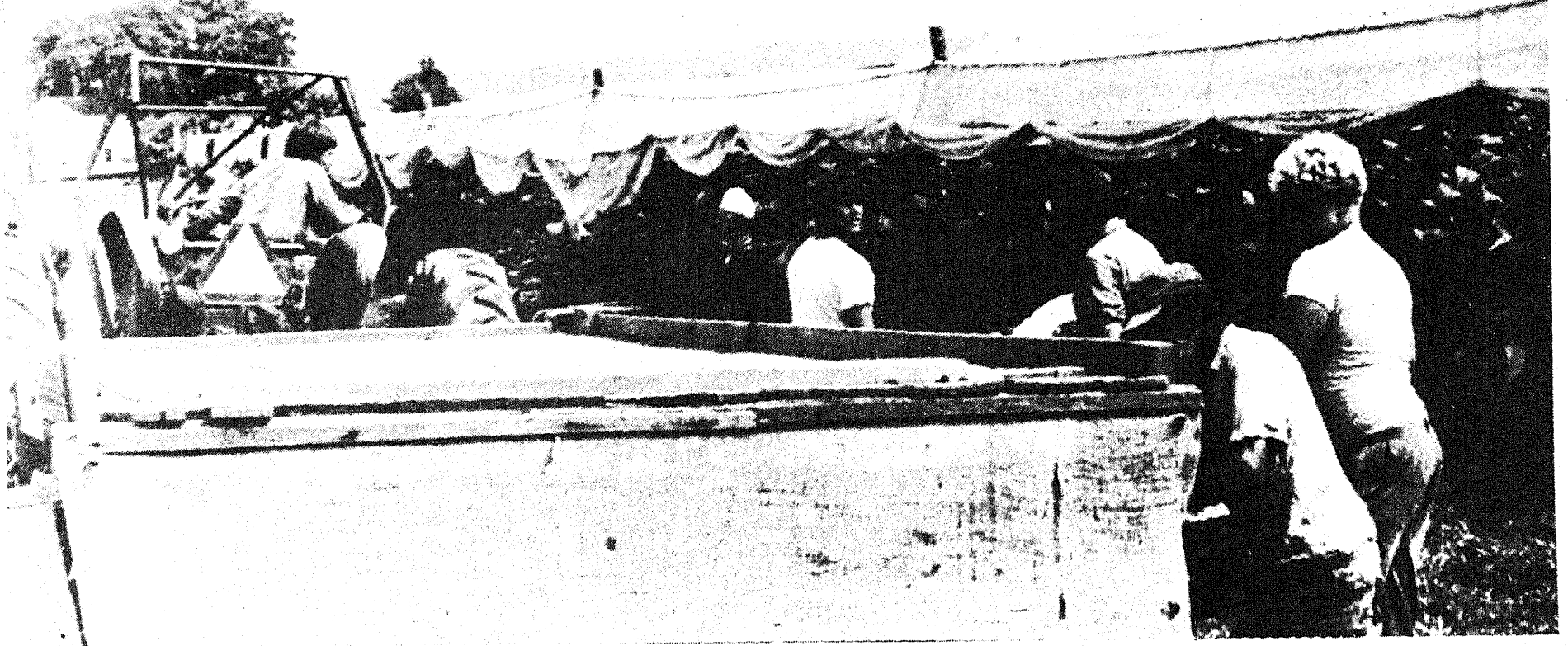
The future of the Irish working class is completely linked with that of the British workers. The working class in North Ireland has not yet been defeated, and it is part of the same movement as the British working class. The Industrial Relations Bill and the jailing of the dockers is just the preparation by the Tories. Internment and occupation warns British workers of what to expect.

We fight for the unity of Catholic and Protestant workers, and unity with the British working class around the fight to bring down the Tory government, and return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. This means the withdrawal of all British troops from Ireland and the establishment of a united, socialist Ireland.



Young Socialists enjoy the sun at Brooklyn beach outing last Sunday.

YOUTH SLAVE FOR \$1.37/HOUR IN CONNECTICUT FIELDS



BY WILLIAM VAN AND KENNETH BLAKE

At the beginning of this month, 27 Puerto Rican tobacco workers from a camp in Simsbury, Connecticut filed suit in the U.S. District Court in New Haven against their employer, the General Cigar Company, for failure to live up to a contract which promised three hot meals a day.

Last week, this legal action by the workers from the Simsbury Camp was answered with strike action by tobacco workers in South Deerfield, Mass. Some 50 field workers from Camp Whately in South Deerfield held a one day work stoppage against the same failure of the company to provide the promised three hot meals a day. The strike began after these workers were served frozen sandwiches for breakfast.

These two actions reveal the hatred which the migrant tobacco workers up and down the Connecticut River Valley share for cruel working and living conditions created by the Cigar Company's ruthless drive for the cheapest labor possible. The brunt of this drive is aimed at young farm workers ranging from 14 to 17 years old who are brought from great distances to live in work camps and toil General Cigar Company's fields for \$1.37 an hour.

Over 1,000 of these youth have been brought to the Connecticut River Valley to pick and prepare tobacco leaves during this summer's harvest. They account for over a quarter of the work force and their labor, the cheapest available, goes a long way in producing the profits on every White Owl or Tipperilo.

Local youth from the Connecticut area were first employed during their summer vacations. This practice lasted until after World War Two when the company began recruiting youth as summer workers from the rural parts of Florida, especially around Tampa and other areas connected with the tobacco industry.

Later, men for the fields were recruited from the West Indies; Jamaicans were brought thousands of miles to work in Culbro's fields as little as 10 years ago when they earned 90 cents an hour. In 1964, the Labor Department decided that, for the "benefit" of Puerto Rico, the companies would have to stop employing West Indians in favor of Puerto Ricans.

Today, the work force is comprised of men and women from Puerto Rico and youth, both girls and boys, from Western Pennsylvania, Florida and West Virginia—4,000 workers in all.

MANIPULATION

The growers in Connecticut have always chosen their labor force very selectively. With a clear eye for the manipulation of the racial and age differences of their labor force, they bring these 14 and 15 year old youth and adult Spanish speaking workers to live the barracks-room life of a work camp.

Thus, through division and most importantly isolation from the working class as a whole, the tobacco bosses have maintained the slave wages of youth at \$1.37 and used these wages as a threat to the

adult Puerto Rican workers who themselves earn an impoverished \$1.85 an hour.

The racism put into practice by directors of the youth camps is acknowledged by both Black and white youth in the work camps. Youth bused up from the mining regions of Western Pennsylvania angrily told the *Young Socialist* how the camp directors consistently bypassed experienced Black youth for less experienced white youth for favored job assignments.

Favoritism encouraged by the camp directors sets youth against youth. As one youth put it: "Up here brownnosing the camp director counts."

Racial friction, fed by the intolerable conditions and encouraged by the attitudes of the camp bosses, is "solved" by expelling whole sections of youth from the camp which was the fate this summer of large numbers of Black youth from Hartford which Culbro had hired. Youth from different parts of the country are also kept segregated.

COMPLAINTS

The food supplied by the work camps is one of the chief complaints of the youth as it is among their older counterparts. The youth pay \$14.70 a week for what is supposed to be three hot meals a day. A camp brochure used to recruit youth for the fields states that: "Nourishing and healthful meals are planned by experts in their field."

The youth in the camps, however, see it differently. One said: "It's rotten. I haven't eaten breakfast since the first two mornings because it's so bad. Dinner is often cold because they make it an hour before we eat."

Another said: "The food is lousy. We have to make up our own sandwiches for lunch. We can make all the sandwiches we want but we can only put one piece of lunch meat in each sandwich."

In addition to having to pay 60 cents a day for making their own sandwiches for lunch, all youth must periodically do "KP" in the kitchens for which they get no pay. This slave labor is generally reserved as a punishment forced upon youth for breaking the very strict and arbitrary rules of the camps.

The work which the youth are paid \$1.37 to do, picking tobacco, is by far the most gruelling labor which is required by the growers. It is a hand and knee bruising job, down in the mud working for the minimum legal wage for youth farm workers. The 48 hour, six day week begins each morning at 5:30 a.m. when the youth get up, make their beds as required, eat breakfast and perform "KP" if required. They go out to the fields at 7 o'clock in spite of the weather conditions.

One youth told *Young Socialist* repor-

Young Socialist



Top, youth work in the tobacco fields. Bottom, they sit outside their barracks.

ters that: "The working conditions are poor. The boss makes us go out every morning no matter what the weather. On wet days, the worst days because of the mud, we wear lousy thin plastic raincoats that always rip." Working in the mud on their knees produces pimples and bruises that are never given time to completely heal.

Boys are docked one hour's pay if caught pausing for a moment by a field supervisor. Youth said that they "caught hell for going to the field outhouses, which by the way are filled with spiders, bugs and mosquitos."

ADMIT

An assistant field supervisor did admit that: "The kids are treated like slaves by the company. It's push, push, push. Some farms have 10 minute breaks, some don't. This one doesn't because the director doesn't want them."

When the boys leave the fields exhausted at 3:30 to take showers they have little to look forward to at the camp. At Camp Floydville, many boys sit on the steps of the camp building until dinner time. Others try to play basketball on a court which has large cracks with grass growing through. The pingpong tables stand vacant because they are so chipped that they are unusable.

Recreation is limited to baseball games, a few field trips to the seashore, and two dances with the girls' camps, during the whole summer. On Sundays, church attendance is mandatory.

At Floydville the second rate movies which the company shows every week at a cost to youth of 35 cents are also made mandatory by the camp director! A youth summed the situation up like this:

"This is the most goddamn boring place I've ever been to. You can't even leave the camp on your free time or have visitors without written permission from three people."

Camp Floydville is run down and shows the obvious unconcern for the welfare of workers by Culbro. Gaping holes in the screens let mosquitos in at night. There is no heat and little hot water. Insulation on the pipes is falling in rags. The boys eagerly showed all this and the bathrooms without stalls to the *Young Socialist* reporters.

When asked why they travelled hundreds of miles from their homes and families to work at Camp Floydville, the boys made it clear that they had no choice. In their hometowns in West Virginia and Pennsylvania most of their fathers worked in the coal mines and steel mills.

With the increasing slowdown in basic industry, these youth had no chance whatsoever of finding work of any kind around these industries and even jobs with such government agencies as the Youth Corps were scarce. A youth from Brownsville, Pennsylvania said:

"\$1.37 is ridiculous for what we are doing. We get \$1.37 for working in the fields when other kids get \$1.85 for making hamburgers. The problem is we can't get jobs like that in Brownsville."

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Only Labor Party Can Defeat Right Wing

The events of the Republican National Convention meeting this week in Miami are a sharp warning of what is being prepared in the next stage of attack on American workers. Behind the staged and showbusiness atmosphere of the convention, Nixon and the Republican Party are consolidating their forces, giving full reign to the rightist elements in preparation for Bonapartist dictatorship. Their job is to smash the tremendous movement of American labor against the program of big business and its representatives in the Democratic and Republican Parties to freeze wages, increase productivity and create mass unemployment.

While the neo-fascists mobilize outside in the streets of Miami, those sections of the Republican Party who are closely tied to the rightist groups like the John Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan and the right-to-work organizations dominate inside. In the secret session of the Platform Committee over the weekend the right-to-work forces clamored for their open shop provision. This was defeated only because of Nixon's attempts to court a section of the labor bureaucracy. But it is clear that this is what lies in the future.

On Monday night the platform was handed over to Ronald Reagan and Barry Goldwater. It is from Goldwater's state that some of the loudest cries have come from the employers' organizations to pass open shop laws against the unions. Goldwater's speech was devoted to whipping up patriotism and demagogic attacks on McGovern and the liberals, accusing them of treason in the war with Vietnam.

McGovern and his party are the representatives, like Nixon, of big business. This election occurs in a period of the deepest crisis for world capitalism. Whoever is elected in November will carry out the dictates of the big corporations against the American working people.

This is why Nixon cannot be defeated with a McGovern. This is why McGovern can pose no alternative to Nixon's policies of wage freeze, speed-up and mass unemployment. He has in fact supported them.

Last week when McGovern was pushed on his position on the wage freeze all he could say was that he would "review" the situation when he was elected. This is, of course, exactly what Nixon said.

The events of the Republican Convention show the urgency of the fight in the unions now for the labor movement to call a Congress of Labor to build this party. The capitulation of the trade union leadership in this election underlines the urgency of the Workers League conference of workers and youth in October to fight for a labor party.

Sub Drive Jumps Ahead

This week we received 348 subs, a significant jump from the 272 received last week. This gives us a grand total of 3,240 subs. Areas which did well this week include Brownsville—31, East New York—26, Northfield—34, Minneapolis—26, St. Louis—30, Ft. Greene—30 and New Haven—27. While the Bay Area got in 43 subs this includes several branches and is thus considerably below what is necessary.

We now face a very severe test. Because of the delay in reaching the figure of 500 subs per week nationally we must receive 575 subs per week for the next three weeks. This cannot be done unless all branches approach this work differently than they have to this point recognizing the threat to the working class in the right wing forces now gathering around Nixon and the impossibility of answering this except through the fight of the Bulletin for a labor party committed to socialist policies.



Behind the scenes.

What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

ism and Stalinism—are today forced to provide a pseudo-Marxist philosophical explanation for their opportunism, for their pragmatic bowing before "the facts," before what is, rather than bringing Marxist theory up against the appearance of what is in conflict with the present consciousness and practice of the working class. Thus, a few years ago Joseph Hansen, a leading writer for the Socialist Workers Party, wrote that Marxism is "empiricism consistently carried out" and more recently, George Novack, leading philosopher of the SWP, wrote: "The materialist conception of the world is squarely opposed not to empiricism, but to idealism."

It is with the same philosophical defense of empiricism and its bastardized American cousin, pragmatism, that the Communist Party now comes forward openly in order to give a "Marxist" cover to its opportunist campaign for George McGovern and the so-called left wing ("new forces") within the Democratic Party.

The Daily World has now begun part one of a series ostensibly devoted to an attack on the National Caucus of Labor Committees, which is in large part a polemic against the open philosophical idealism of the Labor Committee. But the author, Robert Phillipoff, in arguing against Labor Committee with quotations from Marx and Lenin which clearly state the objective independent existence of matter, does this one-sidedly, in order, like Novak, to create an identity between materialism and empiricism and to turn Marxism into the kind of mechanical materialism which Marx and Engels took up in their critique of Feuerbach.

Thus, Phillipoff searches for quotes from Marx that the objective world is "empirically verifiable." Phillipoff's understanding of materialism is an attempt to cut out the heart of Marxism by attempting to see the consciousness of men as simply a passive reflection of the material world.

Thus, he quotes Lenin's quite correct description of materialism: "Materialism in general recognizes objectively real being (matter) as independent of the consciousness, sensation, experience, etc. of humanity. Historical materialism recognizes social being as independent of the social consciousness of humanity. In both cases consciousness is only the reflection of being..."

But this understanding is further developed by Marx and Lenin, in order to understand that consciousness is not a passive reflection of the material world, but rather develops as a consequence of man's practical struggle against nature, that is, to change reality. Phillipoff ignores the Theses on Feuerbach in which Marx states: "The chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism...is that the object, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the object or contemplation but not as human sensuous activity,

practice, not subjectively....Hence he (Feuerbach) does not grasp the significance of 'revolutionary,' of practical-critical, activity. ...The philosophers have interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it."

It is precisely the struggle to change reality and to oppose the "trade union" or spontaneous bourgeois consciousness by bringing socialist consciousness into the working class "from the outside" as Lenin outlined in What Is To Be Done that is at the heart of the building of a revolutionary leadership.

Again, he quotes Lenin, but ignores the practical, socialist conclusions that Lenin drew from his understanding of matter: "If the world is matter in motion, matter can and must be infinitely studied in the infinitely complex and detailed manifestations of this motion, the motion of this matter. ..." He then attacks the Labor Committee for not studying this motion, "the motion of this matter," and for making a "mockery of reality."

This "reality," the same "reality" of all the revisionists and labor bureaucrats who cringe before "circumstances" and "the facts," requires according to Phillipoff support for McGovern as a supposed strategy for socialism. That is what he and the CP mean in saying: "In the real world of the United States the correct strategy for the attainment of socialism is firstly through the attainment of an anti-monopoly coalition," which according to the Daily World must begin by rallying the biggest possible support in the labor movement for McGovern and the liberal Democrats.

Phillipoff spells out this reformist, gradualist, two-stage theory which was most notably developed against Lenin by the Mensheviks as follows: "Thus, although the struggle for socialism is the ultimate aim, the struggle for peace and democracy, against racism, etc. is the immediate mass objective. This is a strategy which corresponds to the real world based on a study of its actual motion." Socialism, according to the Stalinists is wiped out! The perspective of revolution is replaced with a perspective of the attainment of reforms in which capitalism (the "monopolies" are "curbed") provides peace, democracy, and the betterment of the conditions of the working people.

It is on this basis that we see that the real aim of this polemic on philosophy is the Workers League, the Trotskyist movement which poses the construction of a labor party in the U.S., in order to pose the taking of power, of socialist revolution.

This becomes even clearer when we read what the Daily World wrote last month in reference to the attack on the Workers League at the Chicago TUAD Conference by U.E. official Ernest De Maio: "A concrete proposal (for labor) is necessary, De Maio said, because the needs of the people are great, must be met now, and 'cannot wait until the revolution.' Referring to a noisy Trot-

skyite sect, which like parrots continually repeated the call for a 'Labor Party Now,' as a panacea for all problems, De Maio said that such abstract formulas will only keep the Left isolated."

It is absolutely clear that De Maio, representing the Stalinist outlook, opposes the labor party because he opposes revolution and believes instead, along with Bernstein, in making capitalism work humanely. On the other hand, we have the conception of Lenin who characterized the present imperialist stage of capitalism as the epoch of wars and revolutions in which capitalism could no longer develop the forces of production, or play any kind of progressive role.

Reality is not at all the way the Stalinists see it, of transforming capitalism into a peaceful, humane system. Rather capitalist reality means either the destruction of all humanity through fascism or the creation of a revolutionary leadership through which the working class can transform existing reality, transform the opposites within capitalist society through the triumph of one opposite and thus transform the relation between man and nature, opening up a new epoch in the progressive development of human society.

This is the perspective of Lenin, developed in the Transitional Program of the Fourth International which opposes the old reformist conception of "the minimum program which limited itself to reforms within the framework of bourgeois society, and the maximum program which promised substitution of socialism for capitalism in the indefinite future." Our program sees the defense of "the democratic rights and social conquests of the workers...within the correct actual, that is revolutionary perspective...in systematic mobilization of the masses for the proletarian revolution."

This "actual," "correct" understanding is grasped theoretically by the Marxist party and developed in the struggle to bring this understanding into the working class in order to train a leadership, in conflict with the false conception of reality as "decrease and increase" which the Stalinists promote in order to keep the working class tied to capitalism. They, like the "socialists" that Marx and Engels polemicized against in the Communist Manifesto, "want all the advantages of modern social conditions without the struggles and dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. They desire the existing state of society minus its revolutionary and disintegrating elements." In short, they seek to eliminate the "source" of all motion, "the struggle of mutually exclusive opposites."

Phillipoff's "materialism" is nothing more than an apology for reformism and the popular front which, as we shall examine next week, led to the victory of fascism in the 1930's and allowed the restabilization of capitalism after World War II and must be fought and destroyed in the working class movement today.

From Sit-Down to Lordstown

1. THE ORIGINS

THE TREMENDOUS CRISIS of world capitalism is reflected today in the development in the United States of George Wallace and other rightist movements, and the move toward dictatorship aimed at smashing the unions by the state apparatus under Nixon.

But these movements, aimed at installing the most brutal and destructive regime in history, are the desperate attempt of a decaying capitalist class to crush the strongest working class in the world—the American working class, with the center of its power in the industrial unions which arose out of the historic struggles and the massive sit-down strikes of the CIO.

It is this tremendous power of the organized working class which forced George Meany off the Pay Board.

It is the tremendous power of the working class which has forced America's industrial giants—in steel, in rubber, on the docks and in auto—to attempt to weaken the working class, especially with a drive for increased productivity and the club of unemployment.

This drive of the industrialists, inspired by the Nixon Administration, has accelerated since August 15 and the institution of Nixon's wage controls, to the point where, only one year after the signing of the contract by the UAW with General Motors, a state of virtual civil war exists between the company and the auto workers.

The recent strike at GM's Vega plant in Lordstown, Ohio in the most volatile and militant section of the UAW represented by the youngest workers, forced the reluctant UAW leadership out on strike. It showed the tremendous resistance of the working class to these attacks.

But the strength of the auto workers comes up continually against the treacherous UAW leaders. The lessons of fascism, particularly in Germany where the working class was the most powerful in Europe and imbued with a socialist tradition, are that the betrayals of the labor bureaucracy, of the Stalinists, Social Democrats and of the revisionists, are fuel for the fire of fascism and the defeat of the working class.

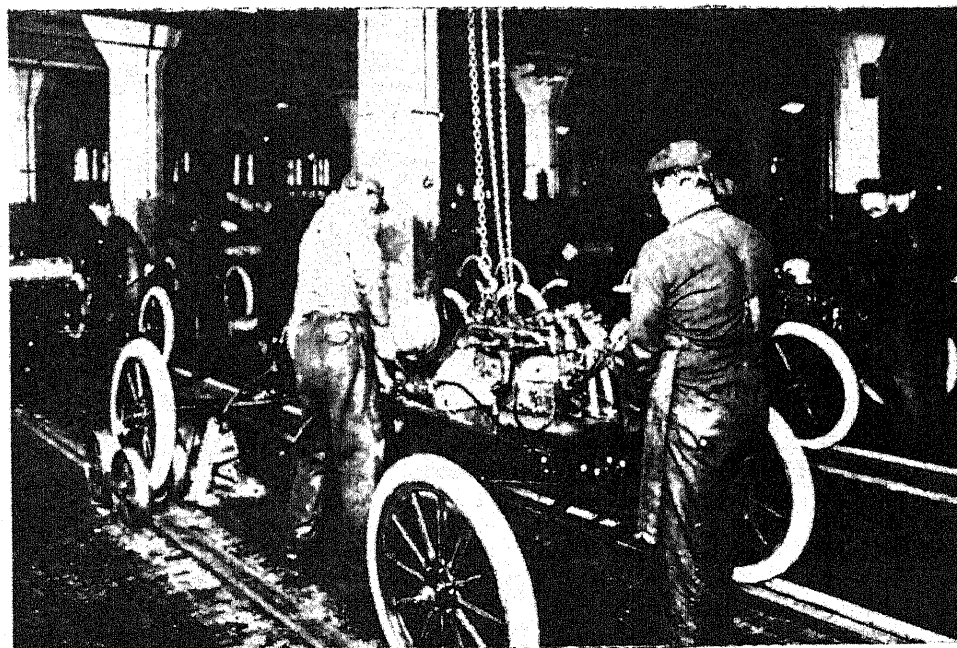
The history of the organization of an industrial union in auto—of the UAW, is undoubtedly the richest and most fascinating, and perhaps the most valuable in lessons for the Marxist movement—of any union in the history of the American

working class.

It is this history and this understanding which must now be brought to the militants—of the older generation as well as the younger—who will take the lead in the construction of a Marxist leadership, which on the basis of an understanding of the role of Stalinism and revisionism, can take on and replace the UAW bureaucracy headed by Leonard Woodcock.

Above all this history must be brought into the struggle of the youth and working class to construct a conscious revolutionary party that can bring the working class to power, smash the fascists and establish socialism.

The years after the civil war marked a



Ford was the first to begin mass production on an assembly line. Above, State Troopers killed two and injured many strikers in the 1934 Toledo Auto-Lite strike which opened the 1934 strike wave.

new stage in the tremendous industrial expansion of American capitalism. With the opening up of the western lands for development and the extraction of surplus profit from the frenzied exploitation of wave after wave of immigrants, the foundations were laid for the vast empires of wealth and power that exist today in the fortunes of the Rockefellers, Carnegies and Morgans.

Against this background where the booming American economy knew no limits, Henry Ford put the first Ford together himself. It was a two-cylinder, air-cooled job mounted on bicycle wheels. A leather drive-belt drove it forward but not backwards. On April 2, 1896 as his wife watched, Ford pushed the contraption out of his wood-shed and tried it and it ran. Borrowing \$28,000, the Ford Motor Company was incorporated in 1903, producing the first Fords as low-priced luxuries.

In the first five years of its existence the Ford Motor Company experimented with eight different models of cars, varying in price from \$850 to \$2,000, and was able to show a net return of 310% on its original

the story of the UAW by Max Lewis



investment. Ford discovered that "Every time I reduce the charge for our car by one dollar, I get a thousand new buyers." He therefore announced in 1908 that his company "would limit its efforts to the production of a single, standardized, relatively inexpensive car."

THE TIN LIZZIE

Ford was to play a central role in the development of modern mass production industry. In 1908, 11,000 Model T's were sold, as Ford went to the top of the list of car manufacturers in profit and production. Outgrowing his old factory, Ford opened a new plant at Highland Park, hiring Walter Flanders, America's leading

week for an eight-hour day. At the same time leaflets began to appear at Highland Park. "Henry Ford, Speed-up King," they said, "ran a sweat-shop where workers were paid 25 cents an hour, and even then were frequently fired so they could be rehired at 20 cents an hour."

Union organizers and leafleters were arrested as quickly as the Highland Park police could get to them. To prevent contamination of workers by union notions, Ford workers were forbidden to leave the plant during the meal breaks. To offset threats of union organization, Ford's business manager James Cousens conceived of the five-dollar day late in 1913. On January 5, 1914, ten thousand job hunters were crushed against the factory gates. When the police tried to clear a path for Ford workers, the crowd, waiting for hours in the bitter cold rioted when they thought that they were losing their place in line. The police hosed them down, the water freezing as it hit them.

FIVE DOLLARS A DAY

Ford's much publicized five-dollar-day proved to be a fantasy to a large percentage of its workers. Probationers got only \$2.72 a day, almost 7,500 workers in 1916 were hired, kept on for six months probation and fired, to be replaced with other \$2.72 a day workers. Most women workers were not eligible for five dollars a day pay. Nor were unmarried men under 22. Married men involved in divorces were not eligible, neither were any workers who lived "unworthily."

In order for a worker to get five dollars a day, he had to pass the test of the Ford Sociology Department proving his worthiness. They collected rumors, suspicions, gossip. Carousing in the evening was frowned upon, drinking disqualified you, so did divorce, so did taking in boarders of the opposite sex or sending money home to the old country.

In January 1919, the company announced the six-dollar-day. The head of the Sociology Department said Ford paid the six-dollar wage by accelerating the line to a "six-dollar speed."

While the speed-up of the line went up the wages went down. In 1926 came the five-day week. Ford publicized that workers would put in a five-day-week at the old six-dollar a-day pay scale. In actuality their pay was cut on the average of four dollars a week. Production pace again went up. Ford stated two months after the five day week was introduced that: "We are producing the same number of cars with the same number of men as we formerly produced in the six-day week."

DEPRESSION

Ford met the depression in 1930 not only by cutting wages and laying off workers, but by putting out work to parts shops. So brutal was the pressure on the workers that even business magazines protested.

SPEED-UP KING

In the summer of 1913, the workers at Detroit Studebaker plant struck for one

Finally the workers in "the Highland Park butcher shop" struck.

The Mayor of Detroit created a committee to investigate conditions at the plant which found that: some men worked a 14-hour day for ten cents an hour; women workers were required to evade the State ten-hour day law by keeping fake time cards; workers were kept at their jobs five or six hours at a time but only paid for one or two hours of actual working time. State troopers broke the strike by bringing strikebreakers onto the site from another plant. In the midst of the depression, Henry Ford said it was a "wholesome thing in general."

The symbol of the depression became the "Hoovervilles"—the tarpaper-and-tin-sheet shack communities that grew up in the dumps of America's cities and towns where evicted families were forced to live.

An estimated 1,500,000 homeless, including thousands of women and young girls, wandered the roads of the country, Mass hunger amidst plenty—want despite

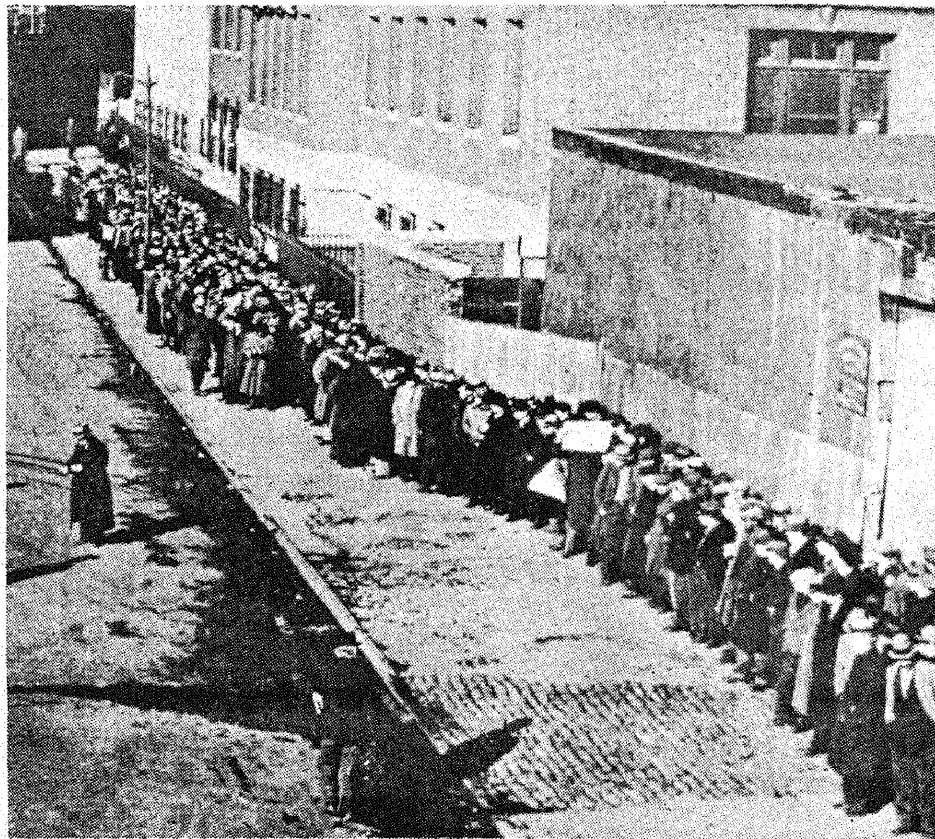
who remained on the payroll worked fewer hours, on an irregular basis. Early American Federation of Labor attempts to organize auto along craft lines failed miserably as it floundered on the rock of craft-union jurisdictional claims that existed between nine craft unions. These craft unions were reorganized in 1918 into the United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America, (UAAVW) with a few feeble attempts at organizing.

Not until March 1927 did AFL President William Green initiate an attempt to organize auto by appealing to auto employers "to try collective bargaining." With no response Green discontinued this half-hearted manner until "more favorable times."

The communists were destined to play an important role in auto. The Communist Party began work in the Detroit auto factories in 1925. But by this time, the CP was already feeling the impact of Stalinism. One year later they established seven shop nuclei with membership of 316. They began to enter the virtually mem-



The Briggs strike of 1933. This strike in which the Auto Workers Union took part, was one of the first major auto strikes of the 1930's.



The 1930's brought poverty conditions to millions who were forced on to the breadlines.

an unparalleled capacity to produce.

In Detroit evicted families were applying for help from the City Welfare at the rate of 7,500 per month. People were found on the streets unconscious, poisoned by food they snatched from the garbage cans. 400 children a day turned up in bread lines. The suicide rate was up 30 percent. 150,000 people were driven out of the city by the depression. Another 211,000 people lived off the pittance doled out by welfare agencies.

On March 7, 1932 a demonstration of unemployed seeking jobs at the Ford River Rouge plant in Highland Park was dispersed by machine guns fired through the plant's fence point blank into this hunger march killing four, wounding 20 or more. Ford said it was a "red conspiracy," as he set about preparing for another "red invasion." Armed guards patrolled the plant; floodlights lit up the gates at night; tear gas supplies were readied and machine guns were set up.

"NEW DEAL"

The November 1932 elections saw the Hoover administration washed away by a flood of popular hatred as his little known successor Roosevelt promised the American people a "New Deal." Roosevelt's first major official act after he took office on March 4, 1933, was to save the big banks and big depositors at the expense of the small banks and small depositors.

Roosevelt is credited by his closest associate Raymond Moley, in his book *After Seven Years* with "saving American capitalism" with his "bank moratorium," as the "crisis hung in balance and the last remaining strength was being drained out," of the dying capitalist system.

Factory sales of cars and trucks had fallen 75 percent, from a total of 5,337,087 units in 1929 to 1,331,860 units in 1932. Not only did auto employment decline sharply, with wages slashed, but the fewer workers

berless UAAVW, gaining control of the key Detroit local and converted the national organization into the Auto Workers Union (AWU) and then affiliated it in 1929 with their Trade Union Unity League (TUUL) which had been established by Stalinists for dual unionism. All of these narrow sectarian maneuvers which were to become symbolic of the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist Party in the "third period" probably recruited not more than one hundred auto workers into their AWU which was little more than a paper union at the time it joined the TUUL, their parent body.

The Stalinists concentrated on Ford by organizing and leading a couple hundred unemployed on a "hunger march" on Ford's armed Dearborn citadel, March 7, 1932 in which four marchers were murdered by Ford's police gunfire, which the Stalinists attempted to exploit.

As the depression bore down heavily on the working class, the auto workers were prone to complain loudly of speed-up as they were constantly under pressure to turn out more and more work for less money. One worker protested that "no human on earth can keep up with the auto assembly lines" and that "the way they are using these lines sure is slavery." Seniority and job security were non-existent creating uncertainty and favoritism in layoff and rehiring procedures usually at a lower pay scale.

It was not surprising that the first important auto strike in Detroit during the depression did not originate from union agitation but rather from unorganized spontaneous rebellions against wage cuts and unbearable conditions which as one city official phrased it "just burst like lightning" on the scene and served as "a kind of an outlet for all of the frustrations and dif-

having." The strike movement was initiated by 450 workers of the Briggs Manufacturing Company's Waterloo plant who quit their jobs on January 11, 1933, in protest against a wage cut.

The company, caught by surprise, rescinded its wage cuts in two days and the workers returned to their jobs. A few days later a spontaneous walkout of Motor Products workers also led to the revocation of a recently imposed reduction in wages. The flurry of strikes reached its peak on January 23 and 24 when six thousand Briggs workers struck the four Briggs plants in Detroit, and four thousand Murray Body workers converted a plant shutdown into a strike. A strike of three thousand Hudson workers on February 7 caused the closing down and layoff of an additional six thousand workers.

Totally without leadership or organization when the walkout began, the Briggs strikers turned for assistance to the AWU's Phil Raymond who had been the Communist candidate for Mayor of Detroit in 1930. Seeing their opportunity, the AWU and the Stalinists moved into the strike picture and made the first effective efforts to organize the strikers. These Briggs workers at first were impressed by the organizational abilities of Phil Raymond and his AWU Stalinist cohorts, but soon noticed that their "outside leaders" seemed to only be interested in enrolling the strikers into their AWU and were subordinating the aim of winning the strike, to the promotion of their AWU objectives.

This conflict erupted into a struggle to dislodge the Stalinists from control by only allowing Briggs employees to serve on the Committee of Twenty Five, which had been set up to represent the strikers in negotiations for a settlement. Detroit's Mayor Frank Murphy, who was to become later the Governor of Michigan appointed a Fact-Finding Committee to "investigate the circumstances that produced the strike," hearing testimony from the Briggs strikers about their deplorable conditions, then heard from Walter Briggs, himself, who reportedly "banged the desk with his fists and called attention to the fact that he had reduced his own pay to a mere eighteen hundred dollars a month," that he had to leave Florida because of the strike, and that his butlers in fashionable Grosse Pointe who formerly had received \$150 per month were now being paid only \$75 as no less than equality of sacrifice was expected of everyone.

This company spokesman advised the Fact-Finding Committee that this strike was entirely communistic in origin. He would not meet with strikers "for any purpose whatsoever," until after they all returned to work and then only on an individual basis. "The automobile industry," he informs this committee, "has been developed around the existing system of industrial relations," and Briggs would not permit any change in the status quo, which reflected the staunch resistance of the entire auto manufacturers to any threats to their rights to keep an open shop and run things as they see fit, on the eve of Roosevelt's inauguration.

The Stalinists refused to give effective leadership to this strike during the short time they were in control by not calling for

all auto workers to support it by building a general strike in Detroit around the common problems they were all plagued with including the need for union recognition. Confronted by an unyielding management without real organization, leadership or funds, the strikers began to drift back to work or sought employment elsewhere, after three months.

They nevertheless demonstrated by their "blind revolt" for all to see that auto workers were capable of militant action even at a time of severe unemployment and were ready to struggle for unionization.

In the early Spring of 1933, the Briggs workers in assessing their strike experience were disappointed by the sectarianism of the Stalinist AWU and the indifference of the AFL. They turned towards A. J. Muste for leadership and organized the American Industrial Association as part of Muste's Conference of Progressive Labor Action (later the American Workers Party) which was to play a decisive role one month later in the important Toledo Auto-Lite strike.

LABOR UNDER THE NRA

The collapse of capitalism into its deepest economic crisis and its slashing wage cuts triggered off the rash of auto strikes in Detroit as well as the Chevrolet strike in Oakland, California that occurred in the first three months of 1933. A. J. Muste expressed the true meaning of these auto strikes as being that "the long exploited too-patient auto slaves were getting tired of the game."

These strikes greeted the Roosevelt inauguration with a crisis as he prepared his bank moratorium in a desperate effort to save dying capitalism.

In response to mild reform concessions that Roosevelt was forced to make in the face of wide-spread unrest, the major prop that supported his "New Deal" popular myth was built up by liberals, labor leaders and the Stalinists who proclaimed Roosevelt to be the "friend of labor." They based this carefully cultivated myth on two claims: that he "gave relief and jobs to the unemployed;" that he gave labor the right to organize. The record shows otherwise.

It reveals that Roosevelt abandoned three-quarters of the 12 million unemployed to the tender mercies of state and local relief agencies who were bankrupt without funds to provide even a meager starvation dole while his "works program" never provided for more than 25% of the jobless. The amount of WPA relief jobs and welfare were reluctantly doled out in direct proportion needed to quiet the massive unrest of unemployment demonstrations, relief works and riots.

The main prop of the Roosevelt myth is that he gave American labor "the right to organize." This fraudulent claim is based on the controversial Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act, known as NRA. Labor already had the right to organize—otherwise if there existed no right, how could the AFL have existed at all?

What they needed was the determined leadership to carry out that right to organize. The popular hatred that swept Hoover out and Roosevelt in erupted into a wave of strikes in early 1933 which proved



A woman injured by State Troopers during the Toledo Auto-Lite strike is aided by fellow strikers.

that labor already was on the move and passage of Section 7(a) was merely a reluctant concession to that fact in order to place all labor officials in harness to contain this upsurge by relying on government controls such as NRA.

When it became clear that this NRA would become law, president Green called all AFL officials to Washington who excitedly gave the false interpretations to their organizers of the exaggerated opportunities that would now be opening up to organize the unorganized with the "legal" help of the government.

In the first six months following enactment of NRA, 1,695 strikes took place involving 1,168,000 strikers. What followed the signing of NRA was not recognition of labor's rights but the most ferocious assault on American labor in its history. Labor was forced into what was virtual civil war fought on three thousand miles of picket lines for five years.

Hundreds of workers were killed, thousands wounded, tens of thousands arrested or otherwise victimized. The labor "leadership" disarmed these struggles by relying on the "New Deal" government treachery, which in turn led this whole strike wave into a series of smashing, bloody defeats.

So bitter were these lessons of betrayal that workers built bonfires and burned their union cards in contempt of their miserable leadership.

THREE STRIKES THAT SHOWED THE WAY

It was at this stage in 1934 when strike after strike was betrayed and led to crushing defeats that three victorious strikes blazed forth to illuminate the whole horizon of American class struggle. What these three historic strikes shared in common was that they confronted all the agencies of the capitalist government: courts, labor boards and armed troops.

They mobilized general-strike type support and won fundamental gains.

The American workers were to be given an unforgettable lesson as the Toledo Electric Auto-Lite workers refused to be stalled any longer by the labor board or to submit to the special Auto Labor Board that Roosevelt had just set up to sidetrack pending auto strikes and which had upheld company unionism.

The Auto-Lite workers went on strike April 13, 1934. The AFL leaders immediately obeyed a court injunction limiting picketing and stood by and watched as the company secured 1800 strikebreakers inside their plant. This strike would have been lost except for the intervention of A. J. Muste's American Workers Party, which headed up the Lucas County Unemployment League in mobilizing their unemployed forces.

They refused to let the fight go that way. They defied and violated the injunction by encouraging mass picketing. They were arrested, tried and released and went back to build even a larger mass of pickets in open defiance that attracted even more support. By May 23, there were more than 10,000 on the picket lines. With county deputies lined up on the plant roof with tear gas guns, 100 more cops arrived at change of shift to try to escort the scabs through the picket lines. The battle that ensued raged back and forth and was fought with tear gas, clubs, bricks and fire hoses until the police gave up the battle.

For the next 15 hours, thousands of pickets laid siege to the plant by improving giant slingshots from inner tubes. They hurled whole bricks through the plant windows, disabling the light system. The scabs inside cowered in the dark. Frightened deputies set up machine guns inside every entrance way. It was not until the arrival of 900 National Guardsmen 15 hours later, that the scabs were finally released, looking a "sorry sight" as the press reported it.

Then followed one of the most amazing battles in U.S. labor history. With their bare fists and rocks the workers fought a six-day pitched battle with the National Guard. They fought from rooftops, from behind billboards and came through alleys to flank the guardsmen. On May 24, the guardsmen fired point-blank into the Auto-Lite strikers' ranks, killing two and wounding 25. But 6,000 workers returned at dusk to renew the battle. In the dark, they closed in on groups of guardsmen in the six-block martial law zone. The fury of the onslaught twice drove the troops back into the plant.

On Friday, May 31, the battered troops were ordered to speedily withdraw from the strike area when the company agreed to keep the plant closed. Hospitalized casualties were heavy on both sides. As the dust began to settle 98 out of 99 AFL locals in Toledo voted for a general strike the next day. With the whole community seething with anger, 40,000 workers mobilized in the Lucas County Courthouse Square. By June 4, the company capitulated and signed a six-month contract, including a five percent wage increase, naming Local 18384 as the exclusive bargaining agent.

The path was opened for organization of the entire automobile industry. With the Auto-Lite victory under their belts, the Toledo auto workers were to organize 19 plants before the year was out, securing Toledo as a unionized bastion and before another 12 months were to lead the first successful strike in a GM plant, the real beginning of the conquest of General Motors.

While the Auto-Lite workers were mopping up their victory, the truck drivers of Minneapolis were waging the second of a series of three strikes which stand to this day as models for organization, strategy and incorruptible, principled Marxist leadership. In early 1934 Minneapolis was a notoriously open-shop town controlled by the employers' Citizens Alliance who were intent on keeping it that way. With one well-executed blow, the coal yard workers organized within General Drivers Local 574, AFL-IBT closed down 65 truck yards, 150 coal offices and swept the street clear of scabs in the first three hours of the strike and won union recognition three days later.

This well thought-out and executed strategy was carried out under the leadership of the Trotskyists who had been expelled from the Stalinized Communist Party in 1928. They represented the best working class leaders to emerge out of the degeneration of the Communist Party, maintaining continuity with the tradition of the October Russian Revolution and were decisive to this victory in Minneapolis. This leadership comprised the three Dunne brothers, Vincent, Grant and Miles as well as Carl Skoglund who later was to head Local 574. One of their original innovations was the Cruising Picket Squad which was later used extensively in organizing Auto. These mobile pickets were known as the "flying squadrons" widely used as a standard picketing technique in all great CIO strikes.

Flushed with the first victory, they set out to organize every truck driver and warehouse worker in Minneapolis. After a whirlwind organizing campaign, they confronted the employers who refused to negotiate. On May 15, 1934, now 5,000 strong they struck again. This time they were strong enough to call a general strike of members and sympathizers and thereby close down the city. Armed conflict ensued between police and workers.

Aided by carefully laid war plans and advance preparations including their own hospital, cafeteria, newspaper, and picket-dispatching center, all housed in an empty garage, the strikers quickly won almost total victory for the union recognition in a traditionally open-shop city, as well as higher wages and seniority.

The leadership realizing that victory came too easy placed no faith in the employers who were stalling on carrying out the agreement. They gave the employers one month to comply with the pact. AFL Teamsters President Dan Tobin, staunch defender of craft unionism was upset about this victory because it posed the threat of industrial unionism inside the AFL. He promptly launched a red-baiting attack in his Teamsters' magazine calling the Local 574 leaders "radicals and com-

munists." A parade of 10,000 AFL members and a meeting of business agents of the Building Trades Council denounced Tobin's red-baiting attack and affirmed their support of 574.

As a general strike again ensued, the police set a trap without warning and let loose a barrage of gunfire killing two workers and injuring 55.

This was used as the pretext for sending in the National Guard to break the strike who promptly rolled into the area 20 minutes after the massacre. The employers who thought terrorism would smash the strike got a surprise. All movement came to a complete halt as 40,000 workers turned out to march in Harry Ness' funeral cortege. Governor Olsen declared martial law and began issuing "permits" for trucks to operate under protection of state troops. The guards launched an attack against the strike headquarters, arresting 100 members who comprised the entire leadership.

So great was the outcry that another demonstration and march of 40,000 convinced the guard and Gov. Olsen to release the strike leaders, two days later. On August 22, 1934 after five weeks of the toughest battling against all the forces of the employers and government the strikers won. The employers completely capitulated and signed an agreement granting the union its main demands.

Minneapolis not only became a union town that day but made labor history as its impact was to be felt far beyond its city limits.

WEST COAST LONGSHORE STRIKE

On May 9, 1934, from 10,000 to 15,000 members of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association went on an "unauthorized" strike for a coast-wide agreement, union control of hiring halls, a closed shop, 15 cent per hour wage increase and a 30 hour work week instead of 48. "From the start this strike was waged with great militancy." Frederick J. Lang in his book *Maritime, A History and Program* wrote: "It was a real rank and file strike, with the 'leaders' swept along in the flood."

Maritime workers were strongly influenced by political tendencies on the docks such as the IWW and the Stalinists. The unknown strike leader to emerge from the ranks was Harry Bridges. While under Stalinist influence, he fortunately did not adhere so closely to Communist Party policies as to carry out its line on not working inside the "social fascist" AFL unions. ILA President Joe Ryan flew in from New York to try to smash and betray the strike. AFL President Green joined in denouncing the strike and yelling about "reds" and "communists."

Only July 5 the police blasted away with tear gas, pistols and shotguns at the waterfront pickets in what was called the "Battle of Rincon Hill" killing two and wounding 109. True to the pattern established in the Toledo and Minneapolis battles, the deliberate massacres perpetrated by the police were the signal for sending in the National Guard and declaring martial law. The strikers answered with a tremendous counter-attack—a general strike involving 125,000 workers at its peak which paralyzed the city for two days.

This general strike was only able to be turned off by the treachery of the AFL leaders who ordered a halt. After 11 weeks, this strike was ended on July 31 with an agreement to arbitrate. It was a poor settlement but longshoremen were now united in their demands to win the next round.

It is these three courageous epic battles that occurred in Toledo, Minneapolis and San Francisco in 1934 that gave heart and hope to labor everywhere, laying the groundwork for the victorious climactic struggles to come.

COMPETITIVE UNIONS

Among the early competitors of the AFL to organize Auto was the independent Detroit Federation of Labor (DFoL) and the Federation of Automotive Workers (FAW) which was organized by socialists in Lansing and soon spread to Pontiac. It could not be determined if this union was "purely a political move" or a dual union as it was short lived and soon faded from the scene. The most serious competitor of the AFL was the Mechanics Educational

Society of America (MESA), formed in the early months of 1933 by a small group of Detroit tool and die makers, who chose this non-union sounding name to confuse the employers. They were to gather strength and lead the most wide-spread strike in Auto to date.

The AFL, granting charters to 183 federal labor unions in Auto, maintained direct relationships with each separate local but would not concede to their demands to form a national auto union to facilitate the tremendous task of organizing. Carl Shipley, president of the strong Bendix local, complained to Green: "We have fought our fight alone."

Auto unionists, particularly outside of Michigan, were largely thrown on their own resources which contributed to the fierce independence they were to later display. Granting of AFL charters led to premature strikes such as at the Chevrolet plant in Oakland, Cal. and the Ford assembly plants in Chester, Pennsylvania and Edgewater, New Jersey as well as the rash of strikes in the Detroit area. These strikes were defeated by the simple expedient of management who just fired hundreds of suspected union leaders and members and blacklisted them from future employment.

Green hoped to placate his craft-minded cronies on the Executive Council of the AFL long enough to "organize something in Auto before it organized itself." These early attempts to organize Auto by the AFL were timid in their approach, reluctant to use the strike weapon. They were fearful of the arrogant power and hostility displayed by the centralized autocracy that ruled the industry, satisfied merely to paper over the needs of auto workers for an all out struggle, with bureaucratic organizational forms. They were more interested in collecting dues than providing effective leadership and looked towards their alliance with Roosevelt's NRA for quick organizational shortcuts which they attempted to substitute for their own spinelessness.

Underlying the major contradiction that immobilized the AFL and rendered it impotent before this surging industrial class struggle was its outmoded concept of craft unionism. This concept was completely inadequate to match the power of the centralized command of gigantic auto monopolies.

The top AFL leaders were all privileged "aristocrats of labor" who viewed the industrial union advocates as a threat to their bureaucratic existence. Charges were thrown up by sincere AFL organizers in the field that fierce craft-union jurisdictional claims constituted "one of the greatest hindrances of organization" and warned that if the attempt were made to place auto workers in craft unions it would "kill" auto unionism.

When Ford plant employees in Richmond, California approached the local AFL council for aid in organizing they were "flatly turned down" because Federation officials in the area feared that this would just lead to jurisdictional disputes and then added that they did not believe auto workers were "intelligent enough to be organized at that time." The Cleveland AFL Metal Trades Council "made a joke of our desire to organize" the White Motor plant, Wyndham Mortimer recalled, stating that: "You can't organize the hunkies out there."

The AFL leaders in March 1934 were prepared to call a strike of 44,000 GM workers against the NRA and its infamous auto code with its "merit" and open-shop clauses when Roosevelt asked for a strike postponement for the purpose of establishing an Auto Labor Board to permit "proportional representation" that was agreed to by AFL president Green and his personal representative in Auto, William Collins.

This proportional representation agreed to conspiratorially, opened the door to a flood of company type unions being established in hundreds of auto plants by management with the connivance of Roosevelt placing one more obstacle in the path of workers seeking unionization.

M.E.S.A. STRIKE

Among the competitors of the AFL-UAW federal locals was the impressive gains made by the fledgling Mechanics Educational Society of America who took the strike route on September 21, 1933. The

MESA leaders in Flint quickly secured their membership's approval for a strike, shutting down 90 percent of the tool and die makers in the companies of that area. The Flint MESA leaders were certain that the strike in Flint had little chance of success if the tool and die work of the struck plants was simply transferred to Detroit and Pontiac.

The logic of their arguments convinced the tool and die makers in Detroit and Pontiac, where MESA had large memberships, to join them in a strike around the demands for a 25 percent wage increase, 40 hour work week and no discrimination against the strikers. Sixty-three hundred tool and die makers in the Detroit area voted to walk off their jobs and join their Flint strikers estimated at 1850 who claimed 90 percent effectiveness in their



"The Battle of Deputies Run" which ended in victory for the Minneapolis Teamsters, led by the Trotskyists in 1934, was one of three strikes that led the way for the building of the CIO.

area, together with six hundred skilled employees of the Pontiac Motor Company effectively crippling auto at its most strategic time—model changeover.

The auto companies countered this strike with a massive campaign to weaken striker morale using radio and newspaper announcements proclaiming that strikers were rapidly returning to their jobs as well as exaggerated claims as to the amount of tool and die work leaving the area.

The MESA strike committee tried to shut down other areas, but while it had some effect in Cleveland, its strength remained confined to Flint, Detroit and Pontiac. The strike committee appealed to the NLRB to arbitrate a settlement. The arbitrator decided that this dispute was hopelessly deadlocked and referred the dispute to Washington creating pessimism among the strike leaders. They appealed for AFL-UAW support but the AFL viewed MESA as a dual organization that was trespassing on the private domain of the IAM. They let it be known that the UAW would pursue a policy of strict neutrality with regards to this strike.

Out of desperation, the strike committee agreed to separate negotiations which had violent repercussions in the restless ranks. As an act of frustration 3,000 motorized strikers staged a riot attacking eight job shops, smashing one thousand windows and burning a considerable amount of tool diagrams and blueprints. Settlements were reached with most companies involved within ten days. They secured a five cent an hour wage increase in the jobbing shops with no discrimination by either side for strike activities but failed to sign contracts or obtain union recognition.

Despite its limited success in winning its strike demands, MESA achieved a major objective, that is, that it was a union not afraid to take on the auto giants and a force to be reckoned with. Membership doubled during the strike, reaching 38,000 three months later, effectively driving IAM out of the picture in auto. MESA was unable to build the vehicle for mass industrial unions to organize all of auto because it was unable to overcome its craft-elitist attitude, seeing itself and its problems as being distinct and separate from the production workers.

During this same period of the in-

famous NRA auto code with its "merit" and open-shop clauses, the AFL craft-minded leaders inflicted terrible debacles on auto workers by cooperating with and accepting Roosevelt's Auto Labor Board decisions not to strike thereby strangling auto unions separately. Expectations of Auto Labor Board results led to a rash of militant strikes in April-May 1934 that were sold out because they placed their trust in relying on the machinery of the ALB.

The strikes of Budd Manufacturers of Philadelphia and Bower Roller Bearing Company of Detroit ended disastrously for the strikers. The strike movement of Fisher Body plants in Cleveland, Kansas City, North Tarrytown and Flint attempted to establish a more satisfactory collective-bargaining relationship, but

ginning to end. Dillon compromised this strike in order to show GM how responsible the AFL leadership was to deal with—if only they would grant recognition. Dillon, as a pragmatist, had absolutely no confidence in the ability of auto workers to carry out a strike and win and was over-awed by the superficial power exercised by GM.

But GM, as well as the Big Three, discovered just how vulnerable they were when "even a small group of workers willing to fight," could "successfully cripple a giant organization." Three months later Dillon's enthusiasm about GM's "change of heart" and receptive "good will" towards AFL's brand of "responsible unionism," turned sour when GM removed 50 percent of the machinery from the Toledo plant to Saginaw and Muncie laying off approximately 1,000 workers as an act of revenge for the militancy of these workers who "had caught GM napping" and vowed "never to be caught in such a position again."

TOLEDO MILITANTS

Criticism on how the AFL's leadership, most particularly Dillon, handled this Toledo strike was to reverberate throughout the locals raising the demand that Dillon be replaced for his treachery and the immediate convening of a constitutional convention. These Trotskyist-influenced, battle-wise auto militants of Toledo organized the first caucus in auto union's history calling themselves the Progressives of United Auto Workers Union Local 18384. They lost no time in launching a campaign for a genuinely democratic international union around the demands of rank and file control against "No Strike" agreements, no trust in government boards and agencies, and no discrimination against members or prospective members, because of color, creed, nationality, political belief or affiliation."

This powerful block of Toledo auto militants based on the 19 plants that they organized was also supported by a movement in St. Louis and Cleveland. Cleveland became another center of disaffection against the Dillon-Green leadership, as well as base of power for the Stalinists who worked fervently to spread their influence in auto. They established the Cleveland Auto Council comprising nine UAW locals with Wyndham Mortimer as its president. Mortimer, who headed up the White Motor local, was later to become the UAW's first vice-president constituted finally a base for calling a series of three rump-type conferences of auto locals in Cleveland, Flint and Detroit also joining Toledo in calling for the establishment of an International Industrial Union.

They were to be credited also in pressuring Green into calling the founding convention of UAW, August 26, 1935. Green attempted to under-cut this rising demand to convene this convention by red-baiting its proponents but underestimated the support for this demand in the ranks and reluctantly convened this convention under fear that the rising tide of auto militancy would decide to organize its own founding convention.

Mortimer, as well as Robert Travis from Toledo Chevrolet, were strongly under the influence and control of the Stalinists and enjoyed support of many auto unionists not because of their politics but because they, together with other political tendencies, represented the best class fighters to come out of the ranks and were still fresh from the successful strike struggles and retained a good bit of their native rank and file militancy.

The fact that most of the early leaders of the UAW belonged to one radical tendency or another such as the Communist (Stalinist) Party, Socialist Party (whose left wing then included the Trotskyists) as well as the IWW (Wobblies) and worked together was a reflection of the deep movement for socialism developing out of each struggle in auto.

This early concentration of Stalinist efforts to penetrate auto were to give them a decided edge over other political tendencies, as radicalism became popular as an expression of the auto worker struggling to organize.

were tricked into turning off its bitterly contested strikes and returning to work with phoney promises of the ALB that failed to materialize or in any way alter their conditions.

These strikes were not approved by AFL heads who hoped to convince GM, by their conservatism, that they were the most "responsible" union to deal with, and produced instead a bitter mass membership exodus out of the AFL.

The drive of auto workers towards unionism was irrepensible in spite of all treachery, defeats and terrible blows inflicted upon it. Auto workers always came back swinging. In May 1935 it again "scored a solid punch, once more in Toledo." The same leadership who had saved the Auto-Lite strike, aided and guided a recently unionized group of workers at the Toledo Chevrolet Transmission plant into a walkout that effectively shut it down tight in a matter of minutes.

Members of the Workers Party, just formed from a merger of Communist League of America (Trotskyists) and the American Workers Party (Musteites) again gave a lead in the tactics and strategy to be used, as well as establishing their own strike paper Strike Truth modeled after The Organizer of Minneapolis Drivers Local 574. After the successful Auto-Lite strike, GM thought it best not to attempt to reopen the plant with scabs. This strike dried up the supply of transmissions for the whole Chevrolet system within a week affecting 35,000 Chevrolet workers all over the country as a strike movement developed to take on GM now.

The Chevrolet strike committee moved to spread the strike to all GM plants, by sending strike delegations to the Buick plant in Flint and also Detroit. Green moved fast to block further walkouts by sending his personal representative Francis J. Dillon into the strike area to try to halt it. Roosevelt also lent Dillon an assist by sending his personal mediator in to help apply the brakes. After three weeks, Dillon was able to ram a compromise settlement down their throats under threat of withdrawing their charter covering 19 plants stating that "after all, some gains had been made."

This strike had dealt a smashing blow to the perfidious treachery of the ALB by excluding them from this strike from be-

George Anderson Art Exhibit

SOVIET UNION: ARTS & CRAFTS IN ANCIENT TIMES & TODAY. Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.

This exhibition of over 1,000 pieces of work spanning four thousand years of Russian history, is the largest and most representative showing of arts and crafts outside the Soviet Union. It is both an important glimpse into the roots of Russian art and the culture of the peoples of the Soviet Union, and an expression of the freezing of the cultural level of the masses and the stifling of artistic creation by the Soviet bureaucracy.

The vast expanses of the Soviet Union contain well over 100 national and semi-national groups, each with its distinct cultural characteristics. Many of these nationalities have their origins in ancient times, from 5,000 to 4,000 B.C. Ancient Scythian culture spread throughout central and northern Asia from the Caucasus to Siberia, and reflected the influence of both the Greek and Oriental cultures.

This gave rise to the unique blend of Oriental and Occidental culture that was taken over from the Scythians and developed by the Slavs. It is this blend, this fusing of different elements which, while greatly diversified and developed along different national lines, retains its identity and its flavor.

Thus Ukrainian art, with bold colors and complex, rhythmic design; the lively splashing colors of art of the Northern regions; and the graceful floral designs of the Uzbek region east of the Caspian Sea; all are still distinctly in the Slavic tradition. This richness and diversity of culture, while a fertile soil which can lead to great development with a general rise in the level of culture in the Soviet Union, contains within it also the backwardness of its peasant origins, a reliance on the land, which is emphasized in the exhibition.

DEVELOPMENT

Lenin and Trotsky saw the rise of a new culture and a new art as predicated on the breakdown of the old conflict between city and country through the planning of industry and the industrialization of agriculture. Only in this way could the material basis of wealth be laid for the development of culture. They fought bitterly against the theorists of proletarian culture who turned Marxism into its opposite and saw development of culture as a one-sided, continuous process. The proletariat can develop culture only insofar as it rises above the old conditions of poverty and creates a socialist, classless society.

The rising Soviet bureaucracy seized upon the theory of proletarian culture to encourage and publicize widely the crudest claptrap as genuine art in order to stifle the development of the masses. This kind of mechanical theory also held that art was simply and only an expression of class interests. Some bureaucratic vulgar "Marxists" even went so far as to find the specific economic interests of the Florentine cloth merchants expressed in the poetry of Dante.

The theory of proletarian culture went hand in hand with the idolization of the peasantry as part of the bureaucracy's turn toward the kulaks, or rich peasants. Both of these theories remain today as part of the ideological justification of the bureaucracy for its cynical betrayals and totalitarian rule. Thus, the bureaucracy encourages only that art which is "applied" art, in other words, that which is directly a means to an end. It strikes down all strivings for abstract art, art which is not a means or an exposition or a lifeless repetition of life as in "socialist

realism," but which is an expression of art for its own sake. This is the meaning of the fact that the showing is one only of "arts and crafts," or "applied" art, and not of art as art.

GLORIFICATION

The presentation of the multitude of forms of folk art is turned by the Soviet Ministry of Culture into a glorification of all that is peasant. It is necessary to probe the significance of folk art in a materialist way in order fully to appreciate the richness of the folk art of the exhibition.

Trotsky in "Culture and Socialism", drawing on the 19th century Russian writer Uspensky (a Narodnik who in spite of his Narodism had a deep understanding of peasant life) says that "the peasant's way of life and his mentality were derived phenomena, which had developed on an economic basis and were wholly determined by it. . . the economic basis of the countryside was the bondage of the peasant in his labor-process to the soil and in general to the forces of nature."

It is this domination by nature which is the basis of the nature theme that permeates the peasant art of the Soviet Union. The peasants decorated their homes and utensils with symbols and representations of that which dominated them: nature. This often took the form of fantastic mythical beasts or simple religious themes, all with great vitality and craftsmanship and an organic sensitivity to design and color.

DOMINATED

The art of the Church in the Middle Ages in Russia was primarily a transplant of already existing European traditions which then were made to reflect the Russian traditions by the artisans. While in Europe religious art was often the area of the highest creative expression, Russian religious art was dominated by centuries of feudalism and showed no great independent development. The iconography of the 12th and 14th centuries gave way by the 17th century to the painting of religious panels in bald imitation of European medieval figures: the serene eyes, the tiny hands and feet and the stylized poses.

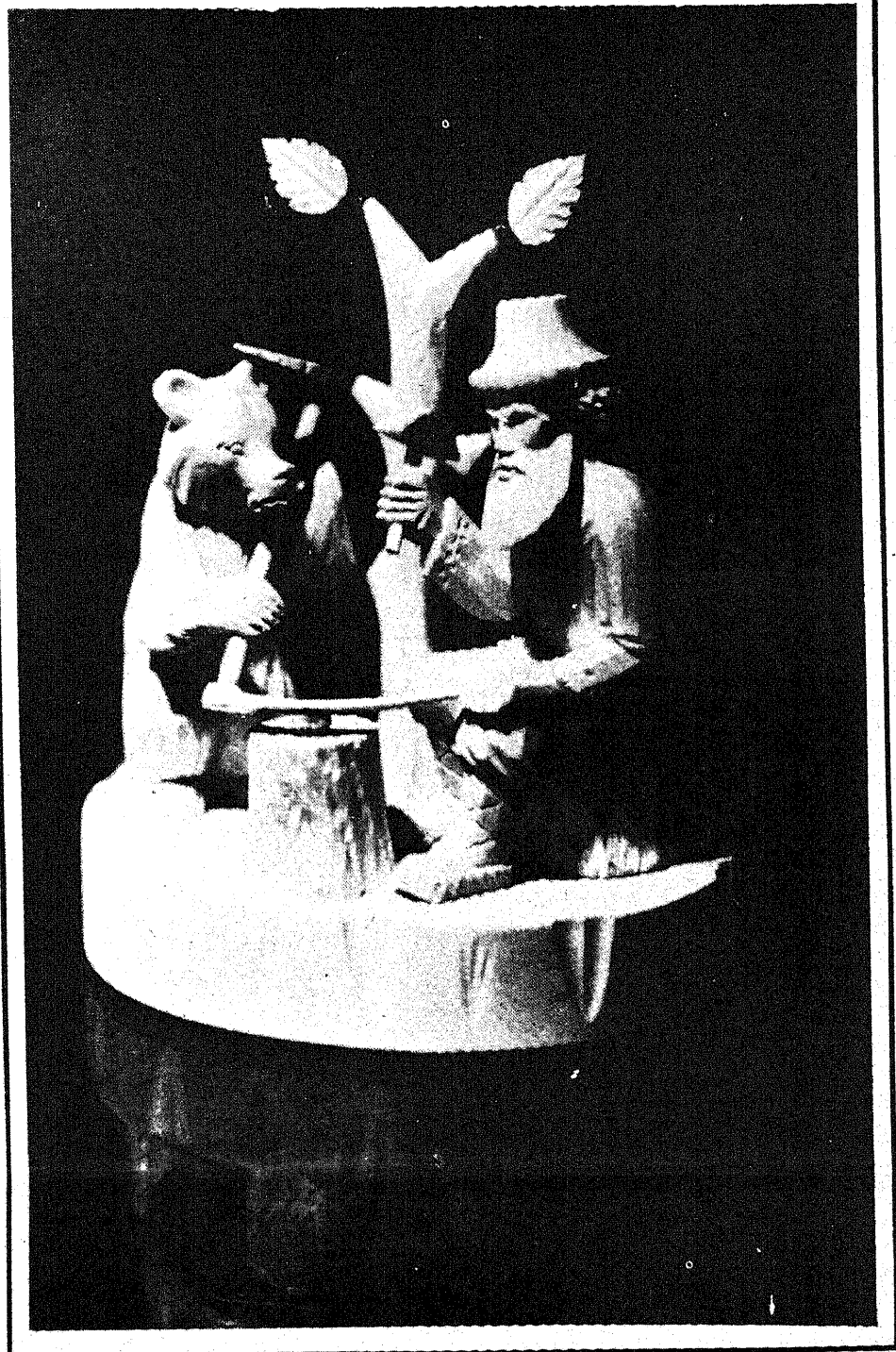
The jeweller's craft was taken, however, to its highest levels in the production of religious and royal articles for the pomp and finery of the Czars and the Russian Orthodox Church. Silver and gold filigree and engraving of the most unbelievable fineness and delicacy decorated bowls and even the stirrups of the Czars. In the 18th century ironsmiths built coffers of very fine design to hold the riches of the nobles and the Church officials.

The artisans—jeweller, silversmith, wood carver, and weaver—did not give rise to the bourgeoisie in Russia as they did in Europe. Industry in Russia developed on the basis of foreign capital, with the national bourgeoisie itself only a step above feudalism. Thus the handicrafts of the Soviet Union are historically significant in that they are relics of a still uncompleted historical process, and not as ancestors of modern industry. It is for this reason that the crafts still abound in the Soviet Union. The finest silver work in the exhibition is that of the contemporary silversmiths, who draw on all the skill and traditions of their great-grandfathers and execute their work with modern tools. The carving and decorative painting of objects of bone, wood and clay are most striking in their modern examples. They remain, however, in the old traditions and old styles.

SUPPRESSED

Since the entrenchment of the Stalinist bureaucracy, art has been suppressed. Leon Trotsky, in collaboration with the French writer Andre Breton and the Mexican painter Diego Rivera, drew up a manifesto in 1938 entitled *Art and Revolution*. They attacked the theory of proletarian culture and the strangling of artistic creation by the Stalinist bureaucrats and laid bare the conditions for the development of

4000 Years Of Russian Art



art, which is bound by fetters of reaction not only in the USSR but in every capitalist country as well. The intellectuals and artists who today raise protests against the so-called school of "socialist realism" and in criticism of authoritarian methods of rule are beaten, arrested, jailed, and harassed in every conceivable way.

The suppression of art goes hand in hand with the suppression of national minorities in the USSR. The national question has always been a thorn in the side of the Stalinist bureaucracy, and has been dealt with in the most brutal, anti-Marxist way beginning with Stalin's trampling on the national rights of the Georgians in the 1920's and continuing to the present day in the persecution of the Crimean Tatars.

The conflict between the national strivings of various minorities and the ruthless policies of the Kremlin is cynically and deliberately covered over in the presentation of the exhibition. On entering the first chamber, one is confronted with a larger-than-life, heavily retouched photograph of Premier Alexei Kosygin, along with a greeting from him which says in part:

"The national and therefore highly diverse cultures of the peoples that are united in the fraternal family of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics share its Socialist philosophy, and are all imbued with the spirit of socialist construction and the common concern for the good and prosperity of our great multi-racial Motherland."

DELIBERATE

Then the folk art is characterized as the "present stage of socialist culture." This is a 100 percent deliberate, as well as mawkish, falsification and distortion of the true condition of the peoples of the USSR and the level of culture of the masses. The idolization of everything Rus-

sian reaches even lower depths, namely to the glorification of the most disgusting displays of wealth by the Czars and churchmen. A prominent place is given in the exhibition to a shoulder vestment worn by the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church in the 19th century. This robe is a complete obscenity, with literally thousands of pearls clustered in crude designs and littered with gold sequins, gilded threads and emeralds, rubies, and other precious gems. These vestments are not in the least artistic (in contrast to the bejewelled Bible covers, which are masterpieces of gold filigree) but rather are made to awe by their sheer bloated excess of wealth.

The catalogue which is on sale states: "In all branches of Soviet decorative and applied arts, one feels the lively and passionate interest of the artists contributing to the national culture, their zeal for the creation of a new Soviet tradition and for the further development of contemporary art." This is in a sense true of the exhibition.

In one or two cases, the artist is able to slip one by the Kremlin censors. Notably the Latvian weavings bring into three-dimensional form the spirit of the abstract painting, and are a fresh step forward in experimentation with one of the most ancient crafts. Also, two ceramic animals from the Ukraine are extremely humorous. One, a bizarre poodle with a Cheshire-cat grin, seems to have a joke on everyone who looks at him.

These examples stand out, not because they are in themselves great art, but because they are a development out of the old forms but through the old forms to new fields of work. And in this they are only the barest corner of the great art and boundless artistic and creative potential that exists in the Soviet Union and struggles to tear itself free of the unbearable yoke of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

LIFE IN THE FACTORY - by a Spanish worker

FRANCISCO
DE LA IGLESIAMARIO
NATXIONDO

Pictures on this page are of the "Burgos 6"—Spanish workers who were saved from execution by massive mobilization of workers in Spain and across the world.

FRANCISCO
MARTINEZ

JOSE ZEBERIO

JOAKIN
ARTOLAEDUARDO
ROMERO

Juan is a 23-year-old factory worker who has taken a leading part in the fight for Workers' Commissions in the Spanish working class since the age of 16.

He has just finished his compulsory period of 18 months in the Spanish army. Here he tells of his struggle for independent trade unions and of his experience as a conscript in Franco's army.

Juan started an apprenticeship when he was 14 in a small factory employing 250 workers.

"As soon as I started in the factory, I had to work a 48 hour week and they paid me \$3.75 a week. After two years, this was raised to \$7.50, but although I still had two years of my apprenticeship to go, I had to do the work of an adult worker.

It was then that we started a Workers' Commission in the factory as we could see that workers in other factories were getting better conditions and money through building an organization in opposition to the fascist union.

But we were dominated by the ideas of a young Catholic Workers' Association which, along with the Communist Party and centrist tendencies, were taking hold of the movement of the Spanish working class to make sure no political demands were put forward and that the Workers' Commissions worked through the official system.

As a result of pressure from the Commission, the fascist trade union official put in for a rise. The company offered a weekly increase of 75¢ to the wage of \$15 a week that adult workers were getting for a

50 hour week!

The workers rejected this and called for an increase of at least \$3.25 and struck for an hour in support of their demand. This was the first strike in the factory for years.

The boss said he was going to give nothing and the representative of the Commissions in the fascist union told the men it was impossible to do any more.

There were some factory meetings and short strikes, but we got no increase. The important thing was that we had started our own organization in the factory which could call meetings and strike actions.

This was happening generally in the 1960s in Spain. Workers were building illegal organizations to fight for a decent standard of living.

This movement took a big leap forward with the struggle against the Burgos trials which became a national movement of workers against Franco's government.

What happened in my factory during the trial was this. We went into work one morning and a picket of youth belonging to the Communist Party entered the factory.

They talked to workers of the need for a sympathy strike and said that a strike was being organized in the area on that day.

They said that what was needed was a General Strike against Franco.

The Workers' Commission called a factory meeting and after a lot of hesitation, it was decided to strike.

We all left the factory and started a mass meeting outside the factory to discuss the strike and then the meeting broke up into small groups of workers discussing the fight against repression and for independent unions.

The factory was very quickly surrounded by police and the secret police saw the management, which tried to get a delegation of workers into the factory, but the men refused.

The strike was a big step forward as was the defeat of Franco's attempt to kill the Basque separatists.

However, two weeks after the strike, I was told to go to the management's office to collect my wages. I was confronted with the management and the fascist union officials who gave me the sack.

What has happened since then and the big strikes in the Seat (a subsidiary of the Fiat motor company) and in the building industry is that the Communist Party has done everything possible to divide and weaken the workers' movement.

They broke up the struggle in the engineering industry by calling for regional strikes at different times during the negotiations of the new agreement. And although textile workers were involved in a struggle for wages and against rationalization, the CP refused a joint strike of textile workers and engineers—so much for the CP's General Strike!

After getting the sack, I was unemployed for a time until I was 21 when I was called up into the army. They decide by lottery where you go—whether one and a half years in the army or two years in the navy.

BRIBERY

Conscription is a big blow for workers and their families. If the father of the family is ill or dead, it means the sons cannot keep the family and, anyway, it's just the time when you finish your apprenticeship.

In theory, everybody has to do the "mili," but after three months in the training camp, most of those from rich families vanished from sight. The officers run a bribery racket and let these people go home.

In the army they try to brutalize you. The officers are violent and anybody who is at all disobedient is beaten—some young workers are beaten to death.

In every barracks, there is a section of the military police—the military investigation service—which keeps a close eye on everybody.

They are suspicious of anybody who

reads, even if they are only reading the legal fascist newspapers. It's difficult to read newspapers on the "pay" they give you. Until January, the pay for an ordinary soldier was 69¢ a month. In January, this was put up to \$1.87.

With that you have to pay for all personal expenses, soap, shaving material, bus fares, newspapers, etc. What happens is that many workers' families send their sons money or parcels to help them survive.

With this exploitation and the regular use of troops against striking workers, it is necessary to try to organize soldiers in Commissions alongside the Workers' Commissions.

In my barracks, we started a group of seven soldiers which discussed organizing in the army and getting into contact with the Workers' Commissions. After the use of troops in the Madrid metro strike and the shootings in El Ferrol, a lot of such groups started throughout Spain.

We got into contact with another soldier in another barracks who said he had a commission in his barracks. Again we met the opposition of the Communist Party to the organization of the working class. We wanted a meeting of all soldiers in the barracks in our province to discuss organizing conscripts as part of the working class movement.

This soldier was in the Communist Party and had contacts in other barracks, but he refused to help us. The Communist Party, with its peaceful road to a democratic Spain, is not interested in conscript soldiers. It wants to organize those officers who want to build a modern "democratic" army in Spain, a national army independent of American aid.

The Communist Party even has a program of economic demands for these officers, officers who get at least \$125 a week! This is very dangerous for the working class. A new leadership must be built in the Spanish working class in opposition to the Communist Party."

CHARLES CLEIGUS is a member of Local 1 of the Elevator and Construction Workers Union which is currently on strike at the World Trade Center and other sites in the New York City area.

The situation as far as Local 1 is concerned right now is that we've been locked out of work for the past eight weeks and we're virtually helpless as a union. From what I understand, the main holdback is pre-fabrication, in that all work will be given to factory workers at a lesser rate of pay.

The reason I feel helpless at this time is the manufacturers, from what I can understand, plan to hold out until a Federal mediator is brought in which in heavy construction is six months. With the climate being

what it is in Washington, when he is brought in, I'm quite sure he will find in favor of the manufacturers.

What makes our position unique is in order for the manufacturers to prefabricate, they need Federal money, so our tax money will be used against us, to force us out of work.

All this leads me to feel that a labor party at this time is critical. We can no longer fight within our union.

As far as the program is concerned, certain things I agree with wholeheartedly, such as ending the war, of course. Other things, such as the 30 hour week, etc. I don't feel I'm really qualified to speak on, not being an economist. It seems that we're still in a lot of trouble.

RUDOLPH SMITH is a 42 year old maintenance worker at Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn and is a member of Local 1199.

We need a labor party in this country. Too many people are being laid off and are out of work. The government uses unemployment to crack down on all workers with a law and order campaign. The first to suffer are always the minority people, because they are in the lowest category. The government uses racism against them and all workers.

What Nixon is doing with the school issue is what they want to do with everything. The Supreme Court in 1954 outlawed segregation in the schools. Now Nixon is trying to overrule that.

Nixon is trying to establish a kind of apartheid system. They want to pit the workers against each other to take away the rights and living conditions of all of us.

I was born and raised in South Carolina. The bosses used racism, they used lynchings, they used the poor whites against the colored workers. This is what Nixon wants to do.

We need a labor party to eliminate this. A labor party is the only alternative to these kind of attacks, to racism, to layoffs.

The bosses don't care about you, but only about their profits. If the boss can introduce automation, he will try to lay off 75 out of every 100 workers. They don't care about the workers' needs. A labor party can stop this by nationalizing industry. The capitalists will not give up their power without a fight. We'll have to take it from them. I think there will have to be a revolution. A labor party would have to fight for socialist policies.

The Democratic Party is no different from the Republicans. McGovern can't solve anything. He will do no good for us. He has to represent big business.

Capitalism can't work. It leads to the most brutal repression. Just the other day the President of the Central African Republic ordered prisoners accused of stealing to be beaten to death. This is capitalism today.

Unemployment and poverty leads to crime. Capitalism's only answer is more brutal attacks. When I saw the pictures in the paper about what happened in Africa, I thought to myself, that could happen to any man—to me or you.

We need socialism. The Chinese and Russian leaders are collaborating with the capitalists. We need socialism under workers' control, not under a bureaucracy.

The union leaders won't fight back. The 1199 leaders put up no fight at all against

the attacks. They go to the Democrats, to McGovern, instead of fighting for a labor party. They don't know which way to turn. They didn't fight against the Pay Board. They took the arbitrators' decision lying down.

A lot of workers in the hospitals couldn't agree with this last settlement. But doing something about it is something different. The union leaders can't even defend this agreement. They're just pushing it down the people's throats. The workers don't know what they'll get when the Pay Board gets through with it. The \$12 might turn out to be \$6. We have to organize to fight back, not only the hospitals but the Pay Board too. That's why we need a labor party.

People have to be bit hard, they have to be pushed to the extreme, before they'll take up the necessary fight. They're fighting back now, but it's not enough without a labor party. The workers don't want Nixon, and they don't trust McGovern, but they have nowhere to turn.

The idea for a conference for a labor party during this election campaign is a very good idea. We have to reach all sections of workers, from Maine to Florida,

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.



So, ideally, these things sound fine to me; how they'll work in practicality, I'm not at all sure.

For the past five years I was a registered Liberal; before that I was politically ignorant. The past few months, the past six months or so, my thinking has

changed drastically, mainly because I see no difference any more between Liberals, or Democrats, or Republicans. It all seems to lead to the same chaos. The two-party system seems obsolete to me because at this critical time, they offer nothing but more confusion.



from South Carolina to California. This conference could be a big step forward.

About the labor history that "The Case for a Labor Party" takes up, this is also very important. In the 1930s workers organized the mass unions. The unions are still very weak in the South. My home town had no unions.

When Local 1199 tried to organize the Charleston, South Carolina hospital workers back in 1969, the bosses and the government put up tremendous resistance. A lot of workers in South Carolina, including white workers, learned from the Charleston strike that the Black workers were not their enemy, and that unions have to be organized.

In the 1970's we have to fight for jobs. And I believe very strongly that we have to fight for nationalization of industry under workers' control. It's got to be a political fight. Otherwise more and more workers are going to be out on the streets, out of jobs, on welfare.

First the capitalists create the problem, then they call us lazy bums. Out in Seattle the engineers are collecting welfare and food stamps. Their unemployment has run out. They're not lazy bums, and neither

are the other workers on welfare, who the government tries to pin the blame on.

They talk about making people on welfare work. What kind of work can they give them—jobs that union people have? How can they give people jobs, when thousands are being laid off?

This problem of racism is not just in the South. The bosses want the white and Black workers fighting each other. That's why Wallace is spreading his poison all over the country, and he's the biggest defender of capitalism, and the others are doing it too.

Some of these Black leaders, the civil rights leaders, they're showing where they really stand. I read where Floyd McKissick is supporting Nixon. All these so-called leaders support capitalism.

When the liberal Democrat Massell ran for Mayor in Atlanta, all the Black bankers, businessmen and civil rights leaders supported him. When he became Mayor, he turned right around against the sanitation workers who went on strike. Most of these workers were Black.

We need Black and white workers coming together behind a labor party. We don't need these liberals and capitalist leaders telling us to support the bosses.

BY REX HENRY

DETROIT—In July 2700 workers, members of United Auto Workers Local 51 at Chrysler's Mound Road complex, closed the plant tight in a wildcat in an attempt to turn around a complete deterioration in plant conditions and to safeguard the power of the union in the plant.

Like the strike at the Ford Assembly plant in Milpitas, California last month, the action at Chrysler expresses the resistance of auto workers to the auto companies' nationwide productivity drive.

The spark that ignited the Mound Road powderkeg was an incident between a foreman and the union's chief steward in one department. The steward, who was being briefed by his alternate after a three-day absence, was accosted on the shop floor by a foreman who arrogantly and abusively ordered them both back to work. When the steward and his alternate defended themselves and continued the briefing, which is guaranteed in the local contract, the foreman ordered them out of the plant. Two days later, the two were informed by telegram that they had been fired. The following day Mound Road was shut down in a protest by pickets from nearly every department in the plant.

Behind this incident stands the determination of the ranks of the local to defend themselves against Chrysler, which has determinedly ignored every clause in the local contract concerning health guarantees, safety conditions, and shift and department preferences. Inside the plant oil and water, constantly sprayed out by deteriorating machinery covers the floor, making a firm footing impossible. The plant's electrical wiring is in complete disrepair, with exposed "hot" wires in some departments. On many individual machines safety shut-off panels no longer function, making it impossible to safely cut power from them at the end of a shift. The company has refused to install necessary safety guards on moving parts of the assembly lines. In the past year, for instance, at least two men have been permanently disabled after being caught in unguarded belts.

HEAT

During the hottest time of the year, Chrysler has allowed ventilation fans and airdynes to fall into complete disrepair, so that temperatures in the plant amount to 20 degrees above those on the outside, and sometimes climb to as much as 110 degrees.

Three weeks ago, 25-30 men in Assembly Section Two at Mound Road walked out when temperatures in the plant rose above 110. Chrysler bosses have provided absolutely no fans in this section, in violation of their agreement with the UAW.

In the same week, walkouts occurred at Detroit's Jefferson Assembly Plant and Chrysler's Dodge Main Plant. At Dodge Main, eighteen welders in the body shop walked out when the foreman began refusing heat passes provided for in the present contract. Plant Committee-

men at Dodge Main told *Bulletin* reporters that none of the particularly hot areas in the plant, the body shop, paint and pit areas, have been provided with enough fans. On the day that the welders' walkout occurred, temperatures in many of these areas at Main reached considerably above 100. The same kind of situation exists at the Jefferson Assembly Plant.

Responsibility for this situation rests solely with the auto bosses who have consistently refused to honor either tacit or written agreements covering heat and safety conditions. At the Dodge Main Plant, for instance, there are 500 to 600 grievances outstanding, many of them over these issues. The company has

refused to process them.

At the Mound Road plant no shift or department preferences guaranteed by the contract are being honored by the company. Workers who are injured under these conditions or who become sick face being forced back to work or dismissed. The company excuses no one from work who has not been certified sick by the plant physician.

One worker at the Mound Road plant put it this way: "You can be sick, see a doctor and be certified unable to work, but the company will turn around and tell you to come into the plant and be checked by the plant doctor. He'll get you in there, take your temperature, tell you to touch your toes, and certify you for work. You can never get a real physical examination."

Under these conditions a woman with 24 years seniority who had called in sick with a valid doctor's excuse was fired with a complete loss of benefits because she had missed calling in for a period of two days.

Workers who attempt to do something about these conditions face a company-caused breakdown in the grievance pro-

cedures. At present over two hundred grievances are stacked up in one or another of the three steps of the grievance procedure. Many of these are not eligible for action by the umpire, most are not strike issues. Even those that do get through the procedure are refused by an umpire acting in the interests of the company. In the last three years, only three grievances have gone to the umpire, and all have been lost by the union.

LEADERSHIP

In this situation the only answer is the action taken by Ford workers in Milpitas, California, and already taken by Local 51 in July. However, the union leadership refuses to even threaten strike action. Since 1964 there have been at least two strikes at Mound Road over these so-called "local" conditions. In 1967 Chrysler reached a strike agreement to clean up conditions at the plant. In 1970 there were two strike votes taken at Local 51 over the destruction of working conditions at the plant. In 1971, Mound Road had a two-day wildcat when a foreman attacked a Black steward.

None of these actions have succeeded in fundamentally changing the situation due to the attempts of the local leadership to cling to a no-strike pledge in a contract already arrogantly ripped up by the Chrysler bosses. Even now Local 51 vice-president Frank Liszewski attempts to shrug off Chrysler's attacks with the statement, "It's pretty hard to keep the plant spotless."

In an interview with *Bulletin* reporters, Liszewski told of his role in the latest wildcat. "We were having negotiations with the company all Friday before the second shift went out. When they did set up the picket, they called me up and I went down there. We tried to tell them that they were wrong, that they had to go back to work, but they really stormed me for that. The steward involved came up to me and told me that 'You've had your chance, the international has had its chance. Everytime you write an agreement, they break it. But now we're going to have our chance!'"

Liszewski went on to say, "Monday we brought the international representatives down to the stewards' meeting, but the leaders of the wildcat told the international reps to go to hell. The leaders of the wildcat scheduled a meeting the next day at 11:00 A.M. International officers concerned were all invited, but only one showed up."

During the course of the two-hour session, attended by 7-800 men in a hall designed for five hundred, Liszewski made constant pleas for a back-to-work resolution. As he described it, "We just told them the facts of life. But everytime I told them to go back to work, I almost got mobbed."

Faced with this lack of support for the strike by the local leadership combined with at least one personal pledge from Liszewski for strike action in the immediate future, the meeting finally agreed to go back to work. However, at this point there has been no change in the conditions at Mound Road, and 18 leaders of the wildcat have been arbitrarily suspended.

Liszewski also tries to ignore the new situation. "The company's moving pretty fast on safety conditions now," he told the *Bulletin*. "As for the 18 men laid off, we've got 4 or 5 with derogatory records, but I'm pretty sure we can get them all back without strike action."

ELECTIONS

Fortunately, the rank and file of the plant do not share in this delusion. Even the educational director of the local told the *Bulletin*: "Ford is making \$600,000 a year while you can't hardly find a working man making over \$8,000. And still the government's got all these laws against the working man. These politicians have forgotten about the working men who put them in office."

When asked about the construction of a labor party as an alternative to the Democratic and Republican politicians in the 1972 elections, he said: "I think it would be better for us to get it like they have it in Britain, where they can shut the whole country down, like with the coal miners' strike. If we don't get a labor party here, we can just forget the whole thing."

In the 1930's the rank and file at Mound Road led in the battle to form the CIO, participating in the great sit-down waves in auto. This same local must now take a lead in the struggle for American labor's next giant step, the formation of a labor party.

As temperatures reach 110° wildcats sweep Chrysler



Auto workers leave a Detroit Chrysler plant after work. Recent wildcat strike against working and safety conditions show that Chrysler workers are faced with same attacks on productivity as under GMAD.

Big Profit Surge Prepares Deeper Attacks On Unions

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The position of United States and world capitalism a year after the crisis measures taken by Nixon last August 15 is one marked by a much more exacerbated stage of this crisis.

While U.S. unemployment continues at a huge 5.7% and inflation in spite of the wage freeze remains basically unchecked, the price of gold hovers on world bullion markets just below \$70 an ounce. This sets the stage for a much more disastrous stage of the monetary crisis and the breakdown entirely of the whole edifice of international trade and investment.

PROFITS

At the same time right in the middle of this growing collapse American corporations were able to report last week another huge increase in profits. Corporate profits, according to an August 17th Commerce Department report rose 4.9 billion before taxes to an annual rate of 93.1 billion in the second quarter. This followed earlier reports showing huge profit increases in the automobile industry, in public utilities, and in manufacturing generally.

The meaning of this report is threefold. First what the report shows is that the tremendous sacrifices being exacted from American workers under the wage freeze, through massive unemployment brought about by plant closures and consolidations, far from leading to any solution to the economic

crisis are serving only to enrich the corporations.

As the crisis deepens these corporations are seeking to amass their profits in order to strengthen themselves against the onset of a crisis they cannot prevent. This consolidation of profits becomes, in fact, the chief instrument through which the capitalists prepare to take on with a renewed vengeance the power of the working class.

Second, these profit figures actually reflect the deepening of the crisis itself. They reflect, like recent GNP projections, a feverish pace of economic activity being carried out in secondary industries as a direct result of the migration of capital out of and the stagnation of production in the basic producer industries like steel where production begins.

VALUE

This tendency is the direct product of the breakdown of the dollar and thereby of value itself that took place with the break between the dollar and gold last August 15. With paper money no longer a reliable depository of value new production and investment at the base of the economy is undermined as the ability of the capitalist to realize the surplus value extracted in the productive process is called into question.

This tendency is reflected sharply in recent developments

in steel and in the plans of many capitalist concerns with respect to the construction of new plant and equipment.

According to a recent *Journal of Commerce* report steel executives now clearly anticipate being bypassed by the so-called "fall business upturn." Projections that the steel industry would be operating at an annual rate of 92 to 93 million tons are now apparently in need of scaling downward to the 90 million level.

DETERIORATION

One of the reasons cited for this by these same executives is likewise revealing about the situation in industry as a whole. According to the report:

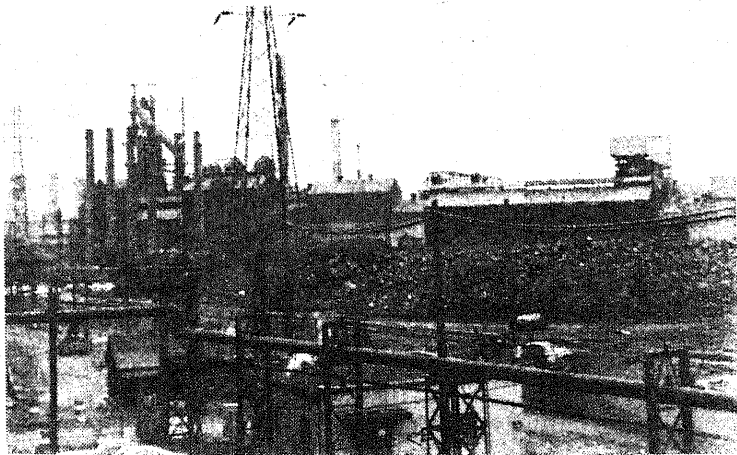
"Corporations too eager to show profit increases this year are hesitant about going into plant expansion programs which would intensify competition in their industries, give rise to heavy start-up expenses and reduce liquidity."

In short the buoyancy in profits that appears on the surface of the economy is superficial, directly produced by the deterioration of the economic situation underneath.

This is true likewise in another respect which is the third factor in the situation. This is that even the most superficial buoyancy in capitalist profits is being maintained only at the expense of the continued huge inflationary outpouring of inconvertible U.S. dollars which poses new explosions in the international monetary situation almost immediately.

A new explosion of the monetary crisis driving the price of gold way over the \$70 level and forcing a new devaluation of the dollar cannot be prevented for long. This will mean a breakdown of world trade and production in every sphere and in every level in the form of worldwide depression.

This is why a new stage of the attack of American capitalism on Europe and a whole new phase of attack on the American working class is being prepared by Nixon and McGovern.



Cleveland steel works where workers face drive to increase productivity as in other steel mills. See next week's article on steel industry and interview with rank and file steel workers from R.A.F.T. caucus.

New Vacation Rules Hit NMU Ranks

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—New vacation rules have been in effect in the National Maritime Union (NMU) for one month.

The new rules say that no union member can stay on his ship for more than seven months straight, but must sign off and allow another man hired through the NMU hiring hall to take his place for the length of the vacation.

HOMESTEADER

Under the old work rules, "homesteaders" were often forced by low wages to stay on one ship for years at a time while an increasing number of men found it impossible to get any job

at all. Many left the union.

The vacation rule change has meant no improvement in the lot of NMU members. The layoffs of passenger liners by U.S. flag fleets destroyed 5,000 jobs.

LASH

LASH and container ships have replaced up to 10 breakbulk freighters apiece, and on the old ships manning has been cut to the bone. Added to this now is a continuing stagnation of world trade.

"The situation takes work away from the men," one young seaman told the *Bulletin*. "They should bring the SS United States and the Independence back."

"This is a revolutionizing industry," an older rank and file

leader stated. "I wouldn't take an AB job today but I would tomorrow. We'll have to accept it. I'm against four watches and for increasing the manning scale through putting back men who were cut off."

Implementation of the new work rules has been delayed for one year because of the resistance of "homesteaders" who cannot afford the loss of pay.

LIE

This and the campaign launched in all ports to eliminate men who do not want to take their vacation, gives the lie to NMU head Curran's claims that the rules improve the conditions for seamen.

Editor's Notebook

The Godfather Revisited

While the *Godfather* had pretty much finished its run at New York theaters, some scenes from it were being enacted there for real. This time, however, it was some innocent bystanders who were rubbed out.

Four businessmen, meat wholesalers, were eating at the Neopolitan Noodle on the Upper East Side when a gunman reportedly hired by the Gallo family entered and fired nine shots, killing two of them and wounding the other two. But the gunman had shot the wrong target. His supposed victims, members of the Colombo family, had just before moved to the back of the restaurant.

When it was revealed that

the businessmen were shot there was suddenly an outrage from the mayor's office that has for so long lived with the Mafia and its exploitation of the workers and poor in New York.

Run them out of town said Lindsay. His brilliant solution to the problem was to have the cops compile a list of Mafia-controlled businesses so that the "public" will boycott them.

But as one cop put it, the number of such businesses would fill a list "from A to Z." The police force is being given the job of hunting down the Mafia. This is the very same police force that has been found to be up to its neck with the Mafia and its drug trade.

Nixon's New Car

Two thousand paratroopers and 500 marines have arrived in Miami. This is not for a vacation but to "protect" the National Convention of the Republican Party.

The security lengths to which Nixon's Secret Service is going in Miami is matched only by its efforts together with Ford Motor Company to provide Mr. Nixon with a suitable vehicle for transportation.

Recently delivered to the White House in a closed truck was an armor-plated Lincoln Continental. The limousine cost \$500,000 to produce and weighs 10,000 pounds as compared to 5,200 for the usual continental. There is a quarter of an inch armor plate on the bottom, roof and doors. The window, tires and bubble on top are bulletproof. The outside is equipped with handbars for Secret Service agents.



While the exterior is made like a tank, Nixon will travel in style. The inside is equipped with air conditioning, two-way radio, telephone, stereo in front and back and leather upholstery.

This is one auto that never saw the assembly line but was produced in a secret Ford plant and was handmade by 13 workers.

Lest anyone is worried, Ford has issued assurances that this tank is well within the Federal pollution standards.

A Well-Paid Informer

The Nixon Administration and its Justice Department are now busy at work fabricating another "conspiracy trial" against six members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

They are being charged with "plotting" an attack on the Republican National Convention. The man in charge of this frame-up engineered the Berrigan case.

Like the Berrigan frame-up the case hangs alone on the testimony of an informer. This one is William Lemmer who has testified he was once offered a psychiatric discharge from the army. It is Lemmer, while working for the FBI, who has been one of the strongest advocates of "violent acts." Lemmer it seems was provided with a lucrative reward for his services to the government. His employment with the FBI appears to have coincided with a great change in his financial situation, including the acquisition of a new sports car.

The frame-up of the veterans exposes sharply the methods being used by the government to attack militants; its complete fabrication of charges and the use of paid informers. But this time it may very well backfire as the defense now is in possession of 14 hours of tapes by Lemmer detailing his recruitment and activities as an informer.

'Great Spirit'

At an "Emergency Conference of Asian, Black, Brown and Red Peoples," the assorted nationalists and Maoists groups there passed a "Unity Treaty of Oppressed Minorities." Signers included the Young Lords and the Rev. Charles Koen, hero of the revisionists.

Article VII of the Treaty states:

"By the Power and Authority vested within us by the Great Spirit or Creator of all, we hereby affix our signatures to this treaty as witnessed by our father the Sun, and will honor this covenant as a sacred Pledge to Endure for all time to come or until such time our Mother the Earth shall cease to Exist."

Needless to say neither the "Great Spirit" nor "Mother the Earth" are going to rescue these nationalists from the class struggle.

GOP CONVENTION . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
on's alliance with Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons who has not only endorsed Nixon's re-election, but is the only labor leader left on the Pay Board.

To weld this criminal pact more firmly together, Nixon forces dictated the defeat of a conservative platform plank calling for a national open shop law. Right wing party leaders like Barry Goldwater, however, were not ruffled by this defeat, knowing full well its meaninglessness and political expediency.

The character of this period is fully revealed here as ultra-right wing and neo-fascist forces operate in the open and skirmish with demonstrators in a brief rehearsal for the coming period when they will be called into action against the working class.

The several thousand middle class youth who have come here to demonstrate have been feverishly parading, rallying and frolicking in opposition to Nixon. Rennie Davis, Jerry Ruben, Jane Fonda, PL-SDS and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War have all been working their ragged bands of followers into a hysterical frenzy in Flamingo Park, but they are increasingly haunted with the bankruptcy of their movement as it falls to pieces as it faces the crisis.

The crisis of these middle class radicals dovetails the crisis of the Communist Party, which is busy here hawking the "coalition of minorities, labor and other progressive forces" which is nothing other than the Democratic Party.

The preparations being made by the capitalist class are reflected in the extraordinary security arrangements which amount to virtual military rule here, and the emergence of ultra-rightist and neo-fascist forces which belie the superficial carnival atmosphere of Flamingo Park.

GUARDSMEN

Plainclothes secret service agents abound, complemented by legions of uniformed riot police, 2,500 National Guardsmen, in addition to army troops stationed at Homestead Air Force Base. About 800 National Guardsmen have been stationed near the convention hall at Miami Beach High School.

The police have generally tolerated the protesters, joking and laughing as demonstrators have variously marched, staged "guerilla theater" and burned American flags. The ruling class has consciously avoided another Chicago, realizing the impotence of these protests, but it has fully demonstrated its determination to preserve "law and order."

The first major confrontation

between police and demonstrators occurred Sunday night, when a mass picket line was thrown up around the Fountainebleu Hotel where Republican Party patrons were scheduled to attend a \$500 a plate dinner.

The protest was dispersed as 400 riot police moved in after a few wealthy guests suffered the indignity of insults from the crowd.

More important are the right wing forces which have rallied here in support of the capitalist system. In addition to various ultra-right, Cuban exile groups here, the major thrust from the right has come from the large contingent supporting Reverend Carl McIntyre and another contingent from the American Nazi Party.

Late Sunday afternoon, a contingent of 20 Nazi stormtroopers led by National Commander Matt Koehl, marched in military formation to Flamingo Park and seized the speakers platform while protestors in the park panicked and gaped in disbelief. The panic spread quickly through the park as demonstrators screamed "The Nazis are here, The Nazis are here."

The Nazi spokesman harangued the rapidly growing crowd while fist fights broke out between Nazis and protesters and the group held the platform for several minutes before being ejected by 30 Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

Another small group of Nazis fought with demonstrators outside of a restaurant Monday in North Miami Beach. Cuban exiles have confronted groups of demonstrators several times in the past few days, and staged a mass demonstration Monday, led by ex-Cuban President Prio. Right wing fundamentalist preacher Carl McIntyre also showed up for the Convention with a large group of supporters, complete with marching band.

The open activity of Nazi and other rightist forces at this Convention reflects the movement of capitalism toward a confrontation with the working class as the world capitalist crisis plunges toward monetary chaos, trade war, and mass unemployment.

In the Convention Hall itself, the ruling class is not flailing, but carefully plotting its course as it prepares its confrontation with the trade unions in fear of the power of the working class.

What this convention clearly demonstrates is that the working class must act independently to meet the threat posed by the growing crisis. Both Nixon and McGovern offer the same class program of unemployment, wage cuts and union-busting. The only road forward for the working class is the formation of an independent political party based on the trade unions.



Riot police attack demonstrators outside Fountainebleu in Miami Beach during Republican convention.

ENGLAND . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

encouraged to leave the docks to face probable unemployment for the rest of their lives (at a national unemployment figure of nearly a million) in return for a flat payment of \$10,000.

In return for these worthless "concessions," the report concludes that "an agreement should if possible be negotiated between employers and unions covering mobility and flexibility of all types of regular dockworkers." In other words, the unions will be used to help the bosses rationalize thousands of jobs out of existence and ram this down the throats of dockworkers.

POLICE

During the strike, the Tories used police to break the dockers' picket lines. Police brutality was cheered by the national press which called for "more bloody noses" for the dockers. The country was placed under emergency powers when Parliament recessed and it was clear that the

Tories were heading towards using troops to break the strike and the threat of an even bigger movement toward general strike.

DESPERATE

At this point early last week, Jones made his desperate bid to avoid the showdown. The Jones-Aldington report was re-submitted to and approved by the delegates conference.

Throughout the country dockers bitterly denounced Jones and his report as an utter sellout. The docks delegates meeting was surrounded by hundreds of angry dockers. A press conference Jones was holding was invaded by 30 dockers. One docker threw a cup of water at Jones and another threw his union card.

One older docker shouted bitterly at Jones: "You have betrayed me, Jones, and you have betrayed my father who was a docker. And he betrayed me for bringing me up to respect people like you."

Outside dockers chased delegates who had voted to

return to work and were held off by mounted police. The national dock shop stewards committee voted to recommend continuing the strike.

The determination of the dockers to fight stands in direct contradiction to the role of the labor leadership and the responsibility must be placed upon the Stalinists. For years, in bitter opposition to the Trotskyists, the Communist Party has told the dockers to place their faith in the union "lefts" like Jones. They declared that throwing out the Tories and nationalization was unrealistic and dockers should instead "pressure" the Tories.

POLITICAL

But, it is clear that trade union militancy—and the Stalinists and centrists who flourish on it—must be replaced by a political struggle and revolutionary leadership if the working class is to win now against the Tories.

This was the theme of a mass meeting on the docks struggle by the Socialist Labour League in London before the Jones-Aldington report was accepted. Two of the "Pentonville Five" dockers who had been jailed by the Tories spoke denouncing Jones-Aldington as a scheme to throw out thousands of dockers. SLL National Secretary Gerry Healy told the meeting:

"This is a crisis of class-collaboration, a crisis of illusions. To defend unions and jobs and protect the standard of living are all political questions. We were the only tendency in the workers' movement to insist that the way to resolve the problems was to make the Tory government resign.

"The reason the CP has never joined with us to make the Tory government resign is that they want to do business with the Tories. They don't want the government to resign...Without the support of the organized working class the dockers cannot win this fight.

"The dockers will only win when the Tory government is brought down. We say that to defend the dockers the working class must be brought into action in every locality to create the political conditions to make the Tories resign."

The problems raised in the dock strike can only be resolved by building the revolutionary leadership. It is for this reason the SLL is campaigning to transform itself into a revolutionary party this fall.

CORRECTION

In the August 14, 1972 issue of the Bulletin in the article "In Defense of Trotskyism" on page 12, column four, the second paragraph second sentence should read "Pablo served the majority leadership headed by Gerry Healy, with an ultimatum that it should hand over control of the movement to the minority headed by John Lawrence, who Pablo supported."

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Lawyers Meeting Hears Threat Of Police State

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The American Bar Association concluded its convention here last week. Fifteen thousand delegates and observers met in the luxurious setting of the San Francisco Hilton to deliberate the future of the law.

The ABA made quite certain that the problems of the poor and the working class would intrude themselves as little as possible on the well fed, well heeled delegates. No opposition displays of any kind were allowed with booth space going at great cost to peddlers of legal books, office equipment and investment portfolios.

Thousands of lawyers paid six dollars a plate to sit at innumerable dinners and be addressed by such dignitaries as Supreme Court Justice Burger, Attorney General Kleindienst and England's Lord Widgery.

Very little of any substance was said in seven days of good food, good booze and platitudes about the traditions of "gradual, orderly and peaceful change in our institutions."

THREATS

Despite the complacency and hypocrisy, ominous threats about the real future of the law did manage to find their way into the proceedings. It was no accident that Lord Widgery, who authored the legal whitewash that exonerated the Tory government of the Bloody Sunday massacres in Londonderry, was a featured speaker.

Needless to say the Lord Chief Justice had nothing to say about the triumph of justice in Ireland but he did have a few choice comments on the bail system. Lord Widgery is of course in favor of bail particularly for those accused of minor crimes. However, he said: "We can't get rid of the bail problem by letting everybody out, we can't be stampeded that way."

Obviously drawing on his own experience, he pointed out that the criteria for bail must be "constantly under review" to

protect the "delicate balance between the rights of individuals and the needs of society." If there was any confusion on this he made it clear that judges had the obligation to place "dangerous" persons under "preventive detention."

Chief Justice Berger urged the ABA to tighten up on lawyers who abuse the legal process but did not elaborate on this.

FIRMNESS

The present Attorney General, Kleindienst, obviously referring to such legal landmarks as his arrest of 10,000 anti-war demonstrators in Washington, spoke about "...firmness in the public defense, coupled with the realization that change can be accomplished by the peaceful process that we have created for ourselves, has effectively curbed the mob violence that was threatening the very stability of the country three-and-a-half-years ago.

"There are those who, disturbed by this policy against violence, have used the term "repressive" against this national administration. But when a mob attempts to enforce its views by riot, arson, and mayhem, who is the repressor?"

YOUNGER

The man who spelled out what others left unsaid was California Attorney General Younger, now up to his ears in an oil swindle scandal. Younger spoke out in defense of the "forgotten man." He called for speedy trials and denounced attorneys who bring political questions into trials.

"When this state was younger, trial delays of a couple of weeks led to the substitution of vigilante justice by frustrated citizens. A forty-niner would have little patience for the system that has grown, since then, like topsy." We wonder if Mr. Younger would

like such criteria applied to his own Geo-Tek scandal.

Younger railed against the right of defendants to appeal state cases to federal courts claiming that: "Punishment can hardly be effective unless it is speedy and certain." What he would like to see is a limitation of Federal habeas corpus so that the state can get right down to the job of proper punishment without all sorts of appeals.

Leaving no doubt as to the type of state he has in mind Younger pointed out that: "We must remember that the opposite of a police state is a criminal state—and a criminal state will lead to a fortress society. We must proceed, however haltingly, toward making the system one which causes more respect than confusion and which proceeds with more expedition than delay."

Life And Death Of American Can

BY A CORRESPONDENT

VERNON—The announcement by American Can Company of its intention to close nine plants means unemployment for 800 workers at the Vernon plant here.

This plant was built in an era when the open shop reigned supreme in Los Angeles. In 1912 the conviction of the MacNamara brothers on charges of dynamiting the Times newspaper building was used to strike a death blow at the union organizing drive taking place at the time.

American Can set up shop in 1916. When the International Association of Machinists (IAM) tried to organize the plant machinists in 1920, it was smashed because of the narrow craft methods of the AFL.

The 1929 depression and the absence of a union gave a free

hand to the company which proceeded to slash wages by 10 percent.

Tens of thousands of poor farmers fleeing the dust bowl swelled the work force. One worker told the Bulletin that in those days one had the choice of a sweatshop or starvation in the makeshift shanty camps.

CIO

Organizers from the CIO steel workers union arrived at American Can in 1938 and organized the plant through a bitter three month strike. One worker said that, "Shotgun toting scabs were imported to challenge the strength of a 2,000 man picket line."

Production workers won a five cent an hour increase and recognition of the union as bargaining agent although not a closed shop. American Can in conjunction with the local merchants and manufacturers tried to organize a company union in the early war years but were defeated by Local 1549.

As an indication of the role class conscious militants played, however distorted by the Stalin-

ist CP, one worker proudly claimed that he was among the first 40 workers organized into the union and the organizer was a Communist.

Strikes were fought in 1947 and 1952 and by the late 1950's a union shop prevailed.

In a country-wide movement fighting runaway plants seeking cheap labor, a 1965 national strike won the first national master contract in which wages in every shop were maintained at national standards.

Since that time, not one move has been taken by the officials of Local 1549 to defend the conditions at the plant and in the last few years employment has gone from a peak of 2,000 to the present force of 800.

The only way forward is an immediate fight to demand that the union shut all American Can operations until these jobs are restored. This fight must be combined with a fight for a political party of labor that will nationalize any companies threatening layoffs. This is the struggle that must be taken forward at the coming USWA convention in September.

Pessimism Pervades Labor Rally For McGovern In Portland

BY DENNIS FULTON

PORTLAND, OREGON, Aug. 12—A rally at the Portland Labor Center called to launch a Labor for McGovern Committee attracted fewer than 40 participants including several McGovern campaign officials, some labor bureaucrats and supporters of the Stalinist Communist Party.

Every labor organization in the state had been asked to send representatives and all union members were invited.

The small turnout was reflected in the pessimistic and apologetic statements of those who attended.

A member of the Boilermakers, chosen to chair the rally, told the gathering: "I'm very disappointed to see the showing here. It's not very impressive considering how many labor people we do have in Oregon."

Another speaker, responding to supporters of the Workers League, said: "I don't know George McGovern very well. Somebody says to me that his labor record isn't too swell. Well, I looked over his labor record and I think it's pretty good, for coming from a small state.

"He had to protect himself running for Senator, too, in a small state.

"Let's give him four years and give him a chance to prove that he's for the people."

The issue of the Oregon Labor Press that announced this rally also revealed some of McGovern's anti-labor record. It stated that McGovern "voted wrong twice on the anti-union Landrum-Griffin bill. He voted against breaking a successful filibuster that blocked the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. Repeal would have legalized union security contracts now outlawed in 19 states.

"He voted against federal standards for state unemployment compensation programs. He voted against closing a tax loophole that exempted, from federal income tax, interest from indus-

trial development bonds used to entice industrial plants to move to low-wage areas."

MONEY

The McGovern candidacy has nothing to say to the labor movement. His campaign spokesmen can only make cynical appeals for money and manpower. Even those layers of the bureaucracy who still seek to find some way to support the Democratic nominee are more and more forced to confront his anti-union record and policies.

The organizational and financial resources of labor must be combined with a program that expresses the needs of working people through the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions.



British Lord Widgery addresses ABA convention. He was the one who white-washed British army's "Bloody Sunday" butchery in N. Ireland.

EMPORIUM . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

The real lesson of all these strikes is that militant trade unionism is inadequate to defend the unions and win any real gains. Even when slight concessions are made to the unions the government is given time to take them away at the next blow.

The lemming-like march of the Bay Area bureaucracy into McGovern's hands while trumpeting their militancy prepares exactly this.

The working class will fight tooth and nail in militant defense of its rights and conditions. The Emporium strike leaves no doubt of that. The way forward is to direct that militancy and determination to the construction of a labor party to take the power and resolve the crisis.

AFL-CIO . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

"If, in the next four years, we have a continuation of restraint in collective bargaining, compulsory arbitration in transportation, corruption of the Supreme Court and a Vice President who tears up the Bill of Rights like a piece of paper, we will be well on the road to constitutional fascism."

That Henning recognizes that the existence of the labor movement is at stake only underscores the sharpness of his betrayal in refusing to put forward a policy to fight back.

The urgency and determination of the UIU strikers drives home the need to confront the bankruptcy of the bureaucracy with a fight for a congress of labor to launch a labor party.

West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 PHONE 415-621-1310



Picket line at ABA convention protests Lord Widgery's presence. See article on page 19.

At Calif. AFL-CIO Convention---

Pickets Demand Pay Board Fight

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—The real political questions facing the American labor movement were right out in front at the very start of the California State AFL-CIO convention here.

Delegates were met by a picket line of over 300 United International Upholsterers (UIU) Local 500 members appealing for support in their fight against the Pay Board.

The demonstrators represented over 600 workers who struck six plants for one day in order to carry a political fight to the convention demanding that the entire labor movement take all-out action to smash the Pay Board.

The workers, who are 90 percent Chicano, carried signs calling for the defeat of the wage freeze and the unity of the trade union movement to break up the Pay Board. The upholstery workers are preparing for strike action in September.

POLITICAL

In a leaflet to the convention they demanded support from the powerful unions in basic industry and stated that their fight against low wages was every workers' fight. Workers on the line were fighting to raise political questions. They said that: "The Democrats pass the law and the Republicans enforce it."

Another worker commented that: "They have the labor movement up against the wall. But we built the wall and we can tear it down."

The demonstration was enormously significant, expressing a growing movement in the working class to demand of the labor leadership action that will mean a political confrontation with the policies of the government. While the ranks saw this demonstration as the beginning of a real fight, and struck to express their determination to carry it through, the leadership of the demonstration went out of its way to confine it to a protest action acceptable to the AFL-CIO bureaucracy itself.

At the time of this writing, an attempt is being made by the Communist Party to raise the demands of these workers in the convention in the form that will leave out any fight for mass strike action to bring down the Pay Board. They also are attempting to omit any mention of the need for a political break from the ruling class and the formation of a labor party based on the unions.

In this way, they seek to con-

fine its development to protest and trade union militancy. On the floor of the convention itself Secretary Treasurer John Henning was forced to raise the seriousness of the threat to the labor movement by claiming that the Pay Board and the control over wages are preparations for fascism and the total destruction of the unions that took place in the 1930's in Italy and Germany.

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Lessons Of The Emporium Strike

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The strike of 1600 retail clerks against the Emporium department store has laid bare the crisis in the Bay Area labor movement.

With the backing of the labor movement in massive demonstrations and two short sit-ins, the clerks were able to extract some concessions from the management.

The open power of the working class forced the employers to run for cover and at the same time struck terror into the labor bureaucrats who called a five day "cooling off period" in order to give back at the bargaining table much of what the workers were determined to win in the streets.

Above all, the bureaucracy sought to contain the struggle within the limits of trade unionism and protest activity and to obscure the real political questions.

As thousands of workers came into motion, many for the first time, they sought to turn strike meetings into campaign rallies for McGovern, Alioto and Alioto's likely successor Assemblyman Willie Brown.

The deepening crisis of capitalism has found a sharp expression in the Bay Area where

powerful unions and boom working conditions and wages have prevailed.

This is producing a new stance on the part of business. Beginning with the oil workers strike in Martinez employers have been looking for a wedge to break down the power of the unions.

From the Marin Independent-Journal strike, to the Teamster Bottlers strike to the University of California struggle, the unions have been brought up against the power of the state. In all of these strikes injunctions have been used, police have attacked pickets and protected scabs and union leaders have been beaten, arrested and jailed. The actual destruction of the union has been posed.

PRAGMATIC

The labor leadership has reacted to these attacks in a narrow, pragmatic way, trying different tactics out of desperation, while essentially sticking to trade unionism and tail-wagging support for the Democratic "friends of labor."

Editorial

ILWU-Teamster Merger Can Strengthen Fight For Jobs

Harry Bridges has announced that the ILWU executive committee has agreed in principal to a proposal of merger with the Teamsters Union.

These moves should be welcomed by every longshoreman as opening the way for a powerful united fight of all transport workers against the threat of containerization and mass unemployment.

While merger is being discussed, the ILWU contract is still held up in the courts in a legal maneuver to deny jurisdiction over container work to longshoremen.

In addition, the present contract opens the way to still further slashes in employment through acceptance of automated loading procedures with reductions in gang sizes.

In less than a year, the contract will be up and dockers will face an all out fight for an agreement to defend their jobs.

Bridges sees the proposed merger as simply a defensive move claiming that "...our problem is that because of technological and other changes in all sections of the ILWU we are not getting any stronger."

The truth of the matter is that merger by itself will solve nothing. The employers are determined to decimate the longshore force and, as the last strike proved, the government is preparing a showdown.

1973 cannot be a repeat of 1971. This time the fight must be political from beginning to end.

The strength of a merger is that it will be possible to forge an agreement between longshoremen and teamsters that there should be no loss of jobs due to containers and that every man now handling cargo must be guaranteed his job and forty hours pay.

This means an open fight to defeat the government, its Pay Board and any attempt at strikebreaking. A merged union would create a tremendous force within the labor movement to carry out this fight.

A big movement must be developed in the ILWU to take up the fight for merger combined with a program for a united fight to maintain all transport jobs. This must be taken forward through the struggle to prepare politically to take on the government with the construction of a labor party based on the strength of the unions.

At no point was the need to fight back against the state politically confronted.

The I-J strike was defeated and the paper is still run by scabs. The bottlers were at best able to maintain their union, winning nothing. The Berkeley strike saw the unions make significant concessions on job categories and rates.

These setbacks took place despite the fact that considerable labor support was mobilized protest fashion to fight open wage cutting and union busting.

Now the Emporium strike has carried trade union solidarity to its limits. Thousands marched and sat-in to support a union shop and wage increases.

In spite of the cave-in by the leadership in accepting a contract without a union membership clause, the Emporium was pushed back and the clerks returned to work confident in their strength.

This is precisely the danger—the highest examples of working class solidarity have been combined with the most craven bootlicking of the Democratic Party.

Alioto, who proposed compromising the union shop, was praised as a mediator. Mc-

Govern who did nothing was built up by his agent Willie Brown as a strike supporter.

The union leadership consciously held its wage demands to the Pay Board limit of 5.5 percent with a little for catch-up and to a certain extent tries to use the union shop issue demagogically to conceal its abandonment of bread and butter demands.

The entire Bay Area labor leadership has called for maintenance of its ad hoc committee to defend strikers while at the same time organizing a mass line-up into the McGovern camp.

DEAD-END

It is no accident that the Stalinist People's World which hailed the U.C. settlement as a victory heads this one "Labor solidarity. Big win at 'Big E.'" It is precisely the perspective of the Communist Party to head off every development of militancy in the working class into the dead-end of protest politics and support to the McGovern campaign.

This is the real role they play in providing a left cover for the labor bureaucracy through their uncritical support to these actions.

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