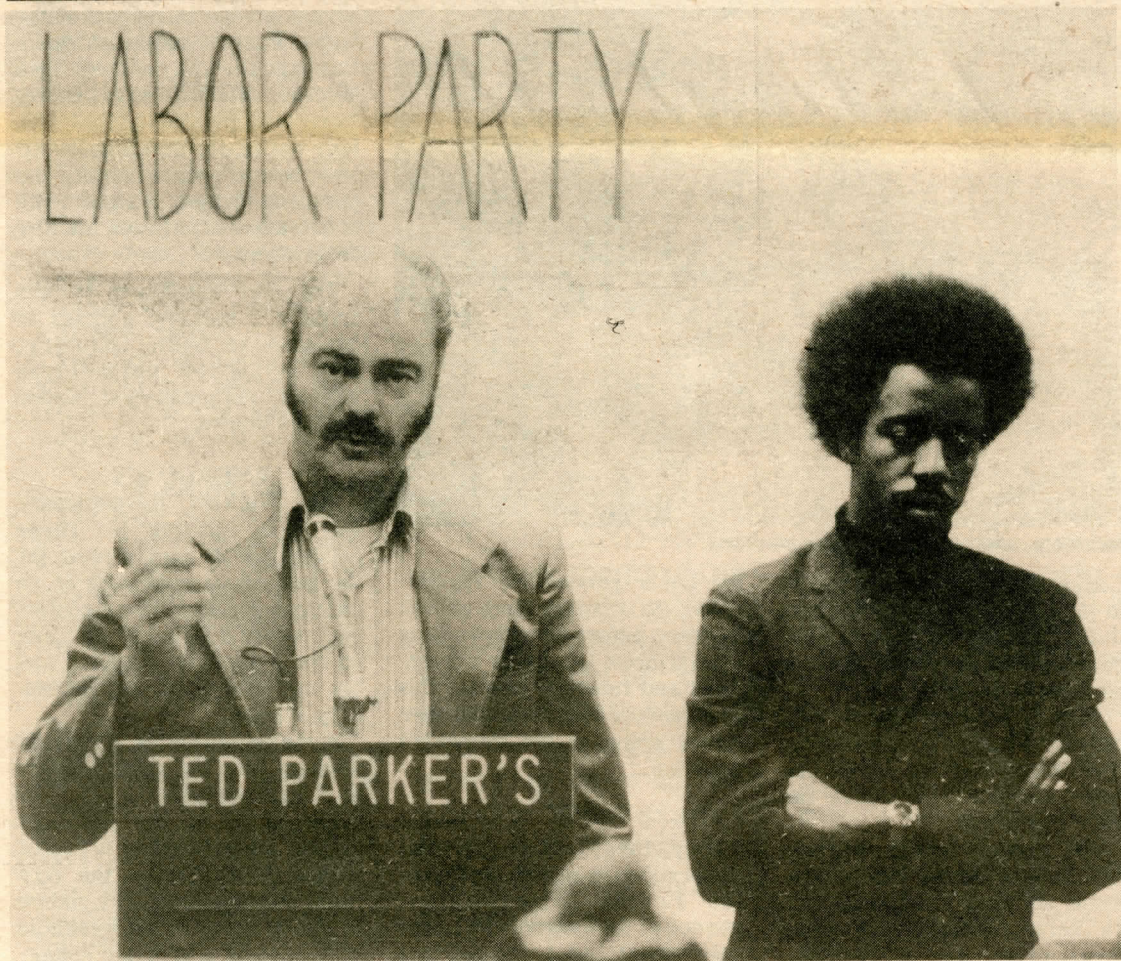


Dayton  
Auto  
Conference  
Demands

# DEFEND LORDSTOWN WORKERS



Tom Cagle from Fremont, California Local 1364 speaks, as John Austin, Dayton UAW Local 696, chairs meeting.

BY NANCY FIELDS  
DAYTON, March 31—The National Auto Conference of the Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party, industrial arm of the Workers League, was held here today.

Over 50 workers from St. Louis, Detroit, Dayton, Cleveland, and the San Francisco Bay Area attended.

The conference was called at a time when hundreds of thousands of auto workers have already been laid off and when workers at the Lordstown plant face strike action this Friday. Thus, the first point the conference took up was a motion to fight for a national strike of all auto workers in defense of the Lordstown workers.

Lordstown workers, together with workers at five other General Motors Assembly Division plants, have been working without a contract since December.

At Lordstown, workers who face vicious speedup conditions working on the fastest assembly line in America, have filed over 14,000 grievances against the conditions in the plant.

General Motors is deliberately preparing for a strike at Lordstown at the same time that they are tooling up other plants for small car production. They are trying to diffuse the militancy of the Lordstown workers, as they will have other plants to produce the Vega.

The Lordstown workers must not be isolated, as were the Norwood strikers, who faced a bitter 170 day strike against GM alone, and the conference voted unanimously to take the fight back into all the locals for national strike action.

Tom Cagle, of UAW Local 1364 in Fremont, California, explained that hundreds of thousands of auto workers were

being dumped onto the unemployment lines and, while in the past Lordstown workers had a temporary advantage because they produced the Vega, today GM is trying to create Lordstowns at all the plants. He went on to say:

"This temporary advantage can be quickly changed, however, with the retooling of other plants for small-car production and spreading unemployment.

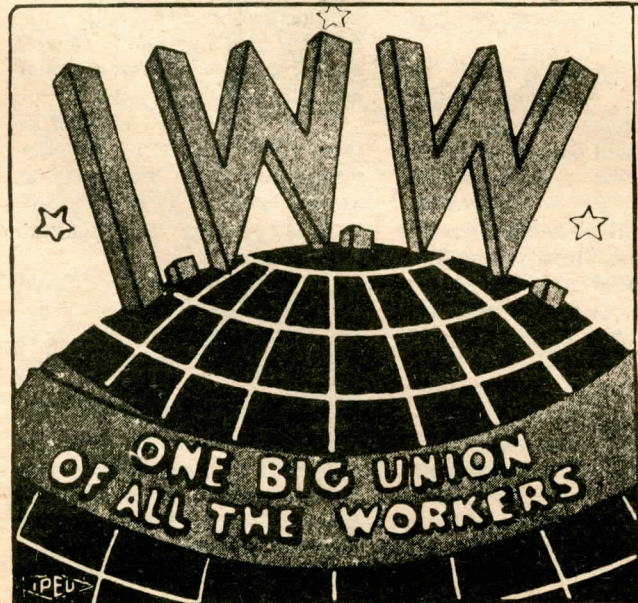
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The largest delegation came from Dayton, where almost every major factory in the Dayton area, such as the Delco Products plant, Delco-Morain, Inland, Frigidaire, Dayton Tire and Rubber, and the G, H & R foundry, was represented. Assembly line workers also came from the River Rouge and Flint Road plants in Detroit and the large General Motors plant in St. Louis. Also attending the conference were unemployed workers and youth from the Cleveland and Dayton area.

The conference was chaired by John Austin, member of United Auto Workers Local 696 in Dayton. Jim Lawrence, also a member of Local 696, gave the opening report.

Lawrence stressed that because of the all-out attack on the working class through unemployment and inflation, millions

(Continued On Page 12)



Part One  
The Birth  
Of  
Revolutionary  
Unionism

see pages 6-7

In The Weekend  
Edition

•Full report and photo coverage on the discussion held at the Dayton Auto Conference of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party on March 31.



# Bulletin

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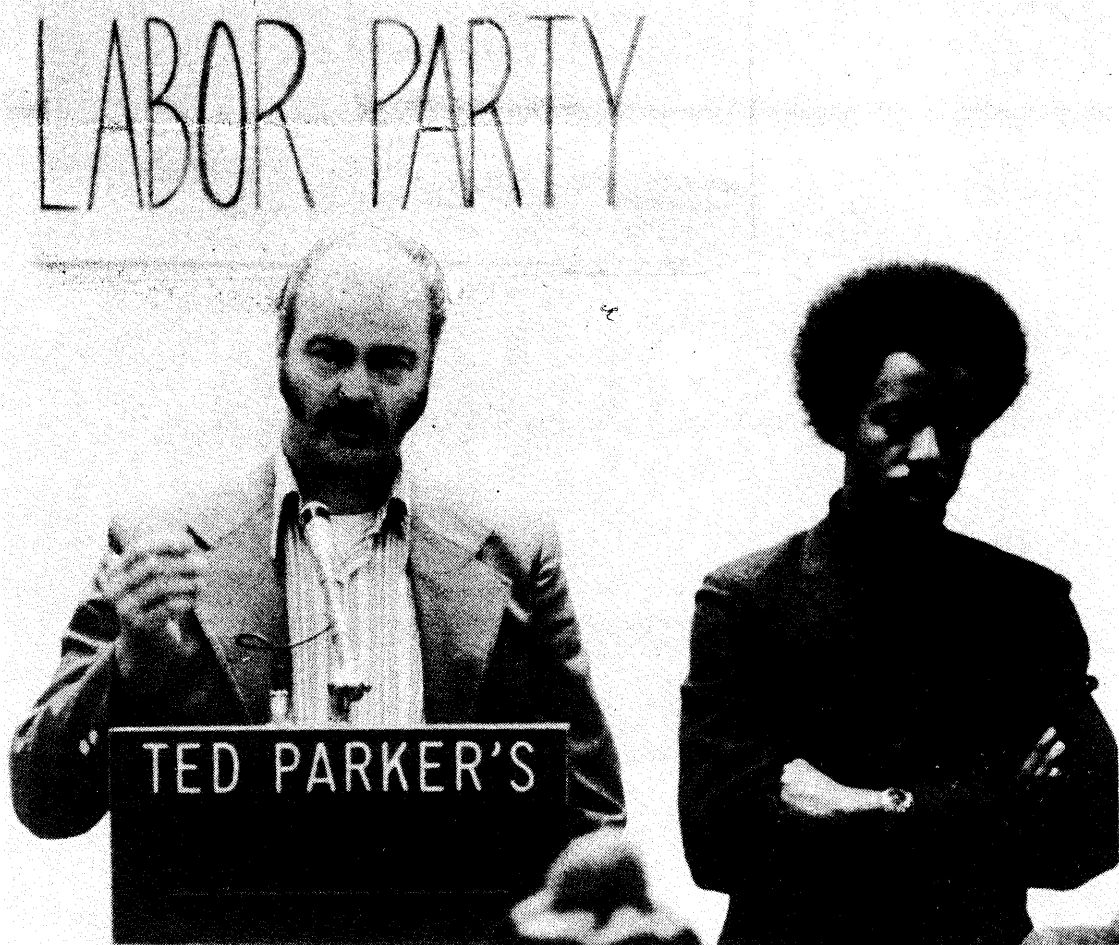
VOLUME TEN NUMBER TWENTY SIX 362

TUESDAY, APRIL 2, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

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## Why The Communist Party Supports Nixon

The March 26 issue of the *Daily World*, under a banner headline that reads "Machinist-UAW Meet Hails Oust Nixon Call," the American Communist Party endorses United Auto Workers leader Leonard Woodcock's opposition to President Nixon's resignation.

Woodcock spoke at the annual legislative conference held by the UAW and the International Association of Machinists in Washington, designed to put pressure on Congress for various legislation of "interest to working people."

### What We Think

Referring to right-wing Senator James Buckley's call for Nixon to resign, Woodcock stated that a resignation would give right-wing forces the opportunity to make a "martyr" out of Nixon. The

alternative Woodcock urged, was to "proceed with the impeachment" and to elect a "peoples Congress, a veto-proof Congress."

Woodcock and a large section of the labor bureaucracy oppose Nixon's resignation, not because they fear that the right-wing will move in, but because they want to prevent at all costs any movement in the direction of a labor party.

Woodcock did not say one word at the conference about Nixon's guilt, or about the mass unemployment he has created for auto workers, because Woodcock and the American CP want Nixon to remain.

Woodcock and the Stalinists stand with the Democrats who stall on impeachment in order to allow Nixon

time to proceed with cutting wages, allowing unemployment and inflation to skyrocket, ripping up democratic rights, and building up forces to his right.

If there is no choice, Woodcock and the Stalinists will back a Ford government to stifle the political independence of the working class.

The *Daily World* hails as a hero the very man who is despised by auto workers throughout the country for deliberately turning his back on the thousands thrown out of the plants, for deliberately stabbing local strikes in the back, and for refusing to lift a finger to fight the destruction of working conditions.

The *Daily World* applauds Woodcock's position on resignation because it suits the aims of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, which the American Communist Party slavishly defends.

The Soviet bureaucracy, headed by Leonid Brezhnev, has openly defended Nixon during the Watergate events, calling it "an internal affair" and labelling the masses of American workers who want Nixon out a "discontented minority."

The Soviet Stalinists want to maintain Nixon in order to establish greater trade deals that will benefit the bureaucracy and to cement a counterrevolutionary alliance with imperialism against the struggles of the peoples of Asia, the Middle East, Europe, and the United States.

The Stalinists' policy of "peaceful coexistence" and detente means the preservation of capitalism, to which the existence of the bureaucracy with all its privileges, is so closely linked.

Thus the Soviet bureaucracy played a major role in pressuring for a cease-fire in the Middle East and then imposing a withdrawal on Egyptian troops, just as they

seek to do now in Syria, abandoning the struggle of the Palestinian people for their national rights.

The American Communist Party is the foremost defender of every Stalinist betrayal. Their paper is no more than an obedient mouthpiece for the Soviet bureaucracy.

In the American labor movement, they are the "left" advisors of the most right-wing labor leaders, such as Woodcock and George Meany, occasionally administering a slap on the wrist, but always opposing the fight for a revolutionary leadership within the unions.

This is why they are opposed to the construction of a labor party. Their talk of "antimonopoly coalitions" is nothing but a pressure tactic on the Democrats.

Their "peoples Congress" is the Congress which just voted for Nixon's end of school busing, and where leading Democrats voted to extend wage controls.

At the same time, the revisionist Socialist Workers Party will not conduct a campaign or mobilize any forces to force Nixon out, and restricts its actions to a fraudulent legal suit against Nixon, thus giving the Stalinists a left cover.

The Workers League demands that the labor movement force Nixon out to create conditions for new elections, and for the building of a labor party to throw all the Democrats and Republicans out.

We are the only organization that campaigns for this policy and that fights in the auto unions for a nationwide strike against layoffs and for an alternative leadership to Woodcock.

The Dayton auto conference of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party last weekend, organized workers to carry forward the fight to construct the revolutionary party in the working class, against the bureaucracy and their Stalinist hangers-on.

# British Bankers Dictate Budget

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The new budget just introduced by the Labor government in England is a savage attack on the living standards of British workers in the interests of the international bankers and monopolies.

This budget is a repudiation of the Labor Party's pledge to make the rich pay and instead seeks to force the working class and middle classes to bear the entire burden of the capitalist economic crisis.

In announcing the budget, Healy, Chancellor of the Exchequer, declared: "In one way or another, my budget calls on the majority of the British people to make some sacrifice for the survival of their way of life."

The budget makes clear that those called on to sacrifice are the workers, and the way of life to be defended is the profit system of the capitalists.

Income tax is to be raised three percent across the board which will hit hardest at the poorest sections of the working class and single workers. Additional taxes will be placed on liquor, tobacco, candy, and gasoline.

Home mortgages, bus fares, gas and electricity rates will also be raised, while the wealth tax on the rich has been dropped.

Healy admitted in giving his speech that the measures adopted by the former Tory government formed the basis for his budget. This was the very government voted out of office last month by British workers because of its brutal attacks on living standards and basic trade union and democratic rights.

The Labor Party budget will not only mean a further decline in living standards, but the increases in steel, oil, and electricity costs will bankrupt countless smaller companies, driving unemployment even higher.

Using the excuse that it is only a minority government, Labor Industry Minister Eric Heffer



Anthony Wedgewood Benn, Industry Secretary, addressing Concorde workers.

has declared that the pay controls imposed by the Tories will remain. The Tory Industrial Relations Act under which the right to picket has been declared a crime, is still in effect. Shrewsbury building workers jailed by the Tories for picketing have not been freed by the Labor government.

With these measures, the Labor government will seek to force the working class to pay the enormous costs of international loans which have been borrowed to cover soaring oil costs and a staggering balance of payments deficit.

### DEVALUATION

In 1964, the last time the Labor Party was in office, billions of dollars were borrowed on the international markets in a futile attempt to prevent the devaluation of the pound.

Today, the Labor Party takes office under conditions of a far deeper international crisis, at a time when the dollar has been severed from gold and no longer serves as an international measure of value, meaning uncontrollable inflation, unemployment, and trade war.

Today, the British working class has been through the experience of a Labor government before and has now been strengthened by defeating the

Tories. If the Tories were unable to impose huge cuts in workers living standards, the Labor government is a far weaker position to do so.

Already engineers and railroad workers are defying the government and are demanding wage increases far above the state pay laws.

The danger British workers face is that behind this government, the Tory ruling class and bankers continue to make preparations for dictatorship. The military and special police forces are in conspiracy with the most reactionary Tories to impose a dictatorship and abolish all democratic rights.

The Wilson government, like the Allende government in Chile overthrown by the army last September, only gives the capitalists time to prepare for civil war behind the scenes.

Unlike the period in 1964, there will not be four years of Labor rule. The depth of the economic crisis means that it can only be a brief phase while the capitalists plot to solve the crisis by the most brutal confrontation with the working class.

### CONFIDENCE

The Tories have no real confidence in the ability of the Laborites to defeat the struggles of the working class. They seek to use

the Labor government temporarily, to disarm and attack workers, before directly seeking to overthrow the Labor government and return to power. This is already clear from the continued jailing of the Shrewsbury workers.

### PARTY

Only the Workers Revolutionary Party, British section of the Fourth International, warned of the dangers of a Labor government and demanded that it commit itself to socialist policies in order to expose it as the prisoner of the bankers and capitalists.

The Wilson government has now totally capitulated to the Tory bankers and the ruling class who will dictate the terms of the interest on the huge loans the Labor Party has borrowed.

A \$2.5 billion dollar loan has just been negotiated on the Euro dollar market and the government is now seeking to obtain an additional \$1.5 billion from US bankers.

The balance of payments deficit has continued to rise and from a \$5 billion deficit in 1973, it is now rising at a monthly rate of \$1 billion. This situation is leading to a tremendous flight of capital out of the country.

British capitalism is incapable of competing on world markets

under the present conditions of trade war brought on by the collapse of paper currencies and inflation.

The most dangerous role is being played by the leaders of the Trade Union Council who have come out in support of the Labor Party's policy of maintaining the pay laws. Len Murray, TUC general secretary, recently declared: "We fully anticipate that unions will have in mind, when framing the pursuing wage claims, the constructive policies of the government."

The only resolution to this crisis are socialist policies to nationalize basic industry, construction, land, and the banks without compensation under workers control.

### EMERGENCY

The Workers Revolutionary Party is fighting for these policies and is campaigning for the immediate convening of an emergency Labor Party conference where a fight can be taken up for a socialist program and for the release of the Shrewsbury workers.

In the United States, American workers face the same dangers as British workers.

The crisis of the capitalist system internationally is rooted in the United States, the very heart of capitalism. The source of this crisis is in the weakness of capitalism and of the dollar.

Nixon is steadily building up right-wing forces behind his administration, from within the military and Pentagon, as well as encouraging extreme racist and anticommunist groups.

These forces will be used in the coming class struggles over wages and living standards to divide and directly attack workers and the labor movement.

The central task in Britain and the United States is the construction of the revolutionary party to prepare workers for the decisive fight for power.

With this international perspective, the Workers League, in the campaign to force Nixon to resign and for the trade unions to build a labor party, is fighting to construct a mass revolutionary party to prepare for these struggles.





Henry Ford (left) greets Spain's dictator, General Franco.

# Henry Ford In Fascist Spain

**BY JEFF SEBASTIAN**  
Last week, Henry Ford traveled to Spain for a series of consultations with high government officials and an audience with fascist dictator General Franco.

Ford's visit is an ominous warning to American auto workers of new attacks being prepared on their jobs and working conditions.

The announcement of Ford's trip came simultaneously with the release of figures showing the US auto industry's plans for 1974 investment.

Ford is now making production plans to deal with the expected slump in 1974 sales. The company expects its profits for the first quarter of this year to be one-third of 1973 profits. US car production for 1974 is already about 850,000 units less than the same period of 1973.

Ford is now earmarking almost \$50 million dollars more than its previous estimates for investment overseas and slashing plans for American investment by approximately \$100 million.

**COMPACT**

Most of this investment will go not for expanding facilities, but for conversion to the production of compact models. Small car production facilities have been increased by 350,000 units this year and an additional 610,000

unit increase is projected for 1975.

Ford's short-term debt on foreign subsidiaries almost doubled in 1973 to over \$650 million, reflecting a major turn to foreign production.

Ford's visit to Spain coincides with his decisions to build a plant in Valencia, scheduled to begin production in November, 1976. Ford is also negotiating for the construction of an additional Spanish plant to provide almost 400,000 engines a year for other Ford facilities throughout Europe.

The enormous slump in sales in the US coincides with catastrophic declines throughout Europe and Japan. Japanese production is now down almost 40 percent. Italian and French production is down by one-third.

German auto production is plummeting with sales of VW falling 60 percent in US markets in February. With gasoline prices soaring and speed limits now being imposed on German highways, sales of sports cars and high-powered German cars are slumping.

This is now bringing on an international auto war with each manufacturer seeking to set up plants in areas of cheap wages and high labor productivity.

Ford is not the only auto giant in Spain. Renault, Fiat, Citroen, and Chrysler are based there as well.

**LUCRATIVE**

General Motors is now attempting to get in on the lucrative Spanish market with a \$60 million bid to take over British

Leyland's failing Authi operation and get the jump on its Ford rival.

Fiat has been attempting to block the GM move by putting in a bid of its own. There is no doubt that Ford's visit to Franco is connected to his fight to keep his giant rival out of the country.

The struggle in Spain is only the beginning, as the auto monopolies are now forced to look for the cheapest possible sources of labor. Portugal, Greece, and Brazil are considered likely spots for investment.

With low-profit compacts now outselling larger cars by two to one in the US, the drive must be intensified for speedup at home and investment abroad.

The cozy relations with the Franco dictatorship are warnings to US auto workers that the salve labor conditions under the Spanish fascists are the same conditions that Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler plan for the American workers.

They intend to use the massive unemployment in auto to weaken the unions in order to smash long-established trade union rights.

Corporation executives like Henry Ford are the men who behind the scenes encourage the most dictatorial moves by the Nixon government.

While Henry Ford establishes close relations with open fascist regimes, he and other capitalists are the men who encourage the most right-wing movements in the US and support the moves of Nixon towards dictatorship.

## Controls End As Prices Soar

**BY A REPORTER**

The Cost of Living Council is moving rapidly to remove all official price controls from every sector of the economy, as the April 30 deadline for the expiration of the Economic Stabilization Act approaches.

This past week, controls were formally removed from 1200 companies involved in production for the aerospace industry, and from the aluminum and coal industries. The four major aluminum producers immediately raised prices by 8.6 percent.

The paper industry which was recently removed from controls raised prices 10 to 12 percent this month alone. The price of zinc has gone up from 20 cents a pound to 35 cents a pound in the past three months.

The Cost of Living Council announced that controls will be lifted from the newspaper industry in the next week.

**WHOLESALE**

The huge rise in wholesale prices, now rising at an annual rate of nearly 30 percent will soon be reflected in at least a doubling of consumer prices which are rising at an annual rate of 12 to 15 percent.

Both Democrats and Republicans on the Senate Banking Committee have joined together in voting against any extension of wage and price controls after April 30. They have even opposed Nixon's proposal to keep controls on hospital costs. Hospital rates are estimated to go up at least 17 percent this year.

A secret pact has now been reached between George Meany of the AFL-CIO and the Congress that if wage controls are formally ended, the labor bureaucracy will hold wages to within the guidelines voluntarily. The AFL-CIO has accepted wage controls for the past three years.

The Cost of Living Council's statement that in exchange for lifting controls they must begin bargaining with the United Mine Workers, whose contract expires in November, smells of a deal with the Miller bureaucracy.

A section of the capitalist class representing major bankers and industrialists is opposed to any wage controls because they want to use unemployment as a weapon to break the back of the trade unions.

These forces, such as the Wall Street Journal, represent the most reactionary section of capitalists. Their call for allowing the mechanism of the "free market" to reign would mean uncontrollable inflation and the collapse of entire industries.

These capitalists want to crash the economy and allow millions to be thrown out of work in order to carve the working class up and impose savage wage cuts. These conditions would go hand in hand with moves towards dictatorship.

This fight poses immediately the necessity of a labor party pledged to a socialist program to defeat the conspiracy to smash the unions.

## Real Kent State Killers Go Free

**BY MITCH PATTERSON**

**CLEVELAND**—Seven former members and one current member of the Ohio National Guard were indicted for killing four Kent State students and wounding nine others in May of 1970 during the student demonstrations protesting the US invasion of Cambodia.

They were charged with "firing their guns in the direction of the protestors and violating their constitutional rights" by a federal Grand Jury in Cleveland, Ohio on March 29.

The almost four-year investigation of the Kent State killings is a whitewash of those who are really responsible for the murders. The investigations and the conclusions were only aimed at appeasing the public anger over the killings, while the real criminals go free.

If the eight men are convicted, they will receive a penalty of only one year imprisonment and a \$1000 fine. In past cases of this sort, they are usually released on probation within a few months.

Secondly, no National Guard

officers or government military men were even brought to trial. The question of a government or military conspiracy against the Kent State students came up during the course of the trial, but was dismissed immediately.

The incident at Kent State was nothing short of a ruthless massacre of students peacefully demonstrating which was premeditated and carefully planned out by upper echelon military and government officials. It was part of a national conspiracy to crush the growing movement of students against the government's foreign policies.

As the father of one of the murdered Kent State students, Bernard B. Miller, put it:

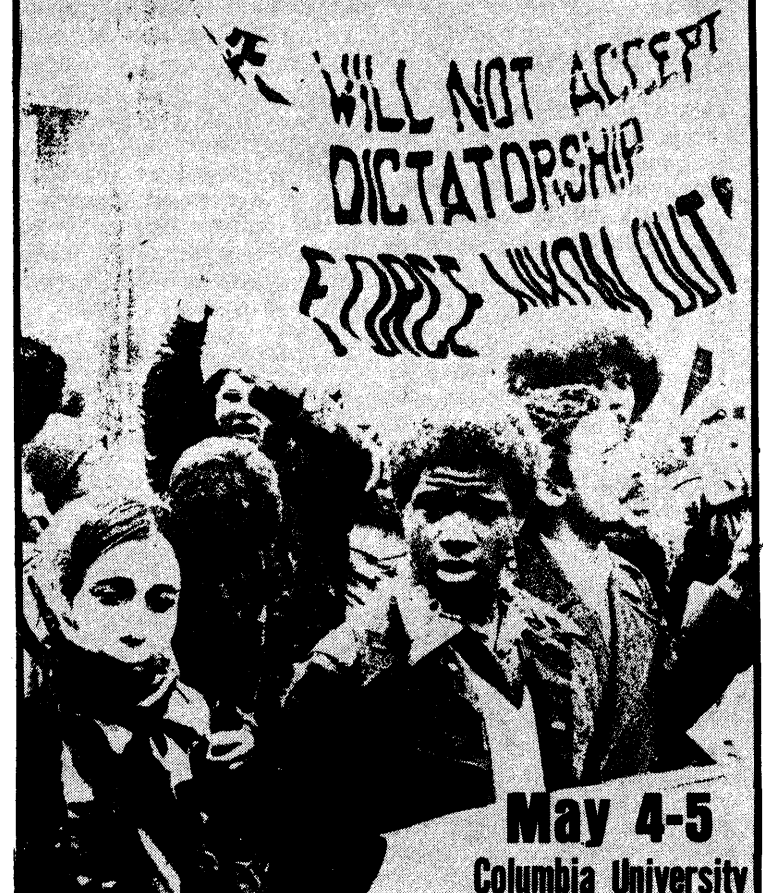
"No higher-ups were indicted. It is just like Watergate. This action is no compensation for the loss of my son."

When it was proposed at the trial that the Grand Jury "issue a report citing high officials for obstruction of justice," Assistant Attorney General J. Stanley Pottinger stated: "This would be highly unlikely particularly in view of the indictments. A report could prejudice the cases of the defendants."

The guardsmen were indicted on the basis that documents, witnesses, and photographs proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that the 113 National Guardsmen that entered the campus were not provoked into firing their guns by any action by the students.

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Israeli tank patrolling Golan Heights.

# Union Man Jailed In Quebec Revolt

**BY FRANK MARTIN**  
**QUEBEC—Following a rebellion by over 900 construction workers against brutal working conditions at the massive James Bay hydroelectric project in northern Quebec on March 20, the Quebec Provincial police is witch-hunting union members in the construction industry.**

Already, Yvon Duhamel, a Quebec Federation of Labor business agent at James Bay has been framed and imprisoned for eight days after being held for three days without being charged. Ten other workers are being sought by police.

Workers at the LG-2 campsite punctured fuel tanks, burned down five barracks containing 350 beds and used a bulldozer and a giant payloader to overturn three power generators. At the same time, they occupied administration buildings and seized control of radio-telephone communications, forcing the evacuation of all management personnel.

This uprising was a direct response to the wretched conditions forced on workers in James Bay who live and eat in wooden shacks in sub-zero temperatures.

James Bay is the \$6 billion "pet project" of Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa. The project is funded virtually entirely on loans taken out by the

Quebec government on the basis of "promises" by Con Edison of New York to buy electric power once the project is done.

#### RIVALRIES

In order to make James Bay a "success," Bourassa has sought to whip up union rivalries on the construction site between the QFL and the CNTU, the rival union confederation in Quebec. When thirty QFL members refused to work the same job with two CNTU workers, they were fired at once, leading to the explosion on the campsite.

Within hours, hundreds of Quebec Provincial Police had surrounded the area. They arrested Duhamel, flew him to Montreal, and held him incommunicado for three days.

They then brought him before a fire commissioner's court, claiming that his right to be charged and to see a lawyer

within 24 hours did not apply. When Duhamel refused to participate in this frameup, he was immediately sentenced to eight days in jail.

The workers of James Bay have demonstrated the bitter hatred of all workers towards the Liberal regimes of Bourassa and Trudeau. The entire Canadian labor movement must come to their defense, and demand the dropping of all charges and the release of jailed union members.

#### RESIGNATION

The trade union movement must demand the immediate resignation of the Liberal government in Ottawa and its replacement by an NDP government pledged to take the construction industry and all basic industries out of the hands of the property speculators and place them under workers control.

## Syria Lashes Arab League Embargo Deal

**BY A REPORTER**  
**Heavy fighting involving tanks and artillery continued over the weekend in the Golan Heights on the Israeli-Syrian border for the third straight week.**

Syria inflicted heavy casualties on an Israeli patrol early Sunday morning according to reports at the front. Israeli positions at Tel Antar were hit by Syrian tanks and rocket launchers.

Syrian spokesmen declared that the Israelis have been attempting to improve their positions and that this had required retaliation.

The open split at the recent conference in Tunisia of the 21-nation Arab League between Syria, Libya, and Algeria and Egypt and Saudi Arabia shows that the agreement to lift the oil-embargo is barely hanging by a thread.

#### CORDIALITIES

Cordialities ended quickly when Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Hakim Khaddam and the

Syrian vice-president lashed out at Egypt and the six other Arab nations that supported lifting the oil ban to the US, stating that if the "Syrian situation" did not improve by next June, they would demand it be reimposed.

#### DENOUNCED

The Syrian leaders denounced Egypt for having made the troop disengagement pact with Israel which left Syria isolated and in a weaker position to negotiate for lands taken by Israel in the 1967 war.

Khaddam sharply emphasized that Syria would accept no agreement until Israel had relinquished all occupied territory, including a 100 percent evacuation from the Golan Heights.

#### DEADLOCKED

Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and Henry Kissinger just completed two days of talks in Washington on the deadlocked Syrian negotiations.

Information regarding the actual proposals has not been released, but it is clear that Dayan is stubbornly maintaining the position that Israel will not withdraw from the Golan Heights.

## New Army Mutiny Sweeps Ethiopia

**BY MELODY FARROW**

**A new rebellion has broken out within the Ethiopian Armed Forces in the northern base at Asmara where the first mutinies began against the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie.**

A group of junior officers at Asmara have issued a declaration that they will protect civilians from mass killings and have issued a series of demands that call for a trial of top military and civilian officials for corruption and an end to the blockade of the Debre Zeit Air Force Base, where troops and officers are in revolt.

At Massaoua, seamen attached to the Ethiopian Navy are defying orders from their officers and are freely roaming the base without uniforms.

A major split has now taken place within the military, between officers who want to maintain the Emperor and the feudal system in Ethiopia, and others who want sweeping social reforms.

A group of military men have issued a proclamation to Selassie which calls for "the judgement of the former military officers for their responsibility for the genocide provoked by the famine in Ethiopia, guarantees of a revision of the constitution, and a rapid and total agrarian reform."

This split has been created by the revolutionary movement of the Ethiopian workers and peasants who have risen up against centuries of oppression for the first time in history.

Although teachers and students had ended their strike, airport workers and Fiat auto workers were still on strike last week.

A new factor in the situation is a wave of peasant seizures of large private land tracts. At the village of Maki, there were reports of at least 20 peasants killed in an attack on a landowner's estate.

On March 17, over 2000 women demonstrated in the capital Addis Ababa demanding better working conditions and equal pay scales as men.

Selassie has just approved the new budget which means a 30 percent cut in government spending, but the army and police were not affected in order

to keep their loyalty to the feudal monarchy.

The famine continues to worsen and is now spreading to other provinces of Ethiopia besides Wollo and Tigre. Six thousand tons of wheat and corn, sent by international relief agencies, are rotting on the docks of Djibouti and Assab because Selassie will not transport them to the starving peasants, only several hundred miles away.

Yet, there is no difficulty transporting exports such as coffee, vegetables, and meat which are being shipped out of the country at the same rate as before the famine.

## Macy's Workers Seek Cost Of Living Hike

**BY A REPORTER**

**NEW YORK, NY—**"If we do not get the cost of living clause in our new contract, as far as I am concerned, we are going on strike Monday morning."

This was the feeling of Macy's worker Clarence Hodges and the feeling of a vast majority of the 8000 employed at the giant Macys Department Stores.

The Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union has been negotiating with Macys for a new contract since February 1.

Macy's refuses to grant a wage increase of more than 5.5 percent, or to even consider a cost of living clause.

Since the last contract two years ago, more than 1000 workers have been laid off.

All stockroom staff has been completely eliminated so that the two or three workers in each department are responsible for stocking their own merchandise.

"I guess I will have to quit soon," said a 63-year-old Macy's worker. "Sometimes I have to go to the tenth floor to get the merchandise."

"I would have stopped working here a long time ago, but the pension is so bad that I could not live on it."

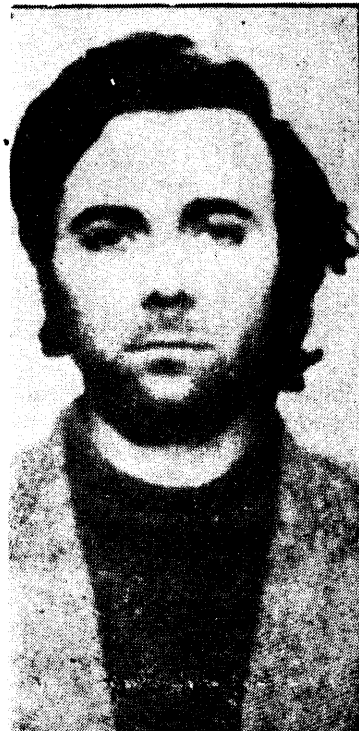
Macy's has recently ended its policy of paying a full salary to any worker who retires after 50 years of service.

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# Statement Of The International Committee Of The Fourth International



Theodore Koutsoubos



Ageliki Stavropoulou



Kostas Kortessis



Manolis Zakakis



Izaklis Logothetis

# Free The Greek Trotskyists!

**Five comrades of the Workers International League (WIL), Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International were arrested in Athens and Piraeus on February 23.**

The arrested comrades are Theodore Koutsoubos, Kostas Kortessis, Manolis Zakakis, Ageliki Stavropoulou and Izaklis Logothetis.

The police did not publicly announce their arrest until March 13—19 days later. Throughout that period they were brutally tortured by the security police in an attempt to force them to betray their comrades.

The Greek junta's minister D. Karakostas claimed that another ten persons are being held and are under interrogation in connection with the WIL. We denounce this as a fabrication behind which is the intention of the junta to carry out further arrests against the Trotskyist ex-prisoners who were released after the amnesty proclaimed by the Papadopoulos government.

A further 27 militants were arrested in Salonika, as members and supporters of the Youth of the Communist Party and the student organization Anti-EFEE.

On February 19 the police announced the arrest of 13 members of the CP Central Committee as well as many other militants.

All these are part of a huge wave of arrests unleashed by the Greek junta of General Gizikis since the beginning of February.

Under pretext of investigating some recent robberies in Athens, thousands were arrested as "suspects" and taken for interrogation in the security cells.

Estimates put the number of those under interrogation into hundreds, while hundreds of others have been exiled to Yioura island or have been imprisoned.

The police announcements are angled to create the impression that communism in Greece has received the most destructive blows since the civil war and has been totally "broken up."

The reality however is totally different. Those arrested are almost all old prisoners or exiles who had been released last August under the "Amnesty," all known to the police and under constant surveillance.

Their rearrest is in no way an achievement by the security police. The police quite arbitrarily describe various persons arrested as members of Central Committees and so-called "leading members." However, a number of those alleged "leading members" have already been set free due to absence of any evidence.

A typical case is that of Mina Yiannou. She is an old woman, ex-member of the EDA who now plays no leading role whatsoever. Yiannou was arrested allegedly as a member of the CP Central Committee soon after her return from the Soviet Union. She had gone there legally with a proper passport, to be examined by leading eye specialists, being almost blind.

The junta is attempting, by these arrests, to terrorize the workers and at the same time to create the impression that every organized political force, every leadership has been destroyed and therefore every struggle against the regime would be in vain.

On the other hand the regime considers it vitally important to demonstrate to its own militarist base that it is in full control thereby strengthening the shaken morale of the officer corps and weakening the break-away forces within the army.

A terrible, rumbling, discontent is spreading among the masses in Greece today, coupled with a deep split within the army, the state machine and the bourgeois class. These are the elements of the situation that hold everything in the country on a razor's edge.

The terror unleashed by the junta is no more than a spasmodic attempt to postpone the huge social explosions which inevitably will take place and in comparison with which the events of last November at the Polytechnic will pale into insignificance.

There exists an untameable force pushing the political developments forward. It is the tremendous inflationary crisis of the capitalist system. Until 1970 Greece had the lowest rate of inflation among the capitalist countries. Today it has the highest.

Prices are rising by leaps and bounds. Unemployment is spreading. The working class, the peasantry and the other poor layers of the population are in a state of economic despair.

Everyone compares the situation to the period of Nazi occupation of Greece during the war. The fact is that just as the unbridled violence of Nazism was unable to hold back the heightening of the class movement so it will be with the violence of the weak military junta.

The measure of the crisis of Greek capitalism is the fact that for the first time since the Second World War it is unable, even with the aid of loans, to cover the huge deficit in the balance of payments. This means that it is on the verge of bankruptcy.

Recently the Gizikis regime announced measures with which it is hoped to balance the economy. But these will have the same fate as the similar "measures" of Papadopoulos.

Inflation is an expression of

the crisis of capitalism on a world scale and not a Greek question which could be faced by the Greek bourgeois governments. In the last analysis the only "economic" weapon which the junta has is violence and death. And it uses this weapon to force the working masses to take on their backs the heavy burden of the capitalist crisis.

The only way to take the country out of the present situation, to face inflation, rising of prices and unemployment is through the nationalization of the banks, land, large industries, transport, etc. without compensation, under the control of the workers and peasants, with a workers and peasants government in power. In other words the only solution is the socialist solution.

The Workers International League and our arrested and brutally tortured comrades fight for precisely this end. The struggle of the WIL and the Greek working class is the struggle of the workers all over the world.

Everywhere the same problems, the same attacks from the same enemy: the imperialist monopolies, the capitalist states and governments, against the living standards of the workers and their trade union and political liberties.

The liberation of our comrades and all the political prisoners is a matter for the workers of the whole world. The Australian dockers, conscious of the common nature of the struggles of the working class throughout the world have mobilized in Sydney harbor 29 ships of the Greek ship owners. Their example must be followed by dockers in all countries.

In striking contrast is the position of the Stalinists in Moscow, the East European countries, and Peking. Unperturbed, they continue their diplomatic and trade relations with the bloody military dicta-

torship.

This stance is covered up and dishonestly excused by the Greek Communist Party. These Stalinist traitors are responsible for the very rise to power of the dictatorship and for its continued existence.

They still continue to refuse to break their relations with the Greek bourgeoisie and imperialists as they refuse to mobilize independently the working class in the struggle for power and for a workers' and peasants' government with socialist policies.

The main task of working class militants in Greece and in every country is the struggle for the construction of new revolutionary parties which will fill the critical vacuum left in the workers movement by the treachery and total bankruptcy of Stalinism.

The International Committee of the Fourth International calls on the working class and all the toilers of every country to declare their solidarity with the Greek workers.

•The ships of the Greek ship owners must be blacked everywhere!

•The International Committee of the Fourth International demands the immediate release of its imprisoned members!

•Immediate release of all the political prisoners!

•Immediate breakoff of the relations of Moscow and Peking with the murderous regime of Athens!

•We call on the working class and the youth to join the sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

•Long live the International Committee of the Fourth International!

•Long live its Greek section, the Workers International League!

March 19, 1974



As the crisis of capitalism intensifies, the American working class faces a situation where everything it has fought for in the past is now threatened.

It faces a government determined to crush the trade union movement through a conscious policy of creating unemployment, at the same time that it uses inflation to drive down the living standard of all workers.

In this situation, workers are already moving to defend their rights. As they move into battle, they immediately confront the government and virtual civil war conditions have already been created in many of these struggles, as was sharply revealed by the fight of the truckers.

Today, as both the developments during the truckers strike here and the fight of the miners in England reveal, we have entered a period of revolution and civil war not just in Europe, but in America as well. Thus, every strike struggle now immediately becomes a political struggle and the question of workers actually taking power becomes posed in each battle.

In this new situation, we must turn to the history of the American working class and the lessons to be learned from that history, not just to understand things that happened in the past, but because that past will now begin to live in the present. It will shape the way workers think as they move into battle.

However, today the thinking of the past is inadequate in the fight against capitalism. Thus, we must understand that past thinking and history in order to be able to intervene in the present struggles of workers and change their thinking and thus, change their practice.

For this reason, we return to an earlier period of class warfare and revolutionary developments among masses of workers: the period of the construction of the Industrial Workers of the World.

We see in that history both the revolutionary determination of American workers and how, in spite of that determination, they could still not go beyond the limits of capitalism to its overthrow and to the construction of a socialist state.

**CIVIL WAR STRUGGLES: 1890-1905**

Between 1890 and 1905, the American workers movement faced the growth and consolidation of monopoly capitalism as America emerged as a world imperialist power. American capitalism during this time was still able to realize some limited growth, while internationally, capitalism was collapsing. In fact, America was only able to grow in this period because of the growing decline of Europe: a decline which culminated in a complete collapse in World War One.

In consolidating their monopolies, the capitalists also solidified the powers of the state, developing a federal army, strong local police forces, and passing laws which would enable them to establish martial law whenever they felt threatened.

In addition, the handful of capitalists who owned the majority of the factories, mines, and railroads also developed vast private armies of their own which could be dispatched whenever a strike struggle broke out.

Describing this period, Richard Boyer and Herbert Morais noted in *Labor's Untold Story*:

"It was the decade that heard Senator Beveridge of Indiana declare that it was America's destiny to rule the world, bringing profits to Wall Street and order to lesser breeds, to the yellow, brown and black men who he said needed the inspiration and control of the American Way.

"Its symbol, at least among the elite, was Teddy Roosevelt, charging at the head of his Rough Riders up San Juan Hill to make Cuba safe for the American Sugar Refining Company. It was the time in which American finance underwent a qualitative change, beginning to export its money and Marines into the Caribbean and the Pacific, grabbing Puerto Rico and the Philippines by force of arms, controlling Cuba as a protectorate, and annexing Hawaii outright."

It was the era where company after company imposed vicious wage cuts and speedup measures on their employees in order to amass enormous profits. When the largely unorganized workers resisted these attacks, Pinkertons and National Guard troops were sent in and some of the bloodiest battles in the history of the labor movement were fought.

Three great strike struggles occurred during this period which, while they were all defeated, were to change the course of the development of the labor movement and



Part One **The Birth Of Revolutionary Unionism**  
by Nancy Fields

which brought forward two men in particular who were to dominate the workers movement up to 1917: Eugene V. Debs and Big Bill Haywood. These strikes occurred in the steel mills of Homestead, Pennsylvania in 1892; the mines of the Coeur d'Alene region of Idaho in 1892; and in the Chicago suburb of Pullman, Illinois, in 1894.

At Homestead, in the Carnegie steel mill, Henry Frick, the manager, had locked out the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers in an effort to smash the union and reduce wages below starvation level. In order to ensure the absolute defeat of the union, Frick hired 300 Pinkertons, placed them on barges and towed them up the Monongahela River to the plant.

However, as these hired thugs approached the plant, they were met by the gunfire of the workers who had entrenched themselves behind barricades of steel billets. The strikers fought all day determined to get every Pinkerton on the barges. A newspaper account described both the ingenuity and fervor of the strikers:

"The strikers set up a small brass cannon behind a breastwork of railroad ties and opened direct fire on the barges. Failing to sink them, they poured barrels of oil into the river and set the oil afire. With three men already dead and many more wounded, the Pinkertons were trapped.

"Deserted by the tug which had towed them upstream, helplessly crowded into the barge which lay farthest from the shore, they finally ran up a white flag and agreed to surrender. In return for a guarantee of safe conduct out of the community, they gave up their arms and ammunition."

However, in spite of the heroic actions of the workers, the company was bent on carrying out its plan. It mobilized 8000 troops of the Pennsylvania state militia and marched into the town, placing it under martial law. The strikers were arrested and their leaders were charged with murder. The plant was reopened and nonunion scabs were given the strikers jobs.

The battle at Homestead had lasted five months and it marked a turning point in relations between capital and labor. While there had been huge civil war struggles in an earlier period, for the first time an organized union faced the onslaught of the employers determined to destroy it.

At the same time that the troops entered Homestead, striking miners in Idaho, in the Coeur d'Alene region, were being arrested. Over 1000 were jailed and confined to a bull pen for more than six months without ever being charged with any crime.

Recognizing that the defeat in Homestead and in Coeur d'Alene required a new method of fighting the attacks of the employers, Edward Boyce and Vincent St. John established the Western Federation of Miners, which was the first attempt in America to create an industrial union which fought to unite all the workers in one industry regardless of their particular craft to gain strength when facing the employers. They urged the workers of the East to follow their pattern.

Big Bill Haywood joined the WFM and almost immediately became one of its top leaders. In the WFM, he received his early training as a class struggle fighter.

Following its establishment, the WFM moved to affiliate with the Socialist Party. It thus represented more than simply the establishment of a trade union, as it sought to establish the beginning of a movement by workers on a local level to revolutionary unionism: a movement which would later emerge nationwide with the founding of the Industrial Workers of the World.

While initially, the WFM was affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, it broke off this affiliation in 1897 when the AFL refused to support the Coeur d'Alene strikers who were facing the most ruthless attacks the miners had known up to that point.

In 1898, they organized the Western Labor Union to unite all workers regardless of industry to fight for a change in the system itself. Only because the AFL refused to

support the struggles of the western workers, did the leadership of the WFM set up their own organization.

Immediately upon its establishment, the WLU was met with vicious charges of seeking to destroy the trade union movement, of conducting a raiding operation on the AFL, and of fostering the principles of dual unionism.

The Western Federation of Miners played a major role in all the bitter strike struggles that occurred between 1896 and 1905. The army intervened in all these strikes, and at least 12 times in 12 years both the state of Colorado and Idaho were ruled by martial law.

The reign of terror that dominated the lives of the western worker can be seen in the Coeur d'Alene region of Idaho, where thousands of miners were forced into bull pens for months on end both in 1892 and in 1899.

In the massive Cripple Creek strike for the eight hour day in 1903, 42 men were killed, 1400 arrested, over 100 injured, and 775 deported from the state.

In response to these brutal actions, Haywood and Vincent St. John saw the need to transform the Western Labor Union into a national movement and thus, in 1902, they moved their headquarters to Chicago and set up the American Labor Union. Expressing belief in the need for political action, it voted, along with the Western Federation of Miners, in 1902, to support the Socialist Party.

At the same time that the WFM was organizing workers in the West regardless of industry, Eugene Debs led a strike which was to convince him that the fight of the American working class could not be solved by trade union militancy alone. It was conducted by Debs's American Railway Union against the Pullman Palace Car Company.

All the Pullman workers lived in a company-owned town under conditions of virtual slavery. In the Depression of 1893, more than 5000 Pullman employees were



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Top, Pinkerton detectives fleeing after surrender to striking Homestead steel workers. Bottom, wives of striking Ohio miners beating pots and pans against scab or "black leg."

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laid off and those that were not, had their wages slashed 45 to 50 percent. Finally, in response to the growing hardship and literal starvation, the Pullman workers struck in 1894.

In response to their strike, the rail workers on all the lines joined with the Pullman strikers by refusing to run any trains which had Pullman cars attached to them. In two months, the strike had become so effective that nearly every railroad in the middle west was hit and the nation's entire transportation system seriously threatened.

Federal troops were sent in and the full force of the federal government was unleashed to break the strike. President Cleveland, in dispatching the army, declared: "If it takes every dollar in the treasury and every soldier in the United States to deliver a postal card in Chicago, that postal card should be delivered."

Debs was arrested and convicted and thrown into the Cook County jail. Later, when discussing the actions of the troops, Debs said:

"At this juncture, there was delivered, from wholly unexpected quarters, a swift succession of blows that blinded me for an instant and then opened wide my eyes—and in the gleam of every bayonet and the flash of every rifle the class struggle was revealed. This was my first practical lesson in socialism, though wholly unaware that it was called by that name."

While he was serving his term in prison, Debs was introduced to socialism by Victor Berger. Berger gave him a copy of *Capital* by Karl Marx and through this introduction to socialism, Debs realized that if American workers were to go forward in their fight against the ruthless power of the monopolies, it would be necessary for them not simply to organize on the economic front, but to turn to the question of political action.

During the next few years, the very existence of the trade union movement was threatened. Strike after strike was defeated

and unionism virtually destroyed in whole areas, such as in the steel industry.

At the same time, the American Federation of Labor, under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, refused to organize the unorganized and unskilled workers which by now made up the majority of the working class. The policies of the AFL deepened the fragmentation of the workers with its craft unions whose initiation fees were so high that it was almost impossible for most workers to join them. They also discriminated against Black and immigrant workers, refusing to let them into any union.

Thus, at the moment when it was clear that the only way to fight the monopolies, where one corporation alone actually controlled many industries, was through the creation of unions to cut across craft divisions, the AFL deepened its policy of creating small, separate unions for the few, privileged, skilled craftsmen.

Both in response to the treacherous policies of the AFL, as well as to the recognition that a new type of organization was needed to meet the attacks of the capitalist state, the call was issued by the leadership of the Western Federation of Miners, together with Debs and the American Labor Union, to form a new organization.

The call to hold a convention was sent to 36 people inviting them to attend a secret meeting to be held in Chicago on January 5, 1905. At this secret meeting, chaired by Haywood, plans were laid to establish a labor organization on the principles of industrial unionism and in opposition to the class compromising of the American Federation of Labor. During the three day session, the delegates adopted the Industrial Union Manifesto and agreed to hold the founding convention in June to which all unions, political tendencies, and working class leaders would be invited. The heart of the Manifesto consisted of the following three paragraphs:

"Universal economic evils afflicting the working class can be eradicated only by a universal working class movement. A

movement to fulfill these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries—providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity generally.

"It must be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration must be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

"It should be established as the economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party."

Responding to the convention call, more than 200 delegates, representing 43 organizations, attended. The largest section of delegates came from the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union.

It is important to note that the founding of the IWW did not represent a turn by working class leaders to create another trade union. Rather, it represented an attempt by these men, particularly Haywood, to go beyond the narrow limits of trade union activity and to bring the working class together industrially for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism. That so many individual leaders and organizations attended the convention was a reflection of the desire among masses of workers for revolutionary policies to lead the struggle against capitalism.

The two dominant tendencies represented at the convention were the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union on the one hand and the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance on the other. The latter was Daniel DeLeon's Socialist Labor Party's industrial organization and it had a tiny membership and relatively little influence in the class struggle itself.

The majority section of the convention, composed of the WFM and the ALU, did not actually represent the antipolitical element which emerged in the West and which was to later dominate that section of the IWW. Rather, it reflected the Socialist Party, through the leadership of the WFM. In fact, every member of the provisional board elected at the Convention was a member of the SP.

While many members of the SP attended the convention and its most outstanding spokesman, Debs, endorsed the IWW, the right-wing leadership denounced the new movement.

Victor Berger, in a letter to Morris Hillquit, demanded that Debs condemn the IWW. He said: "If Debs stays with that crowd, he will lend them some prestige for a little while, but, I am sure that would be the end of Debs."

The Convention itself was dominated by the leading working class figures of the times: men who had led great strike struggles and had developed real followings in the working class itself. Haywood, Debs, Trautmann, Moyer, A.M. Simon, C.O. Sherman, and Clarence Smith were all present.

While it appeared to most of the delegates that the Convention proceeded in harmony and that unanimous agreement was reached on all issues, in actuality from the sixth day on, the activity of the convention was dominated by friction between two opposing tendencies. These two tendencies would emerge as warring factions and split the IWW in two.

The fight broke out over the wording in the preamble to the constitution. It occurred over the "political clause" which stated:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among the millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes, a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation to any political party."

Actually, the clause represented a compromise between Trautmann, who felt that all political action was really unnecessary and DeLeon, who placed political action way above industrial action in importance. The spokesman for those who wished to strike the clause declared that it tended to detract from the revolutionary purpose of the IWW and to put forward illusions in the "ballot box of the capitalists."

It was DeLeon who formulated the compromise between the two factions. He defended the political clause and stated that the preamble represented a "synthesis of the two class conscious positions repre-

mented among the delegates."

Although in the final vote, the clause was sustained by a substantial majority, the violent debate revealed the deep divisions which actually existed in the IWW from its very creation.

The convention established the five basic principles upon which the IWW was to be organized. The first was that there was to be no discrimination on the basis of race, creed, sex or color. All immigrants were eligible for membership. The IWW was the first mass labor organization to bar discrimination and it did so not simply formally, but throughout its history it fought to recruit minority and immigrant workers.

The second principle was that initiation fees and dues were to be very low so that every worker could become a member. As Haywood noted at the time: "I do not care the snap of my finger whether or not the skilled workman joins this industrial movement at the present time. When we get the unorganized and unskilled laborer into this organization, the skilled worker will of necessity come here for his own protection."

The third principle was a rejection of time contracts in trade agreements negotiated with the employers.

The fourth principle of organization was the idea that the general strike would be the final solution of the class struggle. The IWW held that simply through the mass strike of the entire working class, the capitalist state could be brought down and the workers take over the running of industry.

The fifth principle set forth the actual way in which the IWW was to be organized. It provided for a highly centralized scheme of administration. The general organization was divided into 13 international industrial departments. This organization was designed by Father Hagerty and outlined in his "Wheel of Fortune."

Each of these departments comprised allied groups of interests, organized together for administrative purposes. Thus, the entire country was divided up into the totality of its industry.

This was done for two basic reasons. First, it enabled the IWW to bring all the industries together into one "big union." This one union would represent all workers organized on an industrial basis.

Second, they held that these industries would form the basis of the future government: an industrial government run by the working class.

It is important to note that in the organizational plan of the IWW, the close link between the thinking of the American worker and the development of American technology is revealed. When workers conceived of running the country, they saw that they would do so through their factories and industries. The thinking of the leadership of the IWW was very much a product of American developments.

The founding of the IWW represented a turn to revolution by thousands of workers in America. However, as will be revealed in greater detail in Part Two, it never really broke from the dominant thinking of the capitalist class itself, that is, from the pragmatic method which is hostile to theory and holds that all that is required is to do what works.

It was for this reason that the IWW was not able to break the stranglehold of radicalism inside the workers movement: a stranglehold which had held back the working class from its very origins. It simply took the militant trade union consciousness of workers to its most extreme limits: but, it was still trade union consciousness and for all its militancy, it could not actually go forward to smash the capitalist state and establish socialism.

By scorning the need to fight for the independent political action of the working class and the organization of a workers political party, the IWW, for all its revolutionary fervor, simply reflected the other side of the conservative American Federation of Labor.

While Gompers insisted that the only purpose of a trade union was to fight for "bread and butter" issues, the IWW saw that all that was necessary for the workers to overthrow capitalism was the trade union. While the two organizations had quite opposite goals, both saw the trade union as an end in itself and both refused to turn the masses of workers to political action through the construction of their own party. Thus, both left workers confined to the limits of capitalism.

TO BE CONTINUED



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CIVIL WAR STRUGGLES: 1890-1905

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The battle at Homestead had lasted five months and it marked a turning point in relations between capital and labor. While there had been huge civil war struggles in an earlier period, for the first time an organized union faced the onslaught of the employers determined to destroy it.

At the same time that the troops entered Homestead, striking miners in Idaho, in the Coeur d'Alene region, were being arrested. Over 1000 were jailed and confined to a bull pen for more than six months without ever being charged with any crime.

Recognizing that the defeat in Homestead and in Coeur d'Alene required a new method of fighting the attacks of the employers, Edward Boyce and Vincent St. John established the Western Federation of Miners, which was the first attempt in America to create an industrial union which fought to unite all the workers in one industry regardless of their particular craft to gain strength when facing the employers. They urged the workers of the East to follow their pattern.

Big Bill Haywood joined the WFM and almost immediately became one of its top leaders. In the WFM, he received his early training as a class struggle fighter.

Following its establishment, the WFM moved to affiliate with the Socialist Party. It thus represented more than simply the establishment of a trade union, as it sought to establish the beginning of a movement by workers on a local level to revolutionary unionism: a movement which would later emerge nationwide with the founding of the Industrial Workers of the World.

While initially, the WFM was affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, it broke off this affiliation in 1897 when the AFL refused to support the Coeur d'Alene strikers who were facing the most ruthless attacks the miners had known up to that point.

In 1898, they organized the Western Labor Union to unite all workers regardless of industry to fight for a change in the system itself. Only because the AFL refused to

support the struggles of the western workers, did the leadership of the WFM set up their own organization.

Immediately upon its establishment, the WLU was met with vicious charges of seeking to destroy the trade union movement, of conducting a raiding operation on the AFL, and of fostering the principles of dual unionism.

The Western Federation of Miners played a major role in all the bitter strike struggles that occurred between 1896 and 1905. The army intervened in all these strikes, and at least 12 times in 12 years both the state of Colorado and Idaho were ruled by martial law.

The reign of terror that dominated the lives of the western worker can be seen in the Coeur d'Alene region of Idaho, where thousands of miners were forced into bull pens for months on end both in 1892 and in 1899.

In the massive Cripple Creek strike for the eight hour day in 1903, 42 men were killed, 1400 arrested, over 100 injured, and 775 deported from the state.

In response to these brutal actions, Haywood and Vincent St. John saw the need to transform the Western Labor Union into a national movement and thus, in 1902, they moved their headquarters to Chicago and set up the American Labor Union. Expressing belief in the need for political action, it voted, along with the Western Federation of Miners, in 1902, to support the Socialist Party.

At the same time that the WFM was organizing workers in the West regardless of industry, Eugene Debs led a strike which was to convince him that the fight of the American working class could not be solved by trade union militancy alone. It was conducted by Debs's American Railway Union against the Pullman Palace Car Company.

All the Pullman workers lived in a company-owned town under conditions of virtual slavery. In the Depression of 1893, more than 5000 Pullman employees were



Top, hired Pinkerton detectives fleeing after surrender to striking Homestead steel workers. Bottom, wives of striking Ohio coal miners beating pots and pans against scab or "black leg."

laid off and those that were not, had their wages slashed 45 to 50 percent. Finally, in response to the growing hardship and literal starvation, the Pullman workers struck in 1894.

In response to their strike, the rail workers on all the lines joined with the Pullman strikers by refusing to run any trains which had Pullman cars attached to them. In two months, the strike had become so effective that nearly every railroad in the middle west was hit and the nation's entire transportation system seriously threatened.

Federal troops were sent in and the full force of the federal government was unleashed to break the strike. President Cleveland, in dispatching the army, declared: "If it takes every dollar in the treasury and every soldier in the United States to deliver a postal card in Chicago, that postal card should be delivered."

Debs was arrested and convicted and thrown into the Cook County jail. Later, when discussing the actions of the troops, Debs said:

"At this juncture, there was delivered, from wholly unexpected quarters, a swift succession of blows that blinded me for an instant and then opened wide my eyes—and in the gleam of every bayonet and the flash of every rifle the class struggle was revealed. This was my first practical lesson in socialism, though wholly unaware that it was called by that name."

While he was serving his term in prison, Debs was introduced to socialism by Victor Berger. Berger gave him a copy of Capital by Karl Marx and through this introduction to socialism, Debs realized that if American workers were to go forward in their fight against the ruthless power of the monopolies, it would be necessary for them not simply to organize on the economic front, but to turn to the question of political action.

During the next few years, the very existence of the trade union movement was threatened. Strike after strike was defeated

and unionism virtually destroyed in whole areas, such as in the steel industry.

At the same time, the American Federation of Labor, under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, refused to organize the unorganized and unskilled workers which by now made up the majority of the working class. The policies of the AFL deepened the fragmentation of the workers with its craft unions whose initiation fees were so high that it was almost impossible for most workers to join them. They also discriminated against Black and immigrant workers, refusing to let them into any union.

Thus, at the moment when it was clear that the only way to fight the monopolies, where one corporation alone actually controlled many industries, was through the creation of unions to cut across craft divisions, the AFL deepened its policy of creating small, separate unions for the few, privileged, skilled craftsmen.

Both in response to the treacherous policies of the AFL, as well as to the recognition that a new type of organization was needed to meet the attacks of the capitalist state, the call was issued by the leadership of the Western Federation of Miners, together with Debs and the American Labor Union, to form a new organization.

The call to hold a convention was sent to 36 people inviting them to attend a secret meeting to be held in Chicago on January 5, 1905. At this secret meeting, chaired by Haywood, plans were laid to establish a labor organization on the principles of industrial unionism and in opposition to the class compromising of the American Federation of Labor. During the three day session, the delegates adopted the Industrial Union Manifesto and agreed to hold the founding convention in June to which all unions, political tendencies, and working class leaders would be invited. The heart of the Manifesto consisted of the following three paragraphs:

"Universal economic evils afflicting the working class can be eradicated only by a universal working class movement. A

movement to fulfill these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries—providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity generally.

"It must be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration must be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

"It should be established as the economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party."

Responding to the convention call, more than 200 delegates, representing 43 organizations, attended. The largest section of delegates came from the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union.

It is important to note that the founding of the IWW did not represent a turn by working class leaders to create another trade union. Rather, it represented an attempt by these men, particularly Haywood, to go beyond the narrow limits of trade union activity and to bring the working class together industrially for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism. That so many individual leaders and organizations attended the convention was a reflection of the desire among masses of workers for revolutionary policies to lead the struggle against capitalism.

The two dominant tendencies represented at the convention were the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union on the one hand and the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance on the other. The latter was Daniel DeLeon's Socialist Labor Party's industrial organization and it had a tiny membership and relatively little influence in the class struggle itself.

The majority section of the convention, composed of the WFM and the ALU, did not actually represent the antipolitical element which emerged in the West and which was to later dominate that section of the IWW. Rather, it reflected the Socialist Party, through the leadership of the WFM. In fact, every member of the provisional board elected at the Convention was a member of the SP.

While many members of the SP attended the convention and its most outstanding spokesman, Debs, endorsed the IWW, the right-wing leadership denounced the new movement.

Victor Berger, in a letter to Morris Hillquit, demanded that Debs condemn the IWW. He said: "If Debs stays with that crowd, he will lend them some prestige for a little while, but I am sure that would be the end of Debs."

The Convention itself was dominated by the leading working class figures of the times: men who had led great strike struggles and had developed real followings in the working class itself. Haywood, Debs, Trautmann, Moyer, A.M. Simon, C.O. Sherman, and Clarence Smith were all present.

While it appeared to most of the delegates that the Convention proceeded in harmony and that unanimous agreement was reached on all issues, in actuality from the sixth day on, the activity of the convention was dominated by friction between two opposing tendencies. These two tendencies would emerge as warring factions and split the IWW in two.

The fight broke out over the wording in the preamble to the constitution. It occurred over the "political clause" which stated:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among the millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes, a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation to any political party."

Actually, the clause represented a compromise between Trautmann, who felt that all political action was really unnecessary and DeLeon, who placed political action way above industrial action in importance. The spokesman for those who wished to strike the clause declared that it tended to detract from the revolutionary purpose of the IWW and to put forward illusions in the "ballot box of the capitalists."

It was DeLeon who formulated the compromise between the two factions. He defended the political clause and stated that the preamble represented a "synthesis of the two class conscious positions repre-

sented among the delegates." Although in the final vote, the clause was sustained by a substantial majority, the violent debate revealed the deep divisions which actually existed in the IWW from its very creation.

The convention established the five basic principles upon which the IWW was to be organized. The first was that there was to be no discrimination on the basis of race, creed, sex or color. All immigrants were eligible for membership. The IWW was the first mass labor organization to bar discrimination and it did so not simply formally, but throughout its history it fought to recruit minority and immigrant workers.

The second principle was that initiation fees and dues were to be very low so that every worker could become a member. As Haywood noted at the time: "I do not care the snap of my finger whether or not the skilled workman joins this industrial movement at the present time. When we get the unorganized and unskilled laborer into this organization, the skilled worker will of necessity come here for his own protection."

The third principle was a rejection of time contracts in trade agreements negotiated with the employers.

The fourth principle of organization was the idea that the general strike would be the final solution of the class struggle. The IWW held that simply through the mass strike of the entire working class, the capitalist state could be brought down and the workers take over the running of industry.

The fifth principle set forth the actual way in which the IWW was to be organized. It provided for a highly centralized scheme of administration. The general organization was divided into 13 international industrial departments. This organization was designed by Father Hagerly and outlined in his "Wheel of Fortune."

Each of these departments comprised allied groups of interests, organized together for administrative purposes. Thus, the entire country was divided up into the totality of its industry.

This was done for two basic reasons. First, it enabled the IWW to bring all the industries together into one "big union." This one union would represent all workers organized on an industrial basis.

Second, they held that these industries would form the basis of the future government: an industrial government run by the working class.

It is important to note that in the organizational plan of the IWW, the close link between the thinking of the American worker and the development of American technology is revealed. When workers conceived of running the country, they saw that they would do so through their factories and industries. The thinking of the leadership of the IWW was very much a product of American developments.

The founding of the IWW represented a turn to revolution by thousands of workers in America. However, as will be revealed in greater detail in Part Two, it never really broke from the dominant thinking of the capitalist class itself, that is, from the pragmatic method which is hostile to theory and holds that all that is required is to do what works.

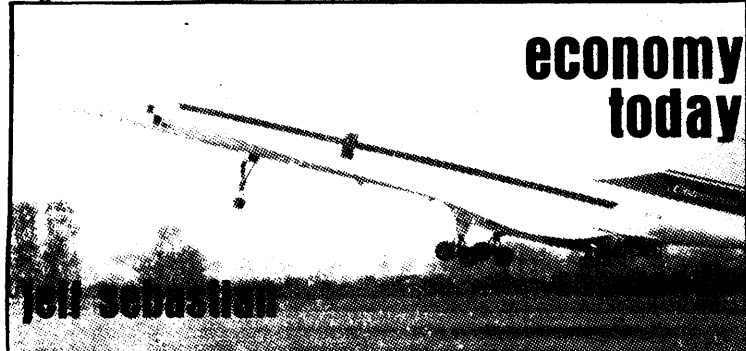
It was for this reason that the IWW was not able to break the stranglehold of radicalism inside the workers movement: a stranglehold which had held back the working class from its very origins. It simply took the militant trade union consciousness of workers to its most extreme limits: but, it was still trade union consciousness and for all its militancy, it could not actually go forward to smash the capitalist state and establish socialism.

By scorning the need to fight for the independent political action of the working class and the organization of a workers political party, the IWW, for all its revolutionary fervor, simply reflected the other side of the conservative American Federation of Labor.

While Gompers insisted that the only purpose of a trade union was to fight for "bread and butter" issues, the IWW saw that all that was necessary for the workers to overthrow capitalism was the trade union. While the two organizations had quite opposite goals, both saw the trade union as an end in itself and both refused to turn the masses of workers to political action through the construction of their own party. Thus, both left workers confined to the limits of capitalism.

TO BE CONTINUED





## Crisis Grounds Concorde

The British Labor Party has now made public a secret report prepared 18 months ago by the Tories on the implications of scrapping the Concorde.

Concorde is a joint project set up between France and England for the construction of a 1300 mph jet plane that is designed to reduce international travel to a matter of a few hours.

The threatened collapse of the Concorde project which threatens 63,000 jobs in England and 37,000 jobs in France is directly the product of the international economic crisis.

The Concorde crisis exposes the new Labor Party government of Harold Wilson as determined to do the dirty work of the Tories by phasing out the project and preparing to let the industry go bankrupt with massive unemployment for aircraft workers.

The Concorde project began in 1962 and symbolized the enormous illusions and optimism generated by the period of easy credit and artificial expansion.

Just as in the United States, entire cities were built up on the basis of this boom. Filton, near Bristol, is a town much like Seattle where tens of thousands of workers are employed in building engines for the Concorde.

When the Concorde was originally planned, projections painted a rosy picture of the skies being filled with 400 such planes as the customers lined up for speedy cross-Atlantic flights.

The original estimates were for costs of approximately \$400 million and enormous profits to be made.

Basing themselves on illusions that the easy credit and continuous expansion would never end, airlines from numerous capitalist countries signed up as potential buyers.

The project went forward even as the inflation added greater and greater costs. Now, well over \$2.5 billion has been spent, compared to the original estimate.

Today, the illusions generated by Concorde are crashing down along with the inflationary boom. With paper money and credit expanded far beyond any ability of the capitalists to back it with gold, a massive depreciation of currency is now devastating the capitalist world, threatening production and creating conditions for business failures and bitter international trade war.

The United States struck a deadly blow at the Concorde in March 1973 when Pan American and TWA cancelled their orders and were followed by similar actions from European and Asian airlines.

The US has banned supersonic flights from its territory.

These blows were aimed at destroying the European aircraft industry to clear the way for American companies.

Only nine orders for the plane remain and five of them are from the state-owned British Airways.

Production of the first 16 planes is estimated to mean an additional cost of over \$1 billion and the planes themselves are now calculated to lose \$11.5 million a year.

Under capitalism, nothing can be done to rescue a project such as Concorde. As desirable as short international flights may be, they are no longer profitable and no bank or investor will sink funds into a doomed investment.

The Concorde crisis is entirely a product of the collapse of the international boom. Only socialist policies which would remove Britain from the capitalist recession by nationalizing industry and banks under workers control and instituting planning can resolve the threat of collapse and mass unemployment.

The Wilson government has no intention of doing any such thing. Limited measures to "assist" the industry only serve to bail out the threatened capitalist investors while preparing the way for shutdown as the crisis deepens.

While it seeks to liquidate the Concorde, the Wilson government faces the mass opposition of the entire working class which drove out the Tories and placed it in power determined to get a change from capitalist policies of inflation and mass unemployment.

The fight to defend these and millions of other jobs places revolutionary struggles on the agenda.

Whole sections of capitalist industry now face going the way of Concorde. What happens in England today is already well-advanced in America.

The American working class can only defend itself under these conditions by breaking with the twin parties of capitalism and launching a labor party pledged to end the capitalist crisis with socialist policies.

# Permanent Cuts Hit Chicago Auto

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE  
CHICAGO—Auto workers in this area are preparing to fight a new round of layoffs which will mean permanent cuts in the work force.

Cutbacks are planned in overall production at the Ford Assembly plant in Chicago, and five to ten percent of the workers in area stamping plants are already on indefinite layoff.

Putney, a six year employee at the Fisher Body Stamping Plant in La Grange, says that the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party conference to fight for a new leadership is right to the point.



Leonard Woodcock

"I blame the union for what happened to me, to all of us. GM is just acting like a company. But the union is supposed to be acting for us.

"You cannot tell me they did not know about these layoffs, maybe even a year ago. Why didn't they at least warn us if they were not going to stop it?"

"They could have told us a year ago to put something aside because bad times were coming.

### WOODCOCK

"I have been off 10 weeks. That's hard on a family. I blame Woodcock for every bit of it.

"I think maybe things will

even out now and the smaller cars will start selling. But that will not really solve it.

"Look at my job. I work on a press. It takes four presses, two line-men and a guy to rack a big car roof. With a small car, you only make two presses, just one man on the line. That is what Woodcock will not fight."

Mike has been laid off from the Chicago Heights Ford Stamping Plant since January. "I want to be at the Conference in Dayton because I agree that Woodcock will not defend us because he does not want to see Nixon out.

### BACKING DOWN

"Look at what just happened. Monday, he said Nixon should resign and by Tuesday he already backed down. He is always backing down.

"Our local is paying for it. He said that he would authorize our strike last fall and when we went out, we did not hear a word from him. Now our president cannot even get into the plant and we still have not heard a word."

## Frantic Speedup At Fisher Body

BY LOUIS MILLER  
COLUMBUS—Working conditions at the Fisher Body Plant here are worsening daily, with speedups, unrecognized grievances, and layoffs mounting daily.

For about a month, the company has been raising "standards," or quotas that

Local 558 officials confirmed that local president Marco is still under indefinite disciplinary suspension, five months after a strike which the company called an illegal wildcat.

Meanwhile, over 10 percent of the work force at the stamping plant is on indefinite layoff. These layoffs were originally scheduled to reduce a stockpile built up when the nearby Torrence Assembly plant closed down for a model changeover.

A union spokesman admitted: "Off the record, we are considering them permanent."

This was supported by William Nolan, president of Local 551 at the Torrence plant, who told the Bulletin that the new Torino production line is to be slowed from 50 cars an hour to 40 at the end of April.

"It looks like 350 men will go out here about April 27 and there will be a phased reduction over the following weeks. We expect it to hit everyone up to about two years seniority."

must be met by each worker. Edwin Cutlip, Local 969, told a Bulletin reporter: "The standards were about all you could do before, and now a fellow doesn't even have time to drink a cup of coffee, or get a drink of water. You have to keep a steady beat until you get eight hours full work done."

The Fisher plant here primarily produces accessory pieces for automobiles, door locks, various latches, and trims. Both assembly and press work are done at the plant.

Cutlip also said: "The company 'trades in' good grievances for bad.

### GRIEVANCES

He said Fisher holds valid grievances until "some drunk" is fired, then rehires him, and disregards the rest.

Workers are laid off, for as long as 17 weeks, then rehired, often in another post.

"They can do as they please," said Cutlip, referring to the company layoff and hiring practices.

According to Cutlip, the United Auto Workers hands are tied by the last contract, signed last year. "They just signed it all over to the company," he said. The present contract was negotiated without a strike.

Laid off workers are also experiencing delays in Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) payments. Cutlip said he was laid off four weeks, had been back to work for four weeks, and had just received his last SUB payment.

He said SUB payments were up to the union's discretion. "They say they're behind, and they just hold it up."

The conditions at the Fisher plant here are not an isolated case of speedups and union sellout. They are reflected in production factories throughout the country.

## FBI File Key To AIM Trial Motion

BY JEAN BRUST  
ST. PAUL, Mn.—At the Wounded Knee trial of American Indian Movement leaders, Dennis Banks and Russell Means, Attorney General William Saxbe and FBI Chief Clarence Kelly will decide on whether to open the FBI files on informers to the Government Attorney.

This decision will be in response to the order by Federal District Judge Fred Nichol to federal prosecutors to read the FBI "Informers Contact" file to see if government informers worked their way into the legal defense camp and if the files contain any evidence that would be helpful to the defense.

Nichols has threatened to dismiss all charges against Means and Banks if the Justice Department refuses to allow its own prosecutors to read the file. This could mean the dismissal of charges pending or being tried against about 120 other persons in connection with the occupation last year. Yesterday he set Friday as the deadline for authorization.

The order grew out of a motion by defense lawyers for dis-

missal on grounds of an illegal wiretap which invaded the privacy of lawyer-client relations and a second motion charging massive government misconduct.

The Constitution guarantees the right of privacy to all lawyer-client conversations. Thus, the wiretapping of the only phone in Wounded Knee by the FBI openly violated this privacy.

Every lawyer involved in the defense has testified that he did indeed talk to his clients over that phone during the occupation.

In addition, it now appears certain that there were indeed informers in the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee itself.

Judge Nichols apparently is the first judge to order the FBI to open their files to anyone outside of the FBI. No prosecutor has ever seen a "Raw" file.

The other charge against the prosecution is that of failing to turn over to the defense certain documents that Judge Nichols ordered turned over months ago. Defendants have a constitutional right to know the evidence against them.



# midwest news Lordstown Strike Set For Friday

BY DAVID NORTH  
LORDSTOWN, Ohio—After a delay of nearly one week, auto workers at the Fisher Body Fabricating Plant here, members of Local 1714, have received authorization from the United Auto Workers International to strike this Friday if local contract issues are not resolved.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock has ordered the Local 1714 leaders to Detroit where negotiations are taking place under the direct supervision of the International bureaucracy.

As Fisher Body workers prepare to go out, a strong movement is developing among workers at the adjacent Vega assembly plant to begin strike action.

Members of Local 1112 at the Vega assembly plant have publicly attacked Woodcock's refusal to take action over deteriorating conditions.

Vega workers on the second shift began circulating a petition to Woodcock throughout the plant Thursday which was signed by hundreds of workers.

The letter stated: "It is the consensus of opinion by a vast majority of the membership" that the UAW international "is either completely unaware of our problems or does not care about our plight."

Describing the intolerable

## Teachers In Kansas City Face Courts

BY HOWARD WEST  
KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Three thousand teachers in the school district here ended the third week of their strike Friday with court injunctions and contempt citations against the union leaders.

The teachers, members of Local 691 of the American Federation of Teachers, struck March 15 in support of their demands for a 10 percent wage hike, as well as other items including a grievance procedure and demands for smaller classes.

The school district has refused to budge from its initial offer of a 5.5 percent wage increase. All the 100 schools in the district were closed on March 26 when too few employees remained to supervise the students.

Union members refused to comply with any of the court orders. When union President Norman Hudson read out the orders to a teachers' rally, the teachers replied by chanting: "Hell no, we won't go."

conditions, the workers declared: "We have stood by and watched management defy the contract not several times or even hundreds of times, but thousands of times..."

"We have watched our elected representatives discharged from employment as they were arguing for some other members contractual rights. An unauthorized wildcat over this didn't even cause your group to nod its head. The union representatives are still discharged and you sit idly by."

"The members of this local are not trying to settle local issues... the grievances are all over direct violations of the contract by management at this facility."

The letter calls on the International to sanction a strike and concludes: "Your failure to respond to our plea can only result in a complete lack of faith in current International leadership."

The movement against Woodcock is rapidly growing as the International reveals that it has absolutely no policies to deal with the intolerable plant conditions and the stark threat of unemployment.

"In my opinion," said one worker in the truck plant, "we will be going on shorter hours by May. They always go from overtime to layoffs."

"If there is not any pick up in sales," reported the Friday Wall Street Journal, "the companies won't hesitate to chop production again."

This crisis requires the building of a new leadership in the UAW. We call on all auto workers to carry forward the work of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party Dayton Conference by joining the Workers League.



St. Louis Young Socialists prepare mobilization for May 4 National Conference.

# Teachers Unionize In New Orleans

NEW ORLEANS—The United Teachers of New Orleans (UTNO) has launched a fight to unionize the city's 4300 school teachers and establish for the first time in any southern city collective bargaining for wages and working conditions.

If the New Orleans Parish School Board rejects UTNO's proposal to hold union elections in the near future, there may be a total walkout of all teachers in April.

Other teacher organizations in Louisiana and in several Southern states which have been battling for unionization for years will receive tremendous impetus from a victory of the New Orleans teachers.

The central opposition to the school teachers is a right-wing organization called the Louisiana Teachers Association which claims to have a membership of 1000 teachers throughout the

state. They have spoken against collective bargaining rights for the teachers and have worked hand in hand with the school boards to prevent unionization.

UTNO is a recently merged affiliate of the National Education Association (NEA), the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and the AFL-CIO.

Nat LaCour, president of UTNO, stated: "We have bent over backwards to be civil about

the whole business and do everything in the legal and traditional manner. If there is a strike, it will be the result of the action...or the inaction of the Board."

Despite LaCour's militant words, he has refused to call a strike, even though UTNO has vast teacher support. He has continually told the press that he is not preparing a strike to gain union recognition.

# Dayton Area Teachers In Contract Struggle

BY LOU RENFROW  
DAYTON—Teachers at Mad River, a suburb of Dayton, went back to work after a determined strike.

For the first time in the county's history, teachers manned picket lines. The 355 striking teachers made it the largest walkout in the union's history.

**LIMIT**  
When the Board of Education demanded they limit their pickets to two per door, the teachers responded the next morning by increasing their pickets.

Student attendance came to a standstill.

At the same time, teacher negotiations are at an impasse in Dayton and Trotwood, another suburb.

The Mad River teachers were threatened with legal action by the school superintendent and physically assaulted the first day by scab driven cars and buses.

**GRAZED**  
Four picketing teachers were grazed deliberately by vehicles operated by school personnel. When the school superintendent threatened court action against picketing, teachers vowed to stay out even if it meant going to jail.

The school superintendent tried to maintain the fiction that "there was school as usual." Police claim that students threw a 55 gallon drum down from the second floor window, narrowly missing the policeman.

The superintendent said that classes were being maintained by substitutes and supervisory

personnel. Students stated they were herded into large rooms and shown movies. The teachers were asking for an 8 to 9 percent pay hike, additional sick leave, a dental insurance policy, a larger life insurance policy, a better grievance procedure, and pay for in-service training.

**BOARD**  
The School Board originally had offered 4 percent the first year and 3 percent the second. The Board eventually agreed to an 11 percent pay hike for two years.

Bob Barkely, OEA representative, said the new salary index represented a "key victory for the teachers."

**DIVIDES**  
The settlement actually divides the teachers by discriminating against new teachers. While the base salary increases 4 percent for the first year, the salary index for the top of the scale will be 7 percent. Either one is inadequate in the face of the annual inflation rate, but the 3 percent differential makes it intolerable.

Moreover, teachers will not be paid for the 3 days on strike. The 3 days are equivalent to 6 working days.

No dental insurance was included.

The new grievance procedure is so ambiguous that both the OEA and the School Board say they got what they wanted.

There was improvement in life insurance and in-service pay. The expanded sick leave gives the superintendent "authority to grant such leaves in individual cases."

**JUST OUT!**

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# LABOR TODAY

## The SWP And Black Nationalism

The Socialist Workers Party must take major responsibility for the disgusting spectacle that unfolded at the Second National Black Political Convention held in Little Rock, Arkansas, from March 15 to 17.

An article in **The Militant**, weekly newspaper of the SWP, by Norman Oliver, pretends to make some criticisms of the convention at Little Rock. In reality Oliver's purpose is to give this convention a left cover while following the nationalists straight into the Democratic Party. Oliver seeks to establish this left cover by stating:

"Unfortunately, a strategy did not emerge out of this convention that could lead towards gaining real political power for Black people."

But the "strategy" was very clear—for it was the same strategy that dominated the first convention in Gary, Indiana in 1972—to work within the Democratic Party.

What Oliver will not explain is why people like Le Roi Jones, who the SWP backed in 1972 for calling for a Black political party, now stand openly with the Democrats, or why the Little Rock convention was "a step backward" from the Gary meeting, which they hailed as a major step forward for the Black movement.

Let us go back to where the SWP stood in 1972.

**The Militant** said the Gary Convention "reflected a new stage in the developing nationalist consciousness of Black people."

This was a convention where democratic discussion was ruthlessly suppressed, where youth were prevented from attending by a \$25 delegates fee, and where a proposal to consider delegations of Black workers and the unemployed as equally important as other delegations, was booed down.

This same convention voted a resolution to oppose school busing.

Moreover, in 1972, the SWP supported working with Black Democrats and declared that "...even the Black Democratic politicians are reflecting the deepening discontent and nationalist sentiment of the Black community."

As if this was not enough, they quoted virtually the entire speech of Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, the man who at Little Rock came out against Nixon's impeachment.

The Little Rock convention was merely the logic of the Gary convention. This is the logic of Black nationalism itself which, since it is based on race and not on class, leads inevitably into the camp of capitalist politics.

The SWP's call for a Black Political Party has become a cover for their deepening turn towards the Democrats.

Oliver praised a resolution for a Black political party presented by the Georgia delegation, which read in part: "A Black party should build struggles against racist education and for community control of schools. It should support the strikes and struggles of Black workers."

This proposal plays into the hands of the most right-wing racist forces such as George Wallace who seek to create racial divisions over the issues of schools, busing, and jobs.

Proposals for Black community control at precisely the time when Nixon is ending busing, and is slashing funds for education, can only mean an acceptance of segregation and will help to foster more racism.

A call to support "Black strikes and struggles" at a time when all workers are moving into struggle against Nixon and can be united in a program for jobs and decent wages for all, is to directly create racial divisions.

Oliver exposes the fraudulence of the SWP's call for a labor party. If they support a Black political party, would a labor party be all white?

The SWP's Black political party is in fact a middle class party to be composed of petty bourgeois nationalist demagogues together with the Democrats. This in turn would become a pressure tactic on the Democratic Party.

The SWP cannot fight against Stalinism because they are united with the American Communist Party on the fundamental question of pressuring the Democrats. **The Daily World**, newspaper of the CP, said "there was much to be pleased about" in the Little Rock meeting, praised Dellums and Hatcher for their attacks on racism, and called Le Roi Jones a "socialist."

What was the most pleasing to the Stalinists, which the SWP makes no mention of, is there were no political demands for Nixon's resignation.

The SWP stands together with the most anti-working class forces who despise the labor movement. Not one of these conventions ever mentioned the fight against Nixon, against inflation, or any of the questions working people face.

From getting the Democrat's support for "concrete struggles," it is not a big step to join with them in a coalition. This is the path the SWP is now on.

by melody farrow

# \$24,000 Homes In Watts



'Charcoal Alley,' scene of the Watts rebellion, now under construction.

BY SHEILA BREHM  
LOS ANGELES—  
"Charcoal Alley" in the heart of Watts will be the site of 64 single-family housing units.

Construction is scheduled to start immediately. The

area, where small stores, shops, and houses once stood, was completely demolished in the Watts Rebellion in 1965.

Charcoal Alley, now titled "Parcel J" has remained completely barren since 1965.

The construction contract has been awarded to the Community

Redevelopment Agency of Los Angeles.

Twenty of the homes will sell for \$21,000 and the remaining 44 will go for \$24,000. Project administrators claim the housing will be federally subsidized, however no one is willing to comment on how much of the bill the government will pay.

According to Herrel J. Adams, program administrator of the Los Angeles Model Cities Program, the homes will be sold to the same families who were forced to find other housing when theirs was burned down in 1965.

### CRAZY

One young mother said, however: "Who is going to pay 21,000 to live here. They've got to be crazy. And only 64. None of the houses, not even the projects are fit for people to live in."

For the tens of thousands of Watts residents, the housing is far from decent. The five projects are plagued by violent gang activity, and the rents outside the projects are exorbitant. Many of the older houses in Watts are fire traps, made of wood with wood siding.

Mrs. Ethel Henderson from Jordan Downs Housing Project where 3000 people live said: "They're only building 64 houses? When we all live like this?"

"I say the government is responsible for the housing conditions. My apartment isn't as bad as some of the others. At least our plumbing works. We always have roaches."

"I put an order in a year and a half ago for a screen door and I still didn't get it."

"I wish I could get out of here because of the gangs. A lot of people have been murdered here."

The only solution to the housing problems is the nationalization of the construction and building industry under a labor government.



Mrs. Ethel Henderson: "... the government is responsible for housing conditions."

# Reagan Claims Sound Economy

BY BARRY GREY  
SACRAMENTO—The annual economic message to the California legislature which Governor Reagan delivered last week was a fraudulent attempt to paint a bright future in the face of deepening unemployment and skyrocketing prices in California.

Reagan, together with the big corporations and the capitalist news media, are seeking to deceive California workers with predictions of an upturn in the economy.

While Reagan heralded a predicted increase of 135,000 jobs, he had to admit unemployment would go up as well. While stressing an increase in personal income, the report went on to say the increase would be mostly offset by inflation.

Reagan stated that the energy shortages should not be permitted to overshadow the "basic underlying strength which exists in the economy."

An indication of what is really in store for California workers was given when Reagan said: "Consumers have the highest levels of incomes ever and they are going to spend those in-

comes, although perhaps not on the same items as during the past year."

He said wage and salary income of Californians would go up 7 percent next year. Food prices in the Los Angeles areas as of February 1974 were up 18.3 percent over February of last year and the jump was 16.2 percent in the five-county Bay Area. A whole new round of price increases is imminent above and beyond this.

# Model Cities To Shut

BY ALLEN SALTER  
SAN JOSE—The Model Cities program here will be completely phased out on June 30.

Under the federal government's Revenue Sharing Act, no new money has been appropriated by the San Jose City Council to Model Cities.

The San Jose Model Cities program was one of the only programs in the country to receive any funding for the past fiscal year from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

Over 200 employees and administrators have been involved in running the different Model Cities projects. The various programs whose funds run out on June 30 include the Career Opportunity Program, which

trained teacher aids; the La Casa Legal, which provided legal services for the poor; a scholarship program; and a number of community centers, including a children's nursery school in the San Juan Batista apartments in the Tropicana district.

The program directors have carried out a deliberate policy of seeking to hide from the Model Cities employees that the termination of the programs was really going to take place.

Instead of mobilizing any of the employees or residents who use the Model Cities facilities against the Nixon government's cutbacks, the directors have continually gone to the San Jose City Council to fight among each other over who would get control of the monies that remain until June 30, a total of \$700,000.



# No Gains In Teachers Contract

BY MARTY MORAN  
SAN FRANCISCO—  
Teachers returned to work here Thursday after their three-week strike.

offer 550 to 547. There was an immediate move to reconsider, and the union recessed until 7 pm. At the evening meeting, the settlement was accepted by 716 to 354. Most teachers were afraid that a strike on a close vote would split the union.

### FEARS

These fears were heightened by the likelihood that Crowley would withdraw Labor Council sanction from the strike. Sanction was already only enforced in a token way since the Board of Education was allowed to keep the schools open using union janitors, cafeteria workers, and heating engineers.

A teacher told the Bulletin: "I think it stinks. What can anybody think about it. So many weeks on strike and all we get is a kick in the face."

Ballard, Local 61 president, refused to mobilize the full strength of the labor movement behind the strike and break politically with Alioto.

John Crowley, Labor Council secretary-treasurer, authored a "compromise" proposal that provided less money for most teachers than the Board of Education's last offer.

The settlement provides for a 6 percent wage increase, compared to 6.5 percent in the last offer. The difference was made up by a 12 percent increase for day-to-day substitute teachers and slight increases in funding for child care and other programs.

Teachers had been demanding 15 percent across the board.

A 10 am Wednesday meeting of American Federation of Teachers Local 61 rejected this



AFT Local 61 President Ballard speaks at ratification meeting.

# Kaiser Aerospace Workers Stay Out

BY TED BAKER  
SAN LEANDRO—The strike of Kaiser Aerospace is in its third week with negotiations at a complete standstill.

Zeke, a United Auto Workers Local 76 picket captain told the Bulletin: "The strike is the same as it was last week. The company met with the union for one hour and then we broke it off."

"They haven't changed their offer one bit. It's not enough for the union to even consider."

On March 8, 250 members of UAW Local 76 struck the plant, after their contract had expired, ending a long period of peace between the union and Kaiser Aerospace.

They are demanding a three year contract with raises of 10 percent the first year and 8 percent each successive year of the contract, plus improved fringe benefits, and the right to strike over safety grievances.

One picket said: "We've had three serious accidents in the last month: a hurt back, a broken arm, and a broken finger."

"A man was killed in the plant about five years ago and since

then we've had dozens of broken bones."

Kaiser Aerospace produces missiles under contract to the Defense Department.

The company is owned by Kaiser Industries, which operates major steel, cement, ship building, and communications companies, as well as Kaiser Aerospace. Both of Kaiser Aerospace's other plants, one in Orange County and one in Palo Alto, are nonunion, but many of the other Kaiser companies have contracts with other unions.

One Local 76 picket explained: "This strike isn't like the rest of the UAW. When General Motors is struck, all over the US and Canada, they go out."

### NONUNION

"But in this strike, it's just this one plant, the other two are nonunion, and all the other Kaiser companies are under completely different unions."

"That's why Joe Flynn, head of Kaiser Aerospace, thinks he can break us in a couple of weeks. But he can't. We are going to stay out until we win."

The Orange County and Palo Alto plants are still running at

peak capacity, and the San Leandro plant is being kept in partial production with about 80 supervisors and white collar workers scabbing on the strike.

To this point, Local 76 pickets are on 24 hour duty at the San Leandro plant, and an informational protest picket line has been set up at Kaiser's headquarters in Oakland, but no attempt has been made to spread the strike.

# Hearst Paper Compiles SLA Lists

BY ANN LORE  
SAN FRANCISCO—  
The distribution of Hearst's free food has ended.

It is now open season on the Symbionese Liberation Army. Clearly the Hearst family has given their consent to the roundup of the SLA, irrespective of what happens to their daughter, Patricia Hearst.

At this point, the San Francisco Chronicle has begun a series of front page "exposes" on the SLA, with names, dates, and addresses of all those who are implicated in the SLA.

"Reliable sources" contacted by the Chronicle have supposedly given them day to day movements of the main characters going back to 1968. The wealth of details adds credibility to the suspicions that the SLA has from its inception been a CIA or FBI front to move against sections of the left.

The articles are very explicit about who is to be rounded up by the police and held together with Remiro and Little for the murder of Oakland School Superintendent Marcus Foster and the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst.

These stories are also quite exceptional since they completely do away with the supposed bourgeois legalities of due process. This is trial by the press, guilt by association, taken to its highest level.

The Chronicle articles begin with the Black Cultural Association, an organization of Black prisoners at Vacaville Prison formed in 1968, membership, 130.

Their outside sponsor, a teacher from University of California at Berkeley, Colston Westbrook, is fingered as their link with the outside who brought many youth to the regular meet-

ings of the association. All those who came regularly are now implicated.

The Chronicle states that several of them began sharing a house in Berkeley in 1972, "a collective for progressive-thinking people."

Other links are made through pure and simple speculations. For example, one member of the Berkeley collective used to set up a sidewalk stand, which on at least one occasion was next to another sidewalk stand known as "Fruity Rudy's." The Chronicle says it was known that Nancy Ling Perry, "admitted member of the SLA," formerly worked at Fruity Rudy's.

Others are brought into the circle through their activities in other organizations, specifically Venceremos and Vietnam Veterans Against the War-Winter Soldier Organization.

According to the Chronicle: "All these key people have vanished from their Oakland residences."

The thread of informers and provocateurs is throughout the story. Donald Defreeze (Cinque), who has taken a major responsibility on the SLA tapes for the kidnapping of Patricia, is

reported as having differences with the Black Cultural Association, so he filed a protest to prison authorities claiming the association was undemocratic and illegally constituted.

Also his "reborn" name, Cinque, comes from an African chief who was a celebrity in abolitionist America, who later turned against them by becoming a slave trader.

The SLA is constantly referred back to Venceremos which disbanded in the spring of 1973, in large part "because of police infiltration... The break-up of Venceremos as an organization in the summer of last year left a momentary vacuum that was later filled by the SLA."

It is stated that before the killing of Foster, many in the left who were approached by the SLA suspected that those who were promoting guerrilla-type tactics were provocateurs.

The Chronicle articles will continue, no doubt implicating more names and organizations, now that hope is being "given up" for Patricia, and the guiding force behind the SLA points more and more back to the government itself.

# Fremont Auto Workers Shun Contract Meeting

BY A REPORTER  
FREMONT—A special called meeting of United Auto Workers Local 1364 to vote on the local agreement drew only 50 workers Sunday.

No quorum was required and the contract was ratified by a narrow margin.

The attendance at the meeting shows the complete collapse of the Brotherhood Caucus, which once mobilized hundreds of workers to its own caucus meetings, and swept out the old local leadership in elections last summer.

There is now no support for Brotherhood leader and shop chairman Earlie Mays. Nearly 2000 workers have been indefinitely laid off at Fremont, while Mays has not lifted a finger.

Instead, he has embraced UAW President Leonard Woodcock's reactionary proposals for an embargo on imports of small cars, and public works and poverty programs directed towards hard-hit auto areas.

Mays was angrily criticized at

the special meeting, both for the local agreement and for refusing to fight the layoffs.

Mays admitted that every concession won in the local agreement was won before December 16, when the layoffs began.

### RECESSION

"Because of the recession, management is not giving one thing across the table," he said. He pleaded with the rank and file to drop all further demands before management took back even the concessions made before December 16.

The disintegration of the Brotherhood has led to a split between the Mays clique and the Maoist Revolutionary Union. Mays angrily tore up RU literature, pushed them, and ordered them off the parking lot before the meeting when they passed out a leaflet urging rejection of the local agreement.

Mays has moved so far to the right that he is forced into attacking the RU, even though they offer no real program to stop the layoffs.

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# lucha obrera

lucía rivera

## Las Huelgas De Renta

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Más del cuarenta por ciento de los edificios en la ciudad de Nueva York están en condiciones destartaladas. La rehabilitación de estos edificios es un fraude ya que los antiguos residentes no pueden pagar los alquileres luego de rehabilitado el edificio. Esto ha llevado a una situación en que los inquilinos se hayan ido a la huelga de rentas en busca de una solución al problema.

Por cerca de dos años los inquilinos del 356 de la Avenida Crimmings y del 594 de la calle St. Mary en el Sur del Bronx en Nueva York, han estado en una huelga de rentas. La primera huelga comenzó en septiembre del 1972, cuando las condiciones de vivienda eran intolerables y los inquilinos decidieron suspender el pago de las rentas.

A través de la primera huelga de rentas se organizó la unión de inquilinos. Su presidenta era Antonia Calderón. Luego de una larga batalla en las cortes se decidió entregar el dinero acumulado al casero con la promesa de utilizar el dinero para la reparación de los edificios.

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Las condiciones de vivienda que los inquilinos confrontan son una amenaza a su salud y vidas. Cuando llueve, el agua se cuela a través de todo el edificio afectando hasta los apartamentos de la planta baja. Hay casos en que los inquilinos han tenido que cerrar cuartos permanentemente durante los meses fríos ya que debido a la falta de calefacción y los defectos en la tubería es imposible para una persona dormir en ellos sin contraer enfermedades del sistema respiratorio.

En los dos edificios que están en huelga de rentas, más de la mitad de los apartamentos están abandonados. Estos apartamentos deshabitados han sido constantemente vandalizados y el resto de los inquilinos viven bajo la constante amenaza de fuego debido a esta situación.

La segunda huelga de renta está dirigida por un grupo de inquilinos que están dispuestos a ganar la huelga. De acuerdo con Antonia "Cuando nosotros nos mudamos a este edificio seis años atrás estaba siempre limpio, las paredes estaban pintadas, teníamos una puerta de cristal privada y una alfombra en la entrada. El encargado del edificio se preocupaba por mantener el edificio en buenas condiciones. Era un lugar placentero donde vivir."

"En menos de seis años, todo ha deteriorado. No tenemos ni siquiera un encargado del edificio en los últimos cinco meses." Joe un miembro de la unión de inquilinos interviene "La vivienda en el Sur del Bronx es un fraude, los caseros abandonan los edificios forzando a los inquilinos a que se muden por la falta de servicios necesarios."

"El dinero es usado para rehabilitar edificios (a través de esto aumentan las rentas) usando el material de construcción más barato, así que cada seis o ocho años tienen que rehabilitarlos nuevamente, aumentando más y más las rentas. Es muy poco lo que se hace para proveer de una vivienda decente a la gente pobre."

Ellos han propuesto apropiarse del edificio. Carlos, el actual presidente de la unión de inquilinos, dice "La lucha es dura, porque nosotros queremos adueñarnos del edificio. De acuerdo con el juez, eso sería imposible porque estaría en oposición a las mejores tradiciones norteamericanas de la propiedad privada."

"Nosotros creemos que esta es una situación revolucionaria en Nueva York: conlleva directamente con las leyes, nuestro empeño de apropiarse del edificio, no comprarlo, choca con la filosofía de la propiedad privada, si ganamos, sentaría un precedente que llevaría a miles de inquilinos a luchar contra las condiciones de la vivienda."

Los inquilinos han ido a la Corporación Comunal Hunts Point, encabezada por Ramon S. Velez, esta le ha dicho que nada pueden hacer por ellos. Esta agencia se supone que representa los intereses de la comunidad del Sur del Bronx, esta íntimamente ligada a los intereses de los caseros y de sus planes de rehabilitación, que conlleva un aumento en las rentas.

Las condiciones del Sur del Bronx no son únicas, pero son las condiciones que a diario los trabajadoras enfrentan. Con el cierre del proyecto de Ciudades Modelos en varios meses y el congelamiento de los fondos para la vivienda pública, el gobierno está tratando de destruir el derecho de una vivienda decente para millones de trabajadores.

Este derecho tiene que ser defendido por todo joven y trabajador. Nixon y las grandes compañías que él representa son los responsables de estas condiciones. La construcción de un partido obrero basado en un programa socialista y en la defensa de los derechos básicos es la lucha que la Juventud Socialista y la Liga Obrera están llevando dentro de las comunidades y las uniones.

# Nixon Guilt Exposed On Tax Gift And ITT

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

A wave of evidence proving Richard Nixon's complicity in election fraud and the Watergate coverup is continuing to pour in.

The House Judiciary Committee is now in possession of the secret report of the Watergate Grand Jurors, which the jury considered so conclusive, it wanted to move to indict the president.

The ranking Republican and Democratic members of the House Judiciary Committee are spending hours each day listening to tapes of Nixon's discussions with his closest aides on the coverup.

The trial of John Mitchell and Maurice Stans has heard testimony from two former SEC chairman, John Dean and Vesco's lawyer, which positively identified Mitchell and Stans as participating in a scheme to receive a \$200,000 campaign contribution in exchange for impeding an SEC investigation of Vesco.

Now, former Attorney General Richard Kleindienst has pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor in order to avoid disbarment and a

possible jail sentence.

Kleindienst revealed that he was personally ordered by Richard Nixon to halt legal proceedings against International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, ITT, which was under investigation for antitrust violations, channelled hundreds of thousands of dollars into the Nixon campaign.

In the most blatant example of Presidential arrogance, it has now been revealed that not only did Nixon illegally file his income taxes, but the papers for which he claimed a \$576,000 tax deduction consisted largely of old newspaper clippings, invitations to speaking engagements at banquets, (largely declined), and correspondence with children.

Despite this overwhelming proof of guilt, the Democrats and Republicans of both the House and the Senate are deliberately dragging out the proceedings against the president.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield claims that he is sure that the votes exist for impeachment in the House. The House proceedings are expected to last through the summer, to be followed by months of endless wrangling in the Senate.

The Democrats and

Republicans are making clear that they intend to leave this hatred criminal in power as long as possible.

Nixon's latest move to supply Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski with a few tapes, is a transparent fraud. These tapes cover only discussions on ambassadorships, which under the Nixon administration were sold like items at an auction. Nixon's personal lawyer, Herbert Kalmbach, has already pleaded guilty to one such transaction.

The administration remains adamant about turning over additional information to the House Judiciary Committee on the Watergate coverup. The White House has already revealed that at least 10 of the requested 42 tapes "do not exist."

The labor bureaucracy by leaving the question of Nixon's removal to Congress is actually helping to prop him up.

The working class must use its own strength to force Nixon out. The labor leaders must call mass demonstrations in every city demanding Nixon's resignation. This must be combined with a fight for a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party pledged to socialist policies to replace Nixon.

## Auto . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

of workers are now thrown into struggle.

However, he emphasized that this struggle cannot be fought by trade union militancy alone, but must turn to politics, to the construction of a labor party as an alternative to the parties of big business and as the first step in the fight to bring the working class to power.

He stated that this required the construction of our forces, the training of revolutionaries in the unions, against the betrayals of the Meanys and Woodcocks.

At this point, John Austin introduced a motion to condemn Woodcock for his refusal to fight for Nixon's resignation and his refusal to defend auto workers against the conscious policies of unemployment and inflation of this government.

A discussion then took place on whether it was necessary to actually fight for Nixon's resignation or whether it was more important to simply educate workers to see that it is capitalism itself that was the cause of all the attacks.

A worker from the Delco-Morain plant stated that the fight against Nixon was not important because all politicians were the same and that, therefore, all we had to do was discuss the necessity of having a socialist system.

Tim Wohlforth, national secretary of the Workers League, bringing greetings to the conference, fought against this position which really reflected a turn away from politics. He said:

"While it is true that the cause of the attacks is not simply Nixon, but comes from the policies of the big corporations who are in crisis, and workers understand that, it is the Nixon government which represents these corporations.

"In order to fight the attacks of the corporations, workers must fight the government. This

is why we must direct our fight against Nixon, to mobilize workers politically and to construct the alternative, a labor party, to actually replace the government of the capitalists with a government of workers."

The discussion at the conference centered on the deteriorating conditions in the plants which have created inhuman working conditions and actually caused the deaths of many workers.

Worker after worker who spoke saw that these conditions, together with the fantastic price rises which are making it impossible for them to feed their families, reflected an underlying economic crisis in the system itself.

Thus, the central part of the discussion focused on the fact that the only way these conditions could be fought was through a political fight against the government itself. Workers raised the question of how they could actually take forward the fight to build a labor party. One worker from Inland said:

"While I agree completely with the need to build a labor party, I cannot take this fight into my plant because the trade union bureaucracy will not allow it and I will be completely isolated."

Jim Lawrence explained: "The working class itself is far more powerful than the bureaucracy. Under the conditions of

the sharp attacks they face today, they will fight back.

"This creates the conditions for our intervention, to raise the political questions and to direct the fight to the building of a labor party."

"Of course, you cannot carry out that fight by yourself. That is why you must be part of a party, a revolutionary movement. This is the heart of this conference, to construct our forces, members of the Workers League, in the trade unions."

The conference concluded by calling for a national strike against the layoffs and speedup and passing the full program of the TUALP unanimously.

A National Steering Committee of Jim Lawrence and John Austin from Dayton, Tom Cagle from the Fremont plant in California, and other representatives from St. Louis and Detroit was elected to carry forward the fight for national strike action in defense of Lordstown, and for the implementation of the entire auto program.

Following the meeting, all the local branches held recruiting meetings and the workers who had attended the conference came forward to join the Workers League.

Our next issue will include a full report on the discussion at the conference and in the workshops held.

## Building The Bulletin

### Over 2000 In A Weekend!

Friday, March 29—In a national trailblazing campaign, in one weekend, 2165 subscriptions were sold. This is a tremendous achievement and an all-time record.

We now have 4403 subscriptions towards our March goal of 5000. Northside Chicago has gone way over its goal of 175, with 255. Three people there last Sunday got 75 subscriptions, with a great response on renewals.

The Dayton trailblazers sold 1164 subscriptions in less than two weeks, the best trailblazing campaign so far.

With continued drives the last couple of days, we should go over 5000.



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## lucha obrera

lucía rivera

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"En menos de seis años, todo ha deteriorado. No tenemos ni siquiera un encargado del edificio en los últimos cinco meses." Joe un miembro de la unión de inquilinos interviene "La vivienda en el Sur del Bronx es un fraude, los caseros abandonan los edificios forzando a los inquilinos a que se muden por la falta de servicios necesarios."

"El dinero es usado para rehabilitar edificios (a través de esto aumentan las rentas) usando el material de construcción más barato, así que cada seis o ocho años tienen que rehabilitarlos nuevamente, aumentando más y más las rentas. Es muy poco lo que se hace para proveer de una vivienda decente a la gente pobre."

Ellos han propuesto apropiarse el edificio. Carlos, el actual presidente de la unión de inquilinos, dice "La lucha es dura, porque nosotros queremos adueñarnos del edificio. De acuerdo con el juez, eso sería imposible porque estaría en oposición a las mejores tradiciones norteamericanas de la propiedad privada."

"Nosotros creemos que esta es una situación revolucionaria en Nueva York: conlleva directamente con las leyes, nuestro empeño de apropiarse el edificio, no comprarlo, choca con la filosofía de la propiedad privada, si ganamos, sentaría un precedente que llevaría a miles de inquilinos a luchar contra las condiciones de la vivienda."

Los inquilinos han ido a la Corporación Comunal Hunts Point, encabezada por Ramon S. Velez, esta le ha dicho que nada pueden hacer por ellos. Esta agencia se supone que representa los intereses de la comunidad del Sur del Bronx, está íntimamente ligada a los intereses de los caseros y de sus planes de rehabilitación, que conlleva un aumento en las rentas.

Las condiciones del Sur del Bronx no son únicas, pero son las condiciones que a diario los trabajadoras enfrentan. Con el cierre del proyecto de Ciudades Modelos en varios meses y el congelamiento de los fondos para la vivienda pública, el gobierno está tratando de destruir el derecho de una vivienda decente para millones de trabajadores.

Este derecho tiene que ser defendido por todo joven y trabajador. Nixon y las grandes compañías que él representa son los responsables de estas condiciones. La construcción de un partido obrero basado en un programa socialista y en la defensa de los derechos básicos es la lucha que la Juventud Socialista y la Liga Obrera están llevando dentro de las comunidades y las uniones.

# Nixon Guilt Exposed On Tax Gift And ITT

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

A wave of evidence proving Richard Nixon's complicity in election fraud and the Watergate coverup is continuing to pour in.

The House Judiciary Committee is now in possession of the secret report of the Watergate Grand Jurors, which the jury considered so conclusive, it wanted to move to indict the president.

The ranking Republican and Democratic members of the House Judiciary Committee are spending hours each day listening to tapes of Nixon's discussions with his closest aides on the coverup.

The trial of John Mitchell and Maurice Stans has heard testimony from two former SEC chairman, John Dean and Vesco's lawyer, which positively identified Mitchell and Stans as participating in a scheme to receive a \$200,000 campaign contribution in exchange for impeding an SEC investigation of Vesco.

Now, former Attorney General Richard Kleindienst has pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor in order to avoid disbarment and a

possible jail sentence.

Kleindienst revealed that he was personally ordered by Richard Nixon to halt legal proceedings against International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, ITT, which was under investigation for antitrust violations, channelled hundreds of thousands of dollars into the Nixon campaign.

In the most blatant example of Presidential arrogance, it has now been revealed that not only did Nixon illegally file his income taxes, but the papers for which he claimed a \$576,000 tax deduction consisted largely of old newspaper clippings, invitations to speaking engagements at banquets, (largely declined), and correspondence with children.

Despite this overwhelming proof of guilt, the Democrats and Republicans of both the House and the Senate are deliberately dragging out the proceedings against the president.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield claims that he is sure that the votes exist for impeachment in the House. The House proceedings are expected to last through the summer, to be followed by months of endless wrangling in the Senate.

The Democrats and

Republicans are making clear that they intend to leave this hatred criminal in power as long as possible.

Nixon's latest move to supply Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski with a few tapes, is a transparent fraud. These tapes cover only discussions on ambassadorships, which under the Nixon administration were sold like items at an auction. Nixon's personal lawyer, Herbert Kalmbach, has already pleaded guilty to one such transaction.

The administration remains adamant about turning over additional information to the House Judiciary Committee on the Watergate coverup. The White House has already revealed that at least 10 of the requested 42 tapes "do not exist."

The labor bureaucracy by leaving the question of Nixon's removal to Congress is actually helping to prop him up.

The working class must use its own strength to force Nixon out. The labor leaders must call mass demonstrations in every city demanding Nixon's resignation. This must be combined with a fight for a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party pledged to socialist policies to replace Nixon.

## Auto . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

of workers are now thrown into struggle.

However, he emphasized that this struggle cannot be fought by trade union militancy alone, but must turn to politics, to the construction of a labor party as an alternative to the parties of big business and as the first step in the fight to bring the working class to power.

He stated that this required the construction of our forces, the training of revolutionaries in the unions, against the betrayals of the Meanys and Woodcocks.

At this point, John Austin introduced a motion to condemn Woodcock for his refusal to fight for Nixon's resignation and his refusal to defend auto workers against the conscious policies of unemployment and inflation of this government.

A discussion then took place on whether it was necessary to actually fight for Nixon's resignation or whether it was more important to simply educate workers to see that it is capitalism itself that was the cause of all the attacks.

A worker from the Delco-Morain plant stated that the fight against Nixon was not important because all politicians were the same and that, therefore, all we had to do was discuss the necessity of having a socialist system.

Tim Wohlforth, national secretary of the Workers League, bringing greetings to the conference, fought against this position which really reflected a turn away from politics. He said:

"While it is true that the cause of the attacks is not simply Nixon, but comes from the policies of the big corporations who are in crisis, and workers understand that, it is the Nixon government which represents these corporations.

"In order to fight the attacks of the corporations, workers must fight the government. This

is why we must direct our fight against Nixon, to mobilize workers politically and to construct the alternative, a labor party, to actually replace the government of the capitalists with a government of workers."

The discussion at the conference centered on the deteriorating conditions in the plants which have created inhuman working conditions and actually caused the deaths of many workers.

Worker after worker who spoke saw that these conditions, together with the fantastic price rises which are making it impossible for them to feed their families, reflected an underlying economic crisis in the system itself.

Thus, the central part of the discussion focused on the fact that the only way these conditions could be fought was through a political fight against the government itself. Workers raised the question of how they could actually take forward the fight to build a labor party. One worker from Inland said:

"While I agree completely with the need to build a labor party, I cannot take this fight into my plant because the trade union bureaucracy will not allow it and I will be completely isolated."

Jim Lawrence explained: "The working class itself is far more powerful than the bureaucracy. Under the conditions of

the sharp attacks they face today, they will fight back.

"This creates the conditions for our intervention, to raise the political questions and to direct the fight to the building of a labor party."

"Of course, you cannot carry out that fight by yourself. That is why you must be part of a party, a revolutionary movement. This is the heart of this conference, to construct our forces, members of the Workers League, in the trade unions."

The conference concluded by calling for a national strike against the layoffs and speedup and passing the full program of the TUALP unanimously.

A National Steering Committee of Jim Lawrence and John Austin from Dayton, Tom Cagle from the Fremont plant in California, and other representatives from St. Louis and Detroit was elected to carry forward the fight for national strike action in defense of Lordstown, and for the implementation of the entire auto program.

Following the meeting, all the local branches held recruiting meetings and the workers who had attended the conference came forward to join the Workers League.

Our next issue will include a full report on the discussion at the conference and in the workshops held.

## Building The Bulletin

### Over 2000 In A Weekend!

Friday, March 29—In a national trailblazing campaign, in one weekend, 2165 subscriptions were sold. This is a tremendous achievement and an all-time record.

We now have 4403 subscriptions towards our March goal of 5000. Northside Chicago has gone way over its goal of 175, with 255. Three people there last Sunday got 75 subscriptions, with a great response on renewals.

The Dayton trailblazers sold 1164 subscriptions in less than two weeks, the best trailblazing campaign so far.

With continued drives the last couple of days, we should go over 5000.