

Bulletin

Twice-Weekly Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers League

HOOVER

JUL 29 1976

INSTITUTION

VOLUME TEN NUMBER SEVENTY SEVEN 413

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1974

TWENTY CENTS

PORTUGAL

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION HAS BEGUN

The enforced resignation of Portuguese President General Antonio de Spínola and the defeat of his right-wing plot to seize dictatorial power is a decisive turning point in the Portuguese revolution.

It poses point-blank before the working class the necessity to expropriate the banks, industry and the landed estates whose owners were behind the attempted coup by Spínola and his fascist supporters.

The Portuguese working class must smash the existing capitalist state machine, take the power and carry out socialist nationalization or face bloody repression and the reimposition of fascist dictatorship far worse than Caetano's.

The events in Portugal since the overthrow of fascism are of immense international importance.

They are the direct result of the uncontrollable economic and political crisis of world capitalism, which is breaking up the old forms of capitalist rule

everywhere and placing the struggle for working class power on the immediate agenda.

Spínola's plot was not defeated by the Communist Party leaders or by the "radicals" in the Movement of the Armed Forces.

The strength and vigilance of the workers who turned out in thousands in the streets prevented the planned fascist rally which was the cover for his coup attempt.

The fact that the president was able to prepare such a coup is positive proof that the Popular Front government, in which the Stalinists and social democrats

A Statement by the Political Committee of the British Workers Revolutionary Party, reprinted from the Oct. 2, 1974 issue of Workers Press.

are participating is nothing more than a cover for the preparation of another Chile in Portugal.

The International Committee of the Fourth International has consistently warned about the real character of the Popular Front regime.

The International Committee published a statement on May 10, 1974, which warned:

"The provisional government promised by Spínola is nothing more than a trap for the working class. It provides the capitalists, who for so long backed the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships, with the breathing space they require to try and prepare new repression against the working class."

The events of the past week bear out this warning to the hilt.

Since it was formed following the April military coup, the

Popular Front government has worked systematically to try and break up the revolutionary movement of the working class.

With the enthusiastic participation of the Stalinists, the government broke strikes in the airlines and in the Post Office, using troops against the workers.

SHIPYARD DEMONSTRATION
Soldiers who opposed this policy were thrown into prison.

When the workers of the Lisnave shipyard demonstrated earlier this month against the anti-strike laws passed by the government they were met by troops with armored cars sent to enforce a government ban on their march.

This regime has made it clear that Portugal will continue membership of NATO.

It has done nothing to drive out the network of CIA and fascist agents built up under the Caetano regime.

Former fascist secret policemen and informers who were arrested in April were allowed to walk the streets with impunity

and hatch their counterrevolutionary plans.

The Popular Front has resisted all attempts by the workers to purge the factories and the civil service of known fascists, many of whom were responsible for torture and repression under Salazar and Caetano.

Above all, the Popular Front has refused to take any measures to nationalize the basic industries, landed estates and banks.

Where workers occupied their factories, these occupations were broken up by the Stalinists.

The period since the overthrow of fascism in Portugal has shown with the greatest possible clarity the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism.

The Communist Party bureaucracy is the backbone of the bourgeois state in Portugal.

Only the most ruthless struggle against Stalinism, exposing every maneuver and betrayal, can open the road for the conquest of working class power.

(Continued On Page 12)

'We Need To Prepare Ourselves'

"We need to prepare ourselves to fight. We need a leadership in the fight against the threat of people like Wallace."

This was the response of a Haitian worker to the election campaign of the Workers Party at a meeting October 4 in the Crown Heights-East Flatbush area of Brooklyn. This meeting, attended by 25 workers and youth, many of them of Haitian origin, marked an important step forward in the Workers Party campaign.

The meeting was addressed by the two candidates, Helen Halyard and Terry Delgado. Carl, a Haitian supporter of the campaign, gave a report on the struggles of Haitian workers.

"The two major tools which the ruling class uses to divide the working class is racism and nationalism. Immigrant workers particularly face a campaign organized by Ford and Rockefeller claiming that they are responsible for taking away the jobs of American workers.

"There can only be one answer to this—the fight for jobs for all, for the right to have a job. It is the responsibility of the trade unions to defend the rights of immigrant workers.

"Only the Workers Party is fighting to defend the rights of immigrant workers by fighting to mobilize the entire working class in a political campaign to drive out the Democrats and Republicans and build a labor party."

Plans were made to set up an election committee in the neighborhood to build support for the campaign, sponsor a meeting of trade unionists from the area and to hold a dance to raise funds on October 11 at the Haitian Community Center.

On October 5, a campaign rally was held in the East New York section of Brooklyn addressed by the candidates and labor editor of the *Bulletin*, David North. We wish to thank the Trying Times band which volunteered their time and tremendous talent to provide entertainment at the rally.



Bulletin

Twice-Weekly Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers League

VOLUME TEN NUMBER SEVENTY SEVEN 413

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1974

TWENTY CENTS

PORTUGAL

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION HAS BEGUN

The enforced resignation of Portuguese President General Antonio de Spínola and the defeat of his right-wing plot to seize dictatorial power is a decisive turning point in the Portuguese revolution.

It poses point-blank before the working class the necessity to expropriate the banks, industry and the landed estates whose owners were behind the attempted coup by Spínola and his fascist supporters.

The Portuguese working class must smash the existing capitalist state machine, take the power and carry out socialist nationalization or face bloody repression and the reimposition of fascist dictatorship far worse than Caetano's.

The events in Portugal since the overthrow of fascism are of immense international importance.

They are the direct result of the uncontrollable economic and political crisis of world capitalism, which is breaking up the old forms of capitalist rule

everywhere and placing the struggle for working class power on the immediate agenda.

Spínola's plot was not defeated by the Communist Party leaders or by the "radicals" in the Movement of the Armed Forces.

The strength and vigilance of the workers who turned out in thousands in the streets prevented the planned fascist rally which was the cover for his coup attempt.

The fact that the president was able to prepare such a coup is positive proof that the Popular Front government, in which the Stalinists and social democrats

A Statement by the Political Committee of the British Workers Revolutionary Party, reprinted from the Oct. 2, 1974 issue of Workers Press.

are participating is nothing more than a cover for the preparation of another Chile in Portugal.

The International Committee of the Fourth International has consistently warned about the real character of the Popular Front regime.

The International Committee published a statement on May 10, 1974, which warned:

"The provisional government promised by Spínola is nothing more than a trap for the working class. It provides the capitalists, who for so long backed the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships, with the breathing space they require to try and prepare new repression against the working class."

The events of the past week bear out this warning to the hilt.

Since it was formed following the April military coup, the

Popular Front government has worked systematically to try and break up the revolutionary movement of the working class.

With the enthusiastic participation of the Stalinists, the government broke strikes in the airlines and in the Post Office, using troops against the workers.

SHIPYARD DEMONSTRATION
Soldiers who opposed this policy were thrown into prison.

When the workers of the Lisnave shipyard demonstrated earlier this month against the anti-strike laws passed by the government they were met by troops with armored cars sent to enforce a government ban on their march.

This regime has made it clear that Portugal will continue membership of NATO.

It has done nothing to drive out the network of CIA and fascist agents built up under the Caetano regime.

Former fascist secret policemen and informers who were arrested in April were allowed to walk the streets with impunity

and hatch their counterrevolutionary plans.

The Popular Front has resisted all attempts by the workers to purge the factories and the civil service of known fascists, many of whom were responsible for torture and repression under Salazar and Caetano.

Above all, the Popular Front has refused to take any measures to nationalize the basic industries, landed estates and banks.

Where workers occupied their factories, these occupations were broken up by the Stalinists.

The period since the overthrow of fascism in Portugal has shown with the greatest possible clarity the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism.

The Communist Party bureaucracy is the backbone of the bourgeois state in Portugal.

Only the most ruthless struggle against Stalinism, exposing every maneuver and betrayal, can open the road for the conquest of working class power.

(Continued On Page 12)

'We Need To Prepare Ourselves'

"We need to prepare ourselves to fight. We need a leadership in the fight against the threat of people like Wallace."

This was the response of a Haitian worker to the election campaign of the Workers Party at a meeting October 4 in the Crown Heights-East Flatbush area of Brooklyn. This meeting, attended by 25 workers and youth, many of them of Haitian origin, marked an important step forward in the Workers Party campaign.

The meeting was addressed by the two candidates, Helen Halyard and Terry Delgado. Carl, a Haitian supporter of the campaign, gave a report on the struggles of Haitian workers.

"The two major tools which the ruling class uses to divide the working class is racism and nationalism. Immigrant workers particularly face a campaign organized by Ford and Rockefeller claiming that they are responsible for taking away the jobs of American workers.

"There can only be one answer to this—the fight for jobs for all, for the right to have a job. It is the responsibility of the trade unions to defend the rights of immigrant workers.

"Only the Workers Party is fighting to defend the rights of immigrant workers by fighting to mobilize the entire working class in a political campaign to drive out the Democrats and Republicans and build a labor party."

Plans were made to set up an election committee in the neighborhood to build support for the campaign, sponsor a meeting of trade unionists from the area and to hold a dance to raise funds on October 11 at the Haitian Community Center.

On October 5, a campaign rally was held in the East New York section of Brooklyn addressed by the candidates and labor editor of the *Bulletin*, David North. We wish to thank the Trying Times band which volunteered their time and tremendous talent to provide entertainment at the rally.



Workers Revolutionary Party Campaigns



DECISIVE ELECTION IN BRITAIN

BY FRANK MARTIN

"This is possibly the most fateful and decisive election in the history of the English working class."

Addressing an audience of 100, General Secretary Gerry Healy opened up the Workers Revolutionary Party campaign in Newham North-East, where actress Vanessa Redgrave is the WRP candidate.

Healy went on to explain the revolutionary conditions under which this election is being held.

"Our party would be failing in its duty if we did not warn that the economic crash of 1931 pales into obscurity in comparison with the present crisis.

"The Labor Party wants to keep the election under conditions in which people are blindfolded; to hold an election in which the truth is hidden.

"Whole sections of right-wing Labor leaders, like Jenkins and Williams—soon to be followed by men like Callaghan and Prentice—were now coming out with coalition blackmail.

"Heath and Thorpe are meanwhile saying that trade unionism cannot be tolerated in its present form and that a coalition government must be formed that rests on the most reactionary elements in the country.

"Capitalism, the private ownership of property for profit, has failed. But it will not disappear without a bloody and violent fight.

"We are asking people to vote on the seriousness of the situation—and not on the illusions that would blindfold people until it was too late."

The WRP has launched a mass campaign in which it is running 10 candidates in the October 10 General Election. In areas where it is not running, the party is calling on workers to vote Labor and return a Labor government with a big majority

in order to expose the Labor leaders and drive them out of the working class movement.

Everywhere, the WRP candidates are receiving big support from workers, housewives, and youth who are fed up with the betrayals of the Wilson government over the past six months. The party is campaigning on a program of socialist policies for the crisis, particularly calling for the nationalization of the food companies, land, basic industries, and the banks without compensation and under workers' control.

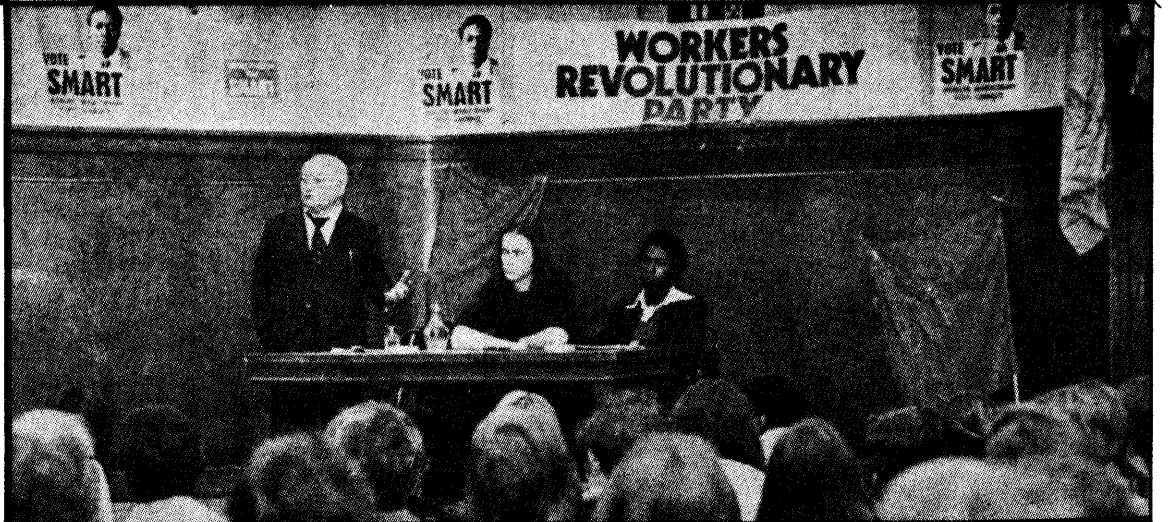
Alan Wilkins, WRP candidate in Coventry North-East, said: "During the day, we have been meeting housewives. There is absolutely no doubt what is the burning issue for these women—prices. They are completely fed up with promises from both the major parties and are convinced that neither Labor nor Tory intend to do anything about the soaring cost of living."

In an article in the Coventry Evening Telegraph, the Labor, Tory, Liberal and Communist Party candidates in the area united to attack Wilkins and the WRP.

"I welcome this lineup. It shows just where these people stand. From the Tory Party to the Stalinists, they are absolutely hostile to revolutionary policies for the working class to meet the threat of unemployment and poverty."

In Swindon, leaders of 200 striking engineering workers at the Deloro Stellite plant have come out in support of WRP candidate Kate Blakeney. Strike committee chairman Eddie Richards stated: "I don't have much faith in them (Labor) as a party due to their turning their backs on the working class in the past. My confidence could only be restored by the election of a few candidates of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

"I don't think it is possible for the 'social contract' to succeed unless the trade union leaders are prepared to sell the members down the river."



Candidates of the Workers Revolutionary Party are campaigning in the October 10 parliamentary elections (top left and right). Gerry Healy, WRP general secretary, speaks at election meeting (above.)

Steve Price, shop steward, added: "Scanlon (engineering workers union leader) withdrew his motion opposing the 'social contract', so where can the working class look for any leadership except from the WRP?"

"The policies of Kate Blakeney and the WRP of nationalization under workers' control without compensation are the only policies which can help the working class."

Each candidate has set up election committee headquarters in their districts where

hundreds of workers and youth have volunteered to work in the campaign. The candidates have been leading teams of workers and youth in mass canvassing drives, handing out thousands of copies of the WRP election manifesto. Meetings are being organized at factory gates along with large motorcades of cars displaying WRP election posters, driven by workers from the area.

The election campaign has been combined with a mass recruiting drive.

According to candidate Vanessa Redgrave: "We said in February (during the last elections) and we say today—the fulfillment of these socialist objectives means the building of a revolutionary leadership in the labor and trade union movement against people like Prentice (right-wing Laborite).

"Throughout our election campaign, we will be asking you not only to vote for Workers Revolutionary Party candidates on October 10, but asking you to join our party."

Stock Market Hits 600 Mark

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

Last Thursday, the Dow Jones industrial average crashed through the 600 barrier sending stocks to the lowest level in 12 years.

"The longest bear market since the 1930s," as one stock analyst termed it, is now predicted to be on its way to 500.

The market panic reflects the nearly universal sentiment of businessmen and investors that the international economy is headed for a massive crash with prospects for profit almost nonexistent.

The Washington meeting of the International Monetary Fund was dominated by the economic collapse facing world capitalism. Major capitalist nations face payments to the oil producing nations which they have no possibility of meeting.

Current estimates are for a 1974 debt of \$10 billion for England, \$7 billion for France and Japan and \$9 billion for Italy.

Failure to meet these obligations would be a signal for a cutoff of credit that would make national currencies worthless

and plunge millions of workers and middle class people into unemployment and poverty.

The most immediate danger of collapse is now posed in England. On Thursday, the president of the Confederation of British Industry issued a statement that British industry faces the worst cash crisis since the Second World War. He declared that companies were short of cash to meet even day to day needs, buy raw materials, and pay wages. Funds for investment and expansion are simply unavailable.

The banks are increasingly reluctant to provide these funds for fear that they will not be paid back. As the Sunday Telegraph put it, "The graver problem is that the banks are beginning to feel that the gap...is becoming so pronounced and the outlook for profits so poor, that they dare not lend on anything other than cast-iron security."

Failure to provide these loans is a guarantee of a chain reaction of industrial bankruptcies.

At the same time, the United States is intensifying the pressure on Europe and Japan to force them to accept the main burden of the coming slump.

It is now reported that Congress is about to approve an

export control act empowering the President to retaliate against nations withholding supplies from the US. The President could embargo exports to countries whose export policies he deems damaging to the US.

While the most obvious purpose of this legislation is a war weapon against the Arab oil producers, it could just as easily be applied against European and Japanese attempts to break into the American market. It is a significant indication that the US will not hesitate to impose curbs on imports.

Despite numerous disagreements in the Ford administration, all economic advisers are recommending a program of severe budget cuts to plunge the economy into recession.

Both Secretary of the Treasury William Simon and Federal Reserve Director Sawhill are reported to favor a huge hike in gasoline prices as a device to cut consumption. The other option under consideration is Kissinger's proposals for a limit on oil imports.

Whatever alternative is chosen, the impact will be to escalate the development of recession and unemployment, not only in the US but throughout Europe and Japan.

Jobless Soars To 5.8%

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

Over 440,000 more workers were out of work in the month of September than in August, according to the latest government figures. This is the largest rise in the number of jobless in over 2 years and brings the total unemployed to 5.8 percent or 5.3 million workers.

The hardest hit were the youth where unemployment rose from 14 percent to 16.7 percent or to 1.5 million unemployed. This occurred as 700,000 more youth than usual did not return to school in the month of September but went out to look for work.

These figures are just the tip of the iceberg. The number of workers who were forced to work part-time who wanted to work full-time rose by 310,000, the largest rise in 13 years, to 2.8 million.

In New York City, unemployment stands officially at 7.5 percent. 27,000 jobs were lost during the last 12 months because of closures or plants moving.

In Newark, adult unemployment runs in the area of 17 percent, with youth figures standing at least twice that rate. Industrial towns like Paterson, Passaic and Jersey City show official figures around 9.5 percent.

Youngstown, Ohio state officials report that the present level of seven percent is "the expected low point for the immediate future."

These figures reflect something different from the past patterns of unemployment. In these lines of workers are thousands of members of the same unions, reflecting the almost total collapse of certain industries under the conditions of the developing economic slump.

In auto towns, for example, lines were swelled last week by 27,000 workers laid off because of strikes against supplier companies. Not one UAW member, however, is guaranteed to return to his position on the assembly line.

In California, for instance, the Milpitas Pinto plant has forced 700 workers out on the street as sales plummet even for this most popular of the sub-compact.

Layoffs at other plants like General Electric also reflect the downturn in buying as inflation and unemployment draws family budgets to the breaking point.

The abrupt change to a tight-money credit policy has plunged the "glamor" industries of the boom period into contraction and collapse. Polaroid in Boston is preparing to lay off at least 1400. Xerox has cancelled plans to

build a massive national headquarters there. Univac and Honeywell in Minneapolis have both laid off workers this fall for the first time in years.

The credit squeeze has been most devastating in construction. Nearly a half-million construction workers are unemployed, 11.1 percent of the workforce. In areas like Newark where the economy is at a virtual standstill, the figures are up to 35 or even 50 percent for some crafts.

The government's turn toward pushing weak companies over the edge into collapse threatens thousands of jobs on the Penn Central Railroad, and several aerospace companies. The spectacular crash of Pan American Airways will wipe out hundreds of jobs, beginning with 300 flight attendants scheduled to get pink slips this weekend.

The working class will not accept the loss of its right to work. The threat of layoffs is bringing forward a powerful movement in defense of jobs by all sections of the working class.

This is why the ruling class seeks to divert this struggle with racism. Advocates of preferential hiring play right into their hands.

On October 4, a New York group called Fight Back blocked a city college construction project in Harlem to demand that 50 percent of the construction workers be Harlem residents and 25 percent of the subcontractors be minority-owned companies.

This kind of action, which has occurred frequently over the last decade, becomes not just futile but totally reactionary today under conditions of massive unemployment in construction. There are no funds to provide new jobs. A job given to a black worker, a woman worker, a young worker will be taken away from someone else.

WORKERS PARTY

Only the Workers Party, the campaign of the Workers League and Young Socialists fights among youth and workers for an understanding that the defense of our right to jobs requires the political mobilization of the working class.

This can only be won through a fight in the unions to win a sliding scale of hours. In most industries, a thirty-hour week at forty hours pay would bring a whole shift of new workers into the plant.

Even this beginning step poses the need to nationalize industry, to take it out of the control of the ruling class and place it under the control of the workers' themselves, as part of a planned economy operated by a workers government.

That is why, through our campaign, we fight to build the leadership that can mobilize trade unionists, youth and unemployed to construct a labor party and prepare to take power and establish socialism.



Ford Gears For War On Miners

BY DAVID NORTH

Contingency plans are being drawn up by the Ford administration to prepare for a nationwide strike by the United Mine Workers on November 12.

A memorandum drawn up by the Federal Energy Administration and sent to the Interior Department maps out emergency fuel allocation measures to be taken if the strike begins.

Arnold Miller, president of the UMW, has denounced allocation programs and stated that the government is "laying plans to break a strike."

The contents of the FEA memo have not been made public, but it is known that the government is extremely concerned by the fact that coal stockpiles are low and that miners are in an exceptionally favorable position to win a long strike.

More than 20 agencies are involved in drawing up contingency plans, and, according to an FEA source, "almost anything you can think of has been suggested."

If mandatory fuel allocations were put into effect by the government, there could be a tidal wave of lockouts throughout basic industry. At the very least, millions of workers would be placed on shorter work weeks. This is precisely what occurred during the British miners strike last February.

The steel industry reports that its stock piles of coal are as low as a 23 to 24 day supply.

In addition to allocation programs, the Congress may attempt to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act against the miners. Negotiations between the UMW and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association have barely gotten off the ground.

Miller has stated that the UMW wants a substantial wage increase and cost of living protection, along with major gains on benefits.

The central demands of the miners union include:

- The right to strike over grievances and violations of the contract.
- Union inspection of mines.
- A firm seniority system.

However, the 200 demands made by the UMW are undercut completely by Miller's decision to join the Labor-Management Committee.

What good are Miller's pledges that he will fight for major contract gains when he is sitting on a government panel set up for

the purpose of controlling wages, increasing productivity, and cutting jobs?

The plans of the government to attack the miners and make them the scapegoats for the economic crisis make it even more urgent for the UMW ranks to drive Miller off the committee.

He must be given instructions to call a strike on November 12, and at the same time rally the entire trade union movement behind the UMW through the call for a Congress of Labor to map out the strategy to defeat the government's attacks and build the alternative to Ford: a labor party.

The Logic of Opportunism

what we think

Nothing more clearly demonstrates the right-wing movement and political degeneracy of revisionism than the collaboration of the Socialist Workers Party with the reactionary cabal of trade union bureaucrats who participated in the economic summit called by Gerald Ford.

If the revisionists of the SWP were unable to directly attend the summit, it was only because Ford did not extend the invitation they had requested.

But in seeking an invitation, by making clear that they wanted to attend this summit, the revisionists provided a convenient cover for the bureaucrats who actually attended.

The declarations of SWP members Debby Bustin and Maceo Dixon in the pages of *The Militant* on what they would have said if they had attended the summit are, in fact, only slightly more demagogic and "left" sounding versions of what George Meany, Leonard Woodcock, and Arnold Miller actually said at the summit.

What was said by these bureaucrats at the summit is window dressing. The important point is that they sat in on it, and thus assisted Ford in his preparations for an all-out assault on the working class. The summit was called in the first place only to maintain the vicious fiction that the "people" are being consulted on the very decisions that the capitalists have already made behind closed doors.

For the SWP to justify its attempt to participate in the summit on the basis of "exposing" the meeting represents political bankruptcy and an utter break with Marxist principles. This is like participating in a firing squad in order to expose an execution.

Revealed in the sordid role played by the SWP in relation to the summit is its refusal to fight the trade union bureaucracy and

Stalinism. The perspective of the SWP is not to wage war against these traitors, to build a revolutionary party that will smash them politically, but to move the bureaucracy and the Stalinists to the left.

Only in this way can the picket line set up by the SWP outside the Washington hotel where the summit was held be explained.

Pushing the bureaucracy to the left means, in fact, accepting its betrayals.

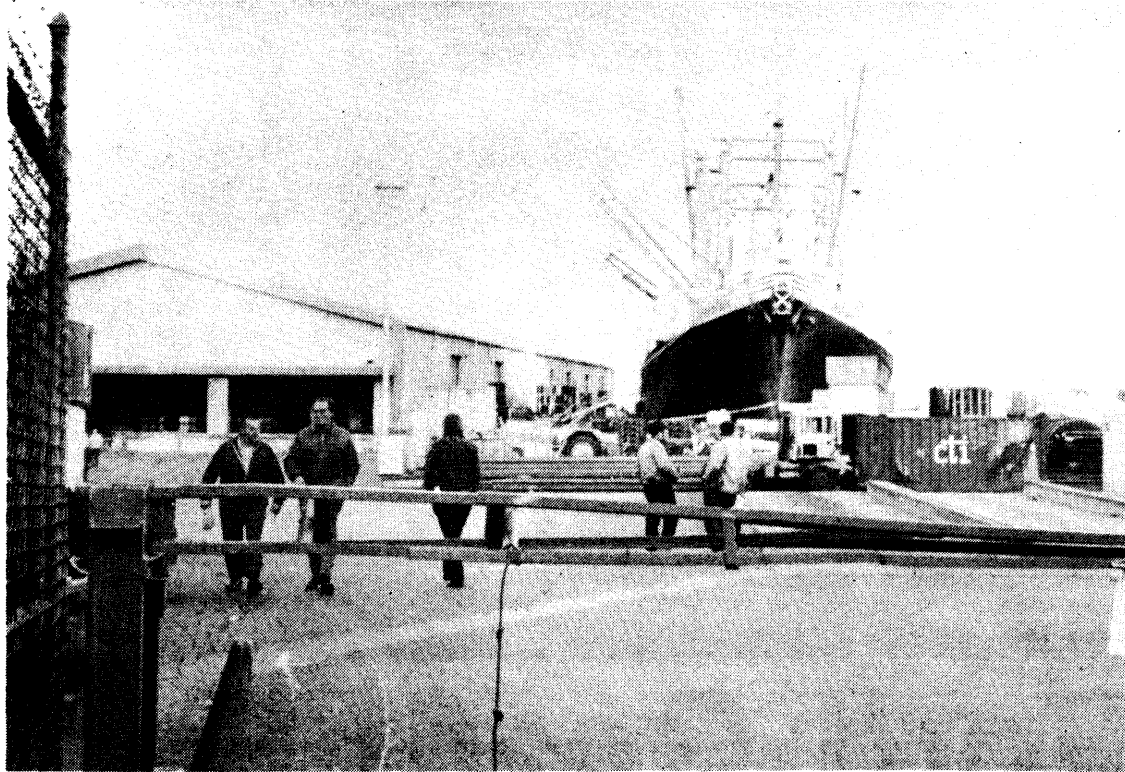
During the past period, the SWP has sought to enter the labor movement—upon which it turned its back for such a long period—through the trade union bureaucracy. It has opportunistically adapted to certain sections of the trade union bureaucracy which it labels progressive.

The SWP, having no perspective for the construction of a revolutionary party, wishes at all costs to avoid breaking with these figures.

Therefore, it covers for forces like UMW President Arnold Miller who has now become one of the eight bureaucrats on the Labor-Management Committee set up by Ford.

The SWP has not demanded that Miller get off the Committee. Apparently, the revisionists are prepared to make all sorts of demagogic "demands" on the ruling class (i.e., invitations to the summit), but not one on the trade union bureaucracy which could possibly mean an actual struggle against it.

The degeneration of the SWP is rooted historically in its betrayal of Trotskyism. In the 11 short years since it turned against the International Committee of the Fourth International and lined up as pragmatic nationalists with Pabloism, the SWP has been transformed into the political bed-fellow of the very bureaucrats who are in league with Ford.



ILA President Gleason refused to mobilize East Coast longshoremen like those at the Brooklyn docks (above), in support of striking ILA members in Puerto Rico.

Shanker—No Policy To Defend Jobs

**BY A UFT MEMBER
NEW YORK, NY—**
The UFT convened its joint meeting of Chapter Chairmen and Delegates last week to make political endorsements for the November elections.

Shanker explained that the UFT endorsement of Democratic politicians like Carey, Krupsak, and Riccio was based solely on promises that they would work in favor of education and the UFT.

It was apparent at the meeting that the members are disillusioned with these candidates and rightly so, for the last endorsement of Mayor Beame has not changed the gloomy picture of overcrowded classrooms, layoffs, and cuts to educational funds.

Shanker was unable to make promises of better times. He pointed out the fact that the situation is going to get worse for education and educators. "In 5 years from now there will be 1 unemployed teacher for every 5."

Rather than fight to defend

jobs, Shanker is searching for various schemes to avoid the crisis. One such scheme calls for Congressional funding of early education programs. These programs would absorb about 700,000 teachers. But the Congress is implementing Ford's cuts of the budget which are directed against education.

Shanker's proposals come in the form of commitments and assurances from politicians deeply committed to Ford and Rockefeller.

At the same time, Shanker proposed the endorsement of such politicians as Vincent Riccio, on the basis that he has promised to change. Riccio was instrumental in the passing of the anti-labor Taylor law.

ENDORSEMENT

The supporters of the policies of the Communist Party went along with the UFT endorsement of Carey, but unsuccessfully sought to win an endorsement for Ramsey Clark, the former attorney general who is running for Senate.

As a whole, the membership showed disappointment and need of leadership at this meeting. It is no longer correct to view teachers as expecting crumbs from these unprincipled politicians. Teachers are now looking for real answers to their everyday teaching problems.

The Committee for New Leadership in the UFT called for teachers and paraprofessionals to endorse the Workers Party congressional candidates Terry Delgado from the 12th CD and Helen Halyard from the 14th CD in Brooklyn.

These candidates were endorsed by a vote of 25 to 14 at a chapter meeting of Bronx Public School 114. The WP proposal for a sliding scale of wages and a sliding scale of working hours received strong support.

Shanker refused to allow delegates from PS 114 to present this motion to the delegates for action by the entire UFT. He ruled them out of order.

Puerto Rican Dockers Demand Wage Guarantee

BY A REPORTER
Puerto Rican longshoremen returned to work this past weekend after Teddy Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, rammed through a settlement in New York.

The strike by 2500 to 3000 dockers had shut the Puerto Rico Nueva facilities in San Juan and operations at Isla Grande and Ponce.

The tentative settlement does not resolve the major issues of this strike. Gleason announced that Puerto Rican dockers would get the same wages and fringe benefits as the US ILA contract and would have 30 days to reach agreement with the Puerto Rico Maritime Shipping Authority on job security.

Gleason refused to pledge strike action by all ILA locals if no agreement was reached within 30 days.

AUTOMATION

Under the new authority, port operations will be consolidated, new automation and mechanization introduced, and about 1000 jobs lost. Seatrain Lines, Sealand Service, and Transamerican Trailer Transport have transferred their ships and facilities to the Puerto Rican government. Sealand and TTA have received management contracts to run the port.

Puerto Rican ILA locals, whose membership has been cut by over 5000 men in the last 15 years, call the initiator of the consolidation plan the "undertaker of the dockworkers."

They are demanding that the facilities continue to operate without consolidation, and that their new contract with the authority include a Guaranteed Annual Income clause.

GLEASON

ILA head Teddy Gleason, who helped to draft the law setting up the authority, now claims that the government is breaking the written agreement to "recognize and honor the existing contract between the shipping companies and their workers."

With the strike in its fourth day, he refused to take any action on the rank and file's demand that the mainland ports be shut down to win their claim.

In every port, Gleason has allowed the shippers and the government to carry out automation and containerization almost unhindered and has blocked every attempt by the ranks to

take action to defend jobs. There is deep anger and resentment among East Coast dockers in the ILA over the attacks on job security in the contracts Gleason just rammed through.

East Coast dockers must demand full support from the ILA leadership to the Puerto Rican dockers and reopen a fight to throw out the Atlantic and Gulf port contracts.

Reopen The Taxi Contract

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER
NEW YORK, NY—Taxi drivers here will be holding their semiannual meeting on October 10.

The meeting takes place at the same time that absolutely nothing has been resolved on a contract for the drivers.

Taxi drivers recently ratified a contract contingent on a big fare increase by the Taxi Commission.

Every driver knows such an increase will mean a big decline in ridership and a slash in tips.

The union meeting which brought out only a tiny section of the more than 30,000 union members pushed through a ratification only because the ranks were convinced that their leadership would not fight.

The Van Arsdale leadership begins with the problems facing the taxi fleet owners and not the right of the ranks to earn a decent living.

They used the excuse of increasing gasoline and other costs to solidarize themselves with the owners demands for a fare increase and to claim that a strike was impossible.

The largest opposition to Van Arsdale has been the Rank and File Coalition. For years they have campaigned around a call for union democracy while refusing to raise a program to defend drivers against the fleet owners and the Taxi Commission.

They refused however to campaign for a strike and to raise a perspective for winning one. In this way they assisted the leadership in selling out.

Drivers must be paid a guaranteed minimum of \$160 a week or 60 percent of the meter whichever is higher and a pension of \$400 a month after 20 years. There must be an end to the system of lowered commissions to new drivers. The owners must pay for hospital insurance rather than deducting 10 cents from each fare. There must be no fare increase.

These are minimum requirements. If the fleet owners claim that they cannot meet these conditions then the city must take over the fleets from the

owners without compensation in order to keep this essential service running.

The fight to carry out this program requires that a campaign be taken up in the labor movement to construct a labor party against the Democratic and Republican parties.

Drivers and Mechanics for a Decent Contract is being organized to fight for this perspective.

Drivers must demand that the contract be reopened to fight for these demands and that the union be prepared to take strike action.

<p>NOW AVAILABLE AT LABOR BOOK CENTER</p>	<p>NEW EDITIONS OF TROTSKY'S WORKS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF STALINISM THE STALIN SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION</p>
	<p>by LEON TROTSKY \$3.45</p>
	<p>CLASS NATURE OF THE SOVIET STATE by LEON TROTSKY \$.90</p>
	<p>PLATFORM OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION \$2.50</p>
<p>Come in Mon.-Fri. 5:30-8pm Sat. 11am-5pm or order from LABOR PUBLICATIONS 135 WEST 14th STREET 7th FLOOR NEW YORK NY 10011</p>	

School Battle On Lower East Side



Albert Shanker, president of UFT.



A demonstration in support of community control.

COMMUNITY CONTROL A DEADEND

BY FRANK MARTIN
NEW YORK, NY—
 Tension erupted on Manhattan's Lower East Side Thursday night, when 600 parents smashed closed circuit TV sets which were transmitting a District 1 school board meeting.

Prior to the meeting, 125 parents had staged a demonstration in support of suspended school superintendent Luis Fuentes. The parents found that five of the nine member board had sealed themselves off in a classroom and could only be reached through the television hookup.

The school board is split 5 to 4 on the Fuentes issue. The majority is backed by United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker. The minority backs Fuentes.

The four Fuentes supporters refused to join the other five school board members and joined the parents in denouncing the closed meeting.

They then marched from the hall to the home of school board President Adolf Roher and demonstrated outside of it. Following the demonstration, 25 parents announced that they would occupy Public School 188 on East Houston Street in protest over the Board's decision to remove two pro-Fuentes principals. Parents

have been staging a boycott at the school.

Since the Board elections last May, the majority Board members have launched a whole series of attacks on the education rights of students in the Lower East Side.

They have eliminated hot breakfast and lunch programs. They have abolished a free health program that was about to be set up. At the same time, they have suspended Fuentes and moved to sweep out his supporters from administration posts in the Lower East Side schools.

But the roots of the tension in the Lower East Side schools comes out of the board's decision to cut over \$1 million from the District 1 budget. Roher and the majority of the Board claimed they had "no use" for the money.

The first programs to be cut were the bilingual, Spanish-English programs which are of vital concern to the many Puerto Rican workers and their families in the Lower East Side.

At the same time, the teachers who gave these courses were fired. Supervisors in special reading and math programs were also laid off. It is this which has outraged the many parents and workers who have mobilized against the Board.

But Fuentes' opposition to the school board is bankrupt. His program of community control of the schools is based on a nationalist appeal to minority workers. Fuentes points to Shanker and claims that the attacks on education are really



the fault of the "racist" teachers.

In every part of the country, millions of students are facing massive budget cuts and the wiping out of critical school programs. The attacks on education are not isolated but are part of the whole capitalist crisis. Education is severely hit precisely because to Ford and Rockefeller, it is the first and most expendable item.

But Fuentes and his supporters do not oppose the budget cuts. They draw no connection between the problems in District 1 and the crisis as a whole. Their program starts from accepting capitalism.

REFORMIST

Community control is nothing more than a reformist, utopian scheme which amounts to administering a decaying school system while fighting over how the crumbs handed down by the government will be divided.

The revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party support Fuentes because they, too, start by accepting capitalism. The SWP has no confidence in the ability of the working class to defend its rights, including the right to an education. They accept the divisions in the working class and see every issue in terms of race.

The whole development of the

District 1 struggle proves exactly the opposite—that the language rights of minorities, the education rights of youth and the jobs and wages of teachers are tied together and can only be defended through a common struggle. Furthermore, these rights can only be defended through the mobilization of the entire labor movement in a political fight against this government.

Shanker is among the most right-wing, anti-communist bureaucrats in the labor movement today. He has a long record of support for every policy of American imperialism: from foreign military intervention (particularly in Vietnam) to the policies of wage-cutting, mass unemployment and inflation of the Nixon and Ford administrations. Clearly his policies in District 1 are openly based on racism.

What is required is not to identify the teachers with Shanker, as Fuentes and the SWP do, but to fight to unite the struggles of students, parents, and teachers in a fight for an alternative, revolutionary leadership inside the working class.

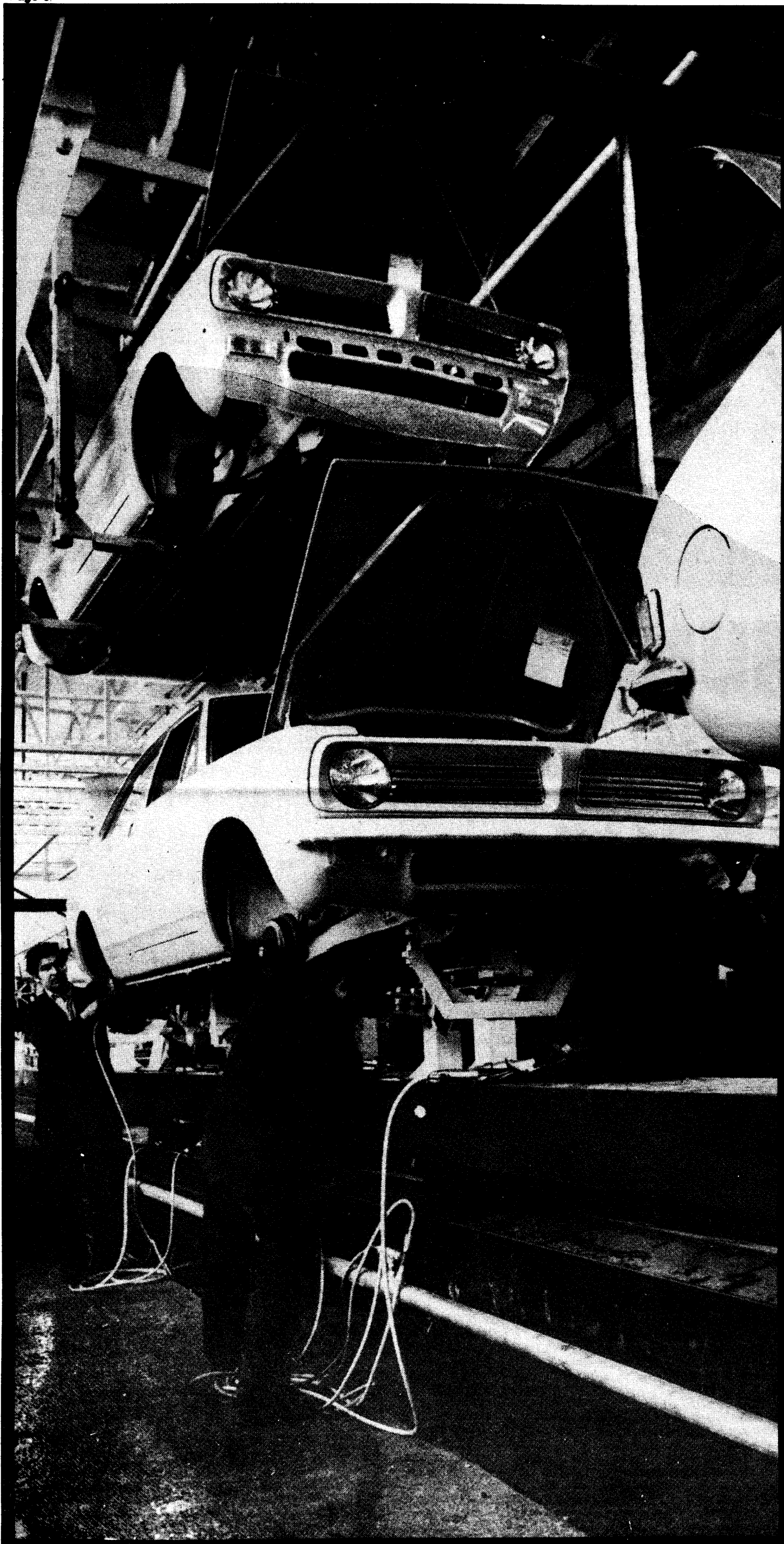
The fight to unite the working class can only be carried out against the bankrupt schemes of the nationalists as well as through a bitter fight against the

reactionary trade union bureaucrats.

Far from defending the teachers, Shanker and his school board bureaucrats have led the attack on teachers' jobs. Instead of identifying Shanker with the teachers, as Fuentes and the SWP do, what is required is a fight to build an alternative leadership among the teachers to the Shanker bureaucracy.

It is only the Workers League and Young Socialists who are fighting for a real alternative on the Lower East Side. On Thursday, October 10, the Workers League will be holding a public meeting on the District 1 situation at 7:30 p.m. at the University Settlement, 184 Eldridge St. We are fighting to mobilize workers in the community and in the unions, teachers and students on the following program:

- No teacher layoffs. Reinstate all teachers and administrators who were fired or demoted.
- Defend language rights. Bilingual courses as a right.
- The UFT must call on the entire labor movement to call a congress of labor to defend the rights of teachers, students and the entire working class.
- Build a labor party to drive out the Ford-Rockefeller government.



The assembly line at British Leyland where measured-day work, a vicious form of superexploitation, was introduced.

We are reprinting this pamphlet on the struggle of British auto workers because of the important lessons for American workers and trade unionists in auto and in every industry, on the methods, including the use of agents, used by the employers to smash the unions and how a revolutionary leadership can be built in the unions.

Before the war, Morris Motors wrote a propaganda booklet called "Working at Cowley." In it they described life on the assembly lines thus:

"Quality production may be regarded as a happy medium between mass production and individual assembly. In contrast with transatlantic methods there is no hurry in a single operation. Each workman has ample time for his job and the care exercised at every stage in manufacture is no whit inferior to that associated with factories devoted to the production of luxury automobiles."

Today such literature would be viewed by the Cowley management as almost subversive. The British Leyland employers have learned to speak a different language—take this example of "advice" to workers at their Triumph plant in Coventry:

"Both hands should not be idle...hands should work in curves, not sharp movements...hands should be removed from all work which can be done by other parts of the body."

This is a description of the hated measured-day-work system. British Leyland were the last car company in Britain to bring in measured day-work (MDW) and they chose Cowley as the battlefield.

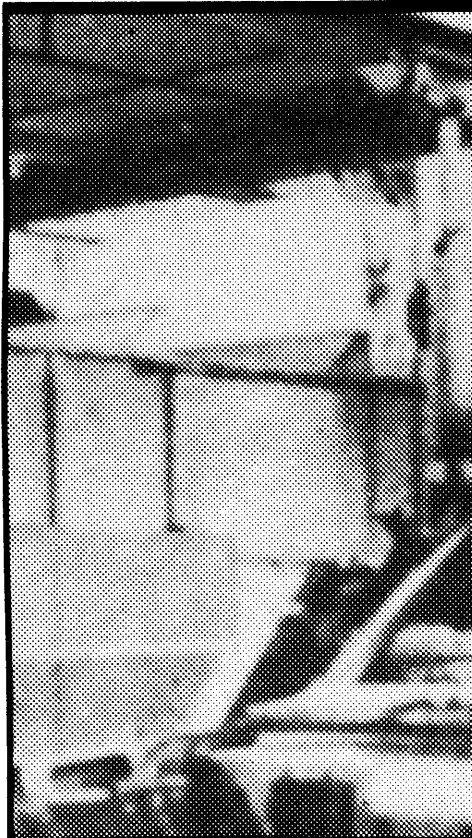
At Cowley the shop stewards' leadership fought bitterly against this form of super-exploitation. Workers at the complex accepted the system against the advice of their stewards. But despite this, and despite the speedup imposed during the period of the recent victimization struggles, Leyland have not gotten the full benefit of MDW. Only by turning Cowley into a sweatshop can this be achieved.

MDW has, however, substantially reduced the comparative wage levels in the factory. From being the best-paid job in the area during the era of piecework, Cowley is now way down the wages table. The most dramatic result of this deterioration was a leap in the turnover of labor. Under piecework six or seven men a week left the plant to seek work elsewhere, under measured-day work "terminations" have increased to 60 or 70 a week.

When British Leyland victimized Alan Thornett, chairman of the Cowley shop stewards committee, the *Financial Times* knew this was far more than an isolated or episodic industrial struggle.

It told its readers in the boardrooms: "A dramatic initiative aimed at transforming the fortunes of its trouble-torn Cowley car assembly plant at Oxford has been taken by British Leyland, which has told the Transport and General Workers Union that it will no longer deal with one of its most senior and militant shop stewards."

"This unusual step means British Leyland is prepared to risk a prolonged shutdown of its Cowley works for the sake of curbing the power and influence of extreme left-wingers..."



Marina Model Production Line: Leyland first in

In
entire
They
want
By
reces
ment
show
Their
had o
were
In
nett
betwe
ers b
itself
sive a
shop
Du
work
by ta
produ
empl
One
strug
the p
to ef
with
inclu
which
must
no ch
there
or m
The
well
union
or w
cogni
organ
mid-l
a we
lectiv
little
by th
high
hence
drivin
The
after
labor
the d
1930s
and,
move
Pie
the
emph
prod
exam
unite
piece
option
the ri
mark
devel
trans
In
and C
Marx

VICTIMIZATION AT COWLEY

by stephen johns

PART 3

"Victimization at Cowley" was recently published as a pamphlet by the Workers Revolutionary Party of England.

In fact, Leyland were threatening the entire shop stewards leadership at Cowley. They wanted speedup, and, above all, they wanted to clear away opposition to layoffs.

By 1974, Leyland were planning for the recession. This would mean unemployment at Cowley, but it would also mean a showdown with the leadership at Oxford. Their policies were clear, the 5/55 branch had called for occupation if redundancies were declared.

In this sense the victimization of Thornett was part of a change in the relations between the working class and the employers brought on by the crisis. This expressed itself in the car industry as a ruthless offensive against living standards built up by the shop stewards movement.

During the boom period after the war the working class were able to drive up wages by taking advantage of the clamor for production, and more production, by the employers.

One of the most effective weapons in the struggle to improve living standards was the piecework system, which tied earnings to effort. The first piecework agreement with the employers was signed in 1922. This included the crucial clause on mutuality, which laid down that the piecework prices must be agreed with the operator and that no change in price could take place unless there was a change in the means, method or material on the job.

The agreement served the car companies well during the 1920s and 1930s when trade union organization was either non-existent or weak (unions at Cowley were not recognized until the 1950s and 100 percent organization was not achieved until the mid-1960s). In this situation piecework was a weapon for the employers. Without collective strength the car workers could do little to resist low prices arbitrarily fixed by the management—their only avenue to higher wages was through producing more, hence piecework became a means of driving up the rate of exploitation.

The situation began to change rapidly after the war. The intense competition for labor, the shift to the left of the masses and the determination never to return to the 1930s led to the development of trade unions and, especially, strong shop stewards movements in the car plants.

Piecework became a powerful asset to the shop stewards movement. If the employers wanted to introduce a new product—a new model of car for example—the stewards, representing a united labor force, would demand higher piecework rates. The employers had little option but to concede. To resist was to run the risk of losing sales to rivals in the boom markets of the post-war era. Later, the development of the world crisis was to transform this relationship.

In his two important books *Wage, Labor and Capital* and *Wages, Price and Profit*, Marx examines the exploitation of the

working class on which capitalism was founded. Workers sell their labor power for wages, but the amount of value they create by their labor is greater than the wages they receive at the end of the week. The surplus, or surplus value as Marx called it, is kept by the capitalist. If no surplus value is made, capitalists stop producing.

When they face crisis the capitalist class seek desperately to prevent a fall in their profits by increasing the rate of exploitation—they attempt to drive up surplus value by robbing the workers of more and more of the value they create.

This is precisely what is happening on a global scale in the car industry. With the breakup of the boom described in the first chapter the British employers began to find the continual round of wage bargaining associated with piecework intolerable.

The 1960s saw the beginning of the employers' offensive to drive down wages. This period saw the birth of the productivity deal which has been described as "a confidence trick aimed at solving the employers' crisis by introducing a political attack on workers at the work-place level, using the systems of exploitation, under the pretext of improving the wages and conditions of the operatives." (*The Measured-Day-Work and Productivity Swindle*, an All Trades Unions Alliance pamphlet, by Bernard Franks, price 25p, Plough Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4—essential reading for all trade unionists.)

The trade union leaders, urged on by the Labour government, capitulated completely to this offensive. The 1968 package deal on productivity signed by the union leadership conceded to the employers the unfettered right to use work study techniques essential to measured-day work.

The crucial clauses read:
"...the union individually and collectively accept and undertake to ensure that at all levels their committees and their members accept all the appropriate and recognized techniques for analyzing or evaluating methods of production (including methods study, work measurement and job evaluation) as ways in which the task of improving efficiency can be tackled effectively at domestic level. The unions also undertake to cooperate fully on the elimination of impediments to efficient utilization of labor which cause unit costs to be higher than they should be."

Another clause tied wages to productivity:

"The parties agree that improvement in pay and conditions at domestic level may be made provided there is a measurable increase in labor productivity of efficiency to which the efforts of the workers concerned have contributed."

Some of the "impediments" to capitalist efficiency were defined as uneconomic manning of machine processes, production departments; inappropriate and uneconomic

use of labor, resistance to shift working; resistance to the "planned use" of working hours and waiting time and other non-productive time.

The bureaucracy of the trade union movement was coming down firmly in favor of greater exploitation of their own members in the 1968 deal. The working class paid a price for this class collaboration. The productivity drive resulted in thousands of redundancies in the so-called great "shake-out" in engineering and manufacturing and the clauses, which seemed at the time paper pledges, were eventually made to bite in the form of speedup.

The attack in the car industry took the form of a drive to abolish piecework in favor of time payments based on the most sophisticated methods of work study. One employer, George Cattell, the former director of personnel and manufacture at Rootes, (now Chrysler) described the system he introduced there as a "modern form of slavery" (speech to the Industrial Society, November, 1970). This system was called measured-day work or simply MDW.

Leyland began the long struggle to introduce their own "form of slavery" soon after the merger. In November 1969 Patrick Lowry left his job as head of the Engineering Employers Federation to direct the company's offensive against piecework and replace it with MDW. He drew up a master plan which was distributed to plant managers.

Much has been written about measured-day work. The employers say it is a system of payments that provides high wages and strike-free work. Of course, they are lying.

The basic aim of MDW is to drive wages down and force work effort up. As such it is the first step towards mass redundancy, particularly in a period of recession.



Alan Thornett, deputy senior shop steward at British Leyland, the target of victimization.

It is a system in which every worker must reach a predetermined level of performance defined in advance by work study.

The onus is thus on the worker to strive constantly to reach the effort demanded or face the discipline of the employer. Under piecework effort is linked directly to pay—if effort increases, so do wages.

MDW also gives the employers another important advantage. Under the piecework system the employers found they had to offer higher wages before introducing a new product. Measured-day work shifts the balance. The onus is on a worker to resist attempts to increase effort and/or struggle for a higher rate of pay.

The power of the shop stewards' movement had become intimately bound up with the piecework system. A steward's strength depended on his direct control over the rate of each individual member—a strong steward had good rates and a weak steward bad rates in his section. In breaking this relationship MDW undermines the basis of the stewards' movement.

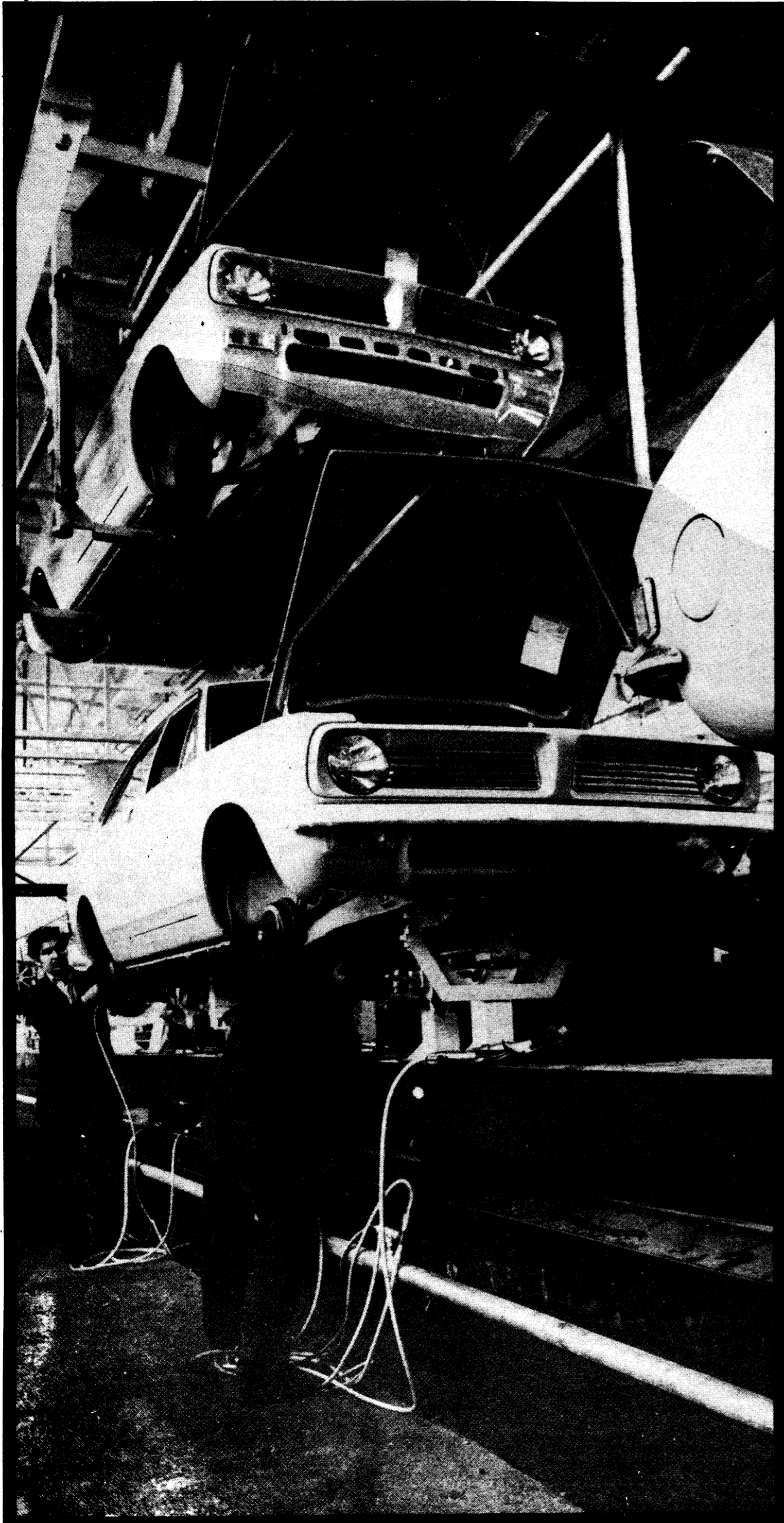
In other words, the abolition of piecework in favor of MDW is a means of completely altering the balance of power in favor of the employer. This is not simply a matter of changing the payments system on paper, but of smashing the strength of the working class and its leadership in the factories. This was the task British Leyland set themselves after the merger.

The struggle against MDW by the 5/55 branch, which then organized more than 6000 Cowley workers, is examined in detail in the next chapter. It will suffice to say here that it is undoubtedly the finest and most principled in the car industry.



Leyland first introduced MDW.

TO BE CONTINUED



The assembly line at British Leyland where measured-day work, a vicious form of superexploitation, was introduced.

We are reprinting this pamphlet on the struggle of British auto workers because of the important lessons for American workers and trade unionists in auto and in every industry, on the methods, including the use of agents, used by the employers to smash the unions and how a revolutionary leadership can be built in the unions.

Before the war, Morris Motors wrote a propaganda booklet called "Working at Cowley." In it they described life on the assembly lines thus:
"Quality production may be regarded as a happy medium between mass production and individual assembly. In contrast with transatlantic methods there is no hurry in a single operation. Each workman has ample time for his job and the care exercised at every stage in manufacture is no whit inferior to that associated with factories devoted to the production of luxury automobiles."

Today such literature would be viewed by the Cowley management as almost subversive. The British Leyland employers have learned to speak a different language—take this example of "advice" to workers at their Triumph plant in Coventry:

"Both hands should not be idle...hands should work in curves, not sharp movements...hands should be removed from all work which can be done by other parts of the body."

This is a description of the hated measured-day-work system. British Leyland were the last car company in Britain to bring in measured day-work (MDW) and they chose Cowley as the battlefield.

At Cowley the shop stewards' leadership fought bitterly against this form of super-exploitation. Workers at the complex accepted the system against the advice of their stewards. But despite this, and despite the speedup imposed during the period of the recent victimization struggles, Leyland have not gotten the full benefit of MDW. Only by turning Cowley into a sweatshop can this be achieved.

MDW has, however, substantially reduced the comparative wage levels in the factory. From being the best-paid job in the area during the era of piecework, Cowley is now way down the wages table. The most dramatic result of this deterioration was a leap in the turnover of labor. Under piecework six or seven men a week left the plant to seek work elsewhere, under measured-day work "terminations" have increased to 60 or 70 a week.

When British Leyland victimized Alan Thornett, chairman of the Cowley shop stewards committee, the Financial Times knew this was far more than an isolated or episodic industrial struggle.

It told its readers in the boardrooms:
"A dramatic initiative aimed at transforming the fortunes of its trouble-torn Cowley car assembly plant at Oxford has been taken by British Leyland, which has told the Transport and General Workers Union that it will no longer deal with one of its most senior and militant shop stewards."

"This unusual step means British Leyland is prepared to risk a prolonged shutdown of its Cowley works for the sake of curbing the power and influence of extreme left-wingers..."

VICTIMIZATION AT COWLEY

by stephen johns

PART 3

"Victimization at Cowley" was recently published as a pamphlet by the Workers Revolutionary Party of England.



Alan Thornett, deputy senior shop steward at British Leyland, the target of victimization.

In fact, Leyland were threatening the entire shop stewards leadership at Cowley. They wanted speedup, and, above all, they wanted to clear away opposition to layoffs.

By 1974, Leyland were planning for the recession. This would mean unemployment at Cowley, but it would also mean a showdown with the leadership at Oxford. Their policies were clear, the 5/55 branch had called for occupation if redundancies were declared.

In this sense the victimization of Thornett was part of a change in the relations between the working class and the employers brought on by the crisis. This expressed itself in the car industry as a ruthless offensive against living standards built up by the shop stewards movement.

During the boom period after the war the working class were able to drive up wages by taking advantage of the clamor for production, and more production, by the employers.

One of the most effective weapons in the struggle to improve living standards was the piecework system, which tied earnings to effort. The first piecework agreement with the employers was signed in 1922. This included the crucial clause on mutuality, which laid down that the piecework prices must be agreed with the operator and that no change in price could take place unless there was a change in the means, method or material on the job.

The agreement served the car companies well during the 1920s and 1930s when trade union organization was either non-existent or weak (unions at Cowley were not recognized until the 1950s and 100 percent organization was not achieved until the mid-1960s). In this situation piecework was a weapon for the employers. Without collective strength the car workers could do little to resist low prices arbitrarily fixed by the management—their only avenue to higher wages was through producing more, hence piecework became a means of driving up the rate of exploitation.

The situation began to change rapidly after the war. The intense competition for labor, the shift to the left of the masses and the determination never to return to the 1930s led to the development of trade unions and, especially, strong shop stewards movements in the car plants.

Piecework became a powerful asset to the shop stewards movement. If the employers wanted to introduce a new product—a new model of car for example—the stewards, representing a united labor force, would demand higher piecework rates. The employers had little option but to concede. To resist was to run the risk of losing sales to rivals in the boom markets of the post-war era. Later, the development of the world crisis was to transform this relationship.

In his two important books *Wage, Labor and Capital* and *Wages, Price and Profit*, Marx examines the exploitation of the

working class on which capitalism was founded. Workers sell their labor power for wages, but the amount of value they create by their labor is greater than the wages they receive at the end of the week. The surplus, or surplus value as Marx called it, is kept by the capitalist. If no surplus value is made, capitalists stop producing.

When they face crisis the capitalist class seek desperately to prevent a fall in their profits by increasing the rate of exploitation—they attempt to drive up surplus value by robbing the workers of more and more of the value they create.

This is precisely what is happening on a global scale in the car industry. With the breakup of the boom described in the first chapter the British employers began to find the continual round of wage bargaining associated with piecework intolerable.

The 1960s saw the beginning of the employers' offensive to drive down wages. This period saw the birth of the productivity deal which has been described as "a confidence trick aimed at solving the employers' crisis by introducing a political attack on workers at the work-place level, using the systems of exploitation, under the pretext of improving the wages and conditions of the operatives." (The *Measured-Day-Work and Productivity Swindle*, an All Trades Unions Alliance pamphlet, by Bernard Franks, price 25p, Plough Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4—essential reading for all trade unionists.)

The trade union leaders, urged on by the Labour government, capitulated completely to this offensive. The 1968 package deal on productivity signed by the union leadership conceded to the employers the unfettered right to use work study techniques essential to measured-day work.

The crucial clauses read:
"...the union individually and collectively accept and undertake to ensure that at all levels their committees and their members accept all the appropriate and recognized techniques for analyzing or evaluating methods of production (including methods study, work measurement and job evaluation) as ways in which the task of improving efficiency can be tackled effectively at domestic level. The unions also undertake to cooperate fully on the elimination of impediments to efficient utilization of labor which cause unit costs to be higher than they should be."

Another clause tied wages to productivity:

"The parties agree that improvement in pay and conditions at domestic level may be made provided there is a measurable increase in labor productivity of efficiency to which the efforts of the workers concerned have contributed."

Some of the "impediments" to capitalist efficiency were defined as uneconomic manning of machine processes, production departments; inappropriate and unecono-

mic use of labor, resistance to shift working; resistance to the "planned use" of working hours and waiting time and other non-productive time.

The bureaucracy of the trade union movement was coming down firmly in favor of greater exploitation of their own members in the 1968 deal. The working class paid a price for this class collaboration. The productivity drive resulted in thousands of redundancies in the so-called great "shake-out" in engineering and manufacturing and the clauses, which seemed at the time paper pledges, were eventually made to bite in the form of speedup.

The attack in the car industry took the form of a drive to abolish piecework in favor of time payments based on the most sophisticated methods of work study. One employer, George Cattell, the former director of personnel and manufacture at Rootes, (now Chrysler) described the system he introduced there as a "modern form of slavery" (speech to the Industrial Society, November, 1970). This system was called measured-day work or simply MDW.

Leyland began the long struggle to introduce their own "form of slavery" soon after the merger. In November 1969 Patrick Lowry left his job as head of the Engineering Employers Federation to direct the company's offensive against piecework and replace it with MDW. He drew up a master plan which was distributed to plant managers.

Much has been written about measured-day work. The employers say it is a system of payments that provides high wages and strike-free work. Of course, they are lying.

The basic aim of MDW is to drive wages down and force work effort up. As such it is the first step towards mass redundancy, particularly in a period of recession.

It is a system in which every worker must reach a predetermined level of performance defined in advance by work study.

The onus is thus on the worker to strive constantly to reach the effort demanded or face the discipline of the employer. Under piecework effort is linked directly to pay—if effort increases, so do wages.

MDW also gives the employers another important advantage. Under the piecework system the employers found they had to offer higher wages before introducing a new product. Measured-day work shifts the balance. The onus is on a worker to resist attempts to increase effort and/or struggle for a higher rate of pay.

The power of the shop stewards' movement had become intimately bound up with the piecework system. A steward's strength depended on his direct control over the rate of each individual member—a strong steward had good rates and a weak steward bad rates in his section. In breaking this relationship MDW undermines the basis of the stewards' movement.

In other words, the abolition of piecework in favor of MDW is a means of completely altering the balance of power in favor of the employer. This is not simply a matter of changing the payments system on paper, but of smashing the strength of the working class and its leadership in the factories. This was the task British Leyland set themselves after the merger.

The struggle against MDW by the 5/55 branch, which then organized more than 6000 Cowley workers, is examined in detail in the next chapter. It will suffice to say here that it is undoubtedly the finest and most principled in the car industry.



Marina Model Production Line: Leyland first introduced MDW.

TO BE CONTINUED

Chicago Teachers Threaten Job Action

BY DEBBY WATSON

CHICAGO—Last week strikes and protests broke out at many of Chicago's public schools against the lack of heat, the layoffs of teachers and elimination of programs and classes.

The only reason teachers overwhelmingly approved their new contract 8037 to 1676 last week was because Chicago Teachers Union President Robert Healey guaranteed the membership there would be no layoffs.

At the rally held the day before the strike was to begin, the teachers expressed their determination to win a 12 percent wage increase for every teacher. In the 12 hours before the strike deadline, Healey worked hard to reach a settlement and pledged there would be no layoffs of teachers.

At the same time, the Acting Superintendent of Schools, James Redmond, stated there could be over 1000 layoffs of school personnel.

This prompted threats of strike action by teachers in defense of their jobs. The new proposals of the School Board are to eliminate at least 200 teaching positions for industrial arts, home economics, music, art and foreign languages. Another 1000-2000 staff positions are threatened. The school board decided to delay the cuts because of the widespread protests throughout the city.

Parents from Bon Humboldt school picketed the Board of Education offices and chanted: "We need our teachers." Teachers and parents from Donaghue school where 3380 students walked out Wednesday, went to Mayor Daley's office. A vote was taken at a meeting at the Mason Child Parent center to telegram Daley and school board members asking them to stop the cutbacks.

AWIU Ranks Shut Alcoa

BY LOUIS MILLER

CHILlicothe, Ohio— "They sell pots and pans and I sell them my labor. I don't cheat them, why should they cheat me?"

These were the words of a member of Local 110, Aluminum Workers International Union, on strike against Alcoa's Wear-Ever Aluminum plant here.

Local 110's 400 members overwhelmingly rejected a three-year contract that included a 40¢ per hour wage increase the first year with 14¢ and 13¢ in consecutive years.

The offer also included a 10¢ cost of living increase, not effective until April 1976. The present base pay rate at Wear-Ever is \$3.20 per hour.

In 1970, Wear-Ever demanded a wage reopener, calling for vacation cuts and wage cuts of



Unemployment is skyrocketing in Youngstown, Ohio, where steel mills provide most jobs.

At Wells High School, more than 20 students were arrested for protesting lack of heat. Students kicked doors and smashed windows while a neighborhood jewelry store was looted. Fighting also broke out at Bowen High School.

The school board blames the teachers' increases for the cutbacks, but the settlement provides for increases ranging from only 4 percent to 10.3 percent, depending on the teacher's seniority.

The Chicago school system has been in a financial crisis for the past several years. Almost all public schools are overcrowded and in some cases, classes are crammed with twice as many students as the school can hold. In spite of this, almost all school construction has stopped.

Teachers must demand that Healey call citywide strike action if any teachers are laid off and call on parents, students, and the Chicago labor movement for support.

The threat to education must be answered with a political offensive against the government.

The unions must take up the fight for a Congress of Labor to map out a program to defend education and jobs through building a labor party to throw out the Democrats and Republicans.

up to 75¢ per hour, with threats of total shutdown. Workers rejected the company's threats in three separate votes, but were finally forced to accept the terms when the company announced layoffs, in an atmosphere of complete capitulation by the union leadership.

Since then, speedup has been introduced, without grievance procedures, and wages have been 75¢ per hour less, without any cost of living increase.

Company and union are now combining attempts to force a return to work with renewed threats of shutdown and union reports that workers will not receive strike benefits, because union funds are nonexistent.

Rank and file workers at Wear-Ever must demand a 75¢ wage increase to recover lost wages and a full cost of living escalator or sliding scale of wages.

Jobs Are Scarce In Youngstown

BY NANCY RUSSELL
YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio
—Unemployment here has reached 7 percent.

Officials announced that the 7 percent figure is the "expected lowpoint for the immediate future," but the City of Niles, near Youngstown, is putting money into building a new unemployment center.

Every day, hundreds line up at Youngstown South Side unemployment center. If people don't arrive at 8 am sharp, all the decent jobs are gone in 15 minutes.

Others are asked how desperately they need a job, but no matter what the answer, they are told to come back in a week.

Mike Jones, 19 years old, said: "Looking for a job in Youngstown has been a continuous struggle to get

nothing. When I was in school, I never dreamed that when I came out, I would be a dishwasher.

"Steel is the mainstay in this town, and the youth should have the right to get a job in steel. Instead, I'm forced to take a two dollar an hour job.

"Actually, I was lucky to get this job. The employer chose me out of several other people who wanted the job. It's that critical."

REPUBLIC

Mildred told the *Bulletin*: "My husband worked at Republic for 10 years as of November. He is a pipe-cutter.

"Then about one year ago, they cut out his whole department, and he's been working on and off since then.

"They're talking of shutting the whole Poland Avenue mill altogether. Tonight

on TV they said the mills are up, but all I know is how my husband is working. And he's been laid off alot this year.

"I never can depend on his money. I keep on saying it's impossible to keep on, but we do.

FORD

"Now it's worse with Ford than it was under Nixon. The government never gets hurt, just the people under it. The White House is one of the most crooked places there is. They steal millions, then they don't even let you know what happened to them.

"A person can't live on what they get from the mill, unless they're a foreman, and my husband would never do that.

"Ford got on TV to say there's no depression. When I see an improvement I'll believe him. It has gotten out of hand."



Aluminum workers are on strike against Alcoa Wear-Ever in Chillicothe, Ohio.

AUTO INDUSTRY HEADS FOR SMASHUP



Left, Delco-Morain workers in Dayton, Ohio on strike last month. Above, Ford Milpitas plant in California.

BY DAVID NORTH
DETROIT — Auto sales continued to plunge in September despite the early introduction of the 1975 models, a move which industry executives had hoped would spark consumer interest.

Instead, the discouraging reports from the dealers, which show that enormous price increases have kept buyers away, have led to predictions that 1975 will be the worst year in the auto industry since the end of World War Two.

"Prospects for 1975 look lousy," Henry Ford II stated recently.

Domestic new-car sales fell more than 17 percent in September compared to the same month in 1973. Auto production was down 7 percent to 667,994 cars from 720,822 cars a year before.

In each of the four major auto companies, the September sales figures were disastrous. Contributing to the gloom in the Detroit board rooms is the fact that the 1975 models had been introduced early with the hope that this would bring a turn around in sales.

Between the week of September 21-30, GM sales dropped 54.3 percent from one year ago. The sales performance of two of the most popular lines—Pontiac and Oldsmobile—stunned the company. There was a 75.1 percent drop in Pontiac and a 74 percent drop in Oldsmobile sales.

During the same period, the Ford Motor Company reported an 18 percent drop in new car sales.

Sales of the Chrysler models were down 22.8 percent; and the American Motors Company, which had avoided the brunt of the slump earlier this year, reported a decline of 36.4 percent.

Auto manufacturers now fear that the industry is pricing itself out of existence. Leading models of Ford and GM cost \$1000 more today than they did two years ago.

Soaring prices for raw materials are raising the cost of

new cars by about \$50 per model each month.

Ford Motor reports that steel costs have increased 35 percent; copper is up 50 percent; aluminum is up 55 percent and polyvinylchloride is up 70 percent.

Further price increases are anticipated during the course of the model year.

Richard Gerstenberg, retiring chairman of General Motors, stated:

"We have a number of important suppliers who are talking increases; they're subjected to the same sort of pressures that we are. We would hope that we could hold the line, but we can make no commitment on what our future action will be."

However, rising auto costs affect the industry not only in the sense that sales are down. Inflation has produced an enormous liquidity crisis which the auto companies are unable to resolve through bank loans and credit.

Tight money policies followed by the government are forcing a cutback in production. The auto industry is on a dead-end road which leads directly to policies of speedup, unemployment and wage cutting.

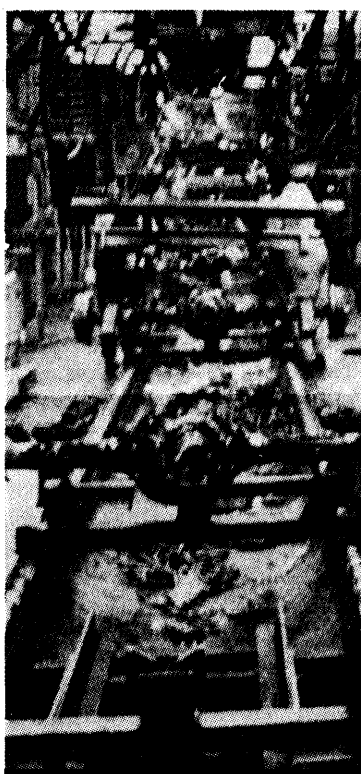
The steady slump in sales guarantees a new round of layoffs, but on a scale far more extensive than those during the early days of the energy crisis in the winter of 1973-1974.

Under conditions of a deepening recession, the companies will seek to implement layoffs that are not temporary but permanent. The layoffs planned for later this winter will directly threaten the entire shaky structure of the Supplementary Unemployment Benefit program under which auto workers are compensated up to 95 percent of their pay while not working.

The main concern of the management as they prepare for these layoffs is to build up a stock of cars early this fall.

With the help of UAW President Leonard Woodcock, it is using the most pernicious methods to build up this stockpile.

At the Fremont GMAD plant, a "joint management-union committee" has been set up supposedly for the purpose of improving relations. Management has announced that it is re-



examining its approach to discipline.

In a number of cases, management has ostentatiously refrained from disciplining workers in accordance with a "truce" between the company and union officials.

Furthermore, 1500 workers have been recalled to the plant after extended layoffs.

The company is not making concessions, but acting—in its own interests—to avoid production disruptions that could upset stockpiling plans.

There is nothing very mysterious about the intentions of the auto bosses. The enormous crisis facing the industry is plastered all across every newspaper and business magazine.

However, the UAW leadership refuses to prepare the ranks to defend their jobs. Woodcock has become the foremost spokesman of corporatist collaboration with the capitalists to "solve" the economic crisis. He has joined the Labor-Management Committee in Washington which has been set up to eliminate jobs.

The joint union-management committees within the plants are to become local replicas of the Washington board.

Policies must be adopted by the union to defend jobs and living standards.

This requires that the UAW

launch an all-out fight for a sliding scale of hours—30 hour week at 40 hours pay—to maintain work for all regardless of the decline in production.

In the event that the management seeks to implement layoffs, the UAW must authorize workers to occupy the plants. If the bosses plead bankruptcy, it is certainly the right of workers to take over the plants.

Occupation of plants must be linked to the nationalization of the auto industry under the control of the working class.

American workers took control of the auto plants in the

great sit-down strikes of the 1930s. The same measures will be necessary in the fight against layoffs and the attempts of the capitalists to make the working class bear the brunt of the crisis of the profit system.

The fight for these policies requires that the UAW take the lead in building the political arm of the trade unions that will lay the basis for a workers' government. The UAW must call a congress of labor to build a labor party based on the trade unions.

This is the program being fought for by the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

subscribe now to the twice-weekly!

Bulletin

- \$2.00 for 3 months
- \$4.00 for 6 months
- \$8.00 for 1 year

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

7th Floor, 135 W. 14 St., New York, N.Y. 10011

Bradley Fears LA General Strike

BY SHEILA BREHM
LOS ANGELES—"At this time I cannot call out the National Guard because it would bring on the worst violence you've ever seen. Blood would run in the streets. There would be a general strike."

This was the statement of Mayor Tom Bradley, in speaking about the bus dri-

vers' strike that has paralyzed Los Angeles.

Bradley, a cop for 22 years, is hardly opposed to the use of police violence. On May 17, he authorized and approved the use of 500 police and the Special Weapons and Tactics team (SWAT) to massacre the members of the Symbionese Liberation Army and terrorize a whole community in Watts.

Bradley has not yet called in the troops to break the strike because he fears the enormous power of the organized labor

movement. The movement of troops against the bus strikers would immediately forge a unity of all Los Angeles workers to defend the right to strike. While Bradley hesitates to call out the troops now, he continues to plot with Reagan and the State Legislature to find a way to weaken the labor movement so that he can break the strike.

STALINIST

The Stalinist Communist Party is openly aiding Bradley. In a long article in the *People's World*, the CP's West Coast paper, they write, "Chief among the complaints by the employees, less than 50 percent of whom are white, is that the Rapid Transit Division is a racist employer."

To bring in racism as a chief issue is a deliberate diversion with the aim of sowing confusion about the real dangers

facing the drivers. The bus strike began over the struggle for a 46 percent wage increase and a full cost of living over two years to combat the inflation.

In a matter of weeks it has become apparent to drivers that this is a political fight against Bradley, Reagan and the Democratic and Republican legislators who are trying to find a way to split the two unions, the Amalgamated Transit Union, and the United Transportation Union. To defend the unions now requires an independent party of labor and this is precisely what the Communist Party opposes.

RACISM

The events in Boston proves that the government is deliberately encouraging the use of racism to weaken the strength of the working class so that they can push ahead with savage attacks on the living conditions

of workers. *People's World* makes no mention of Bradley except to praise him, or of the threat of the National Guard.

REJECTED

Although the Communist Party has not rejected Bradley, over 3500 drivers and mechanics shouted him down when he proposed binding arbitration. The Communist Party's loyalty to Bradley is in line with the Stalinist policy of peaceful coexistence.

The Communist Party supported Bradley in the last mayoral election and they ran candidates for virtually every city office except the mayoral office, so as not to oppose him. They bring up this racial issue to tie the black workers to Bradley and obliterate the class issues which have been raised in the strike.

Movies



John Reed.

INSURGENT MEXICO. Directed by Paul Leduc. Screenplay by Juan Tovar and Paul Leduc. New Yorker Films release. Regency Theater, New York.

This movie, based on John Reed's book *Insurgent Mexico*, is an account of Reed's experiences as a participant in the 1913-1914 Mexican revolution.

Reed was in the peasant army organized and led by Pancho Villa which fought against the Huerta dictatorship.

The film, like the book, brings this peasant revolution to life primarily through a series of personal encounters.

Reed's first meeting with the revolutionary army was through General Urbina. When Reed offers his credentials, the general reveals that he cannot read. Like his commander Pancho Villa, Urbina was a former bandit and was illiterate.

Yet Villa, beginning with eight men recruited from peasants and bandits, succeeded in building up an army which eventually defeated Huerta.

Reed's account is more biographical than historical and shows the close personal bonds that were formed between the revolutionary leaders and their men. At one point, Reed grows restless at Urbina's outpost and informs the General that he would like to go to the front.

Urbina, angry and insulted, asks Reed why he wishes to leave: "You are in your own house!" he indignantly exclaims. As an inducement, Urbina offers Reed cigarettes, liquor, a pistol, a horse, and a woman.

Reed was not a bystander in the revolution.

At an outpost near the front, the men are attacked by Huerta's federal troops. The men ride out, eager for battle, but the truth is that they are hopelessly outnumbered and short of arms.

They are forced to retreat, but Reed, having no horse, flees on foot dodging the bullets of

Huerta's troops.

There is one important distortion, however, that is deliberately added to the film. At one town, the peasants have a big party where Reed gets drunk and confides to a friend that he is a coward and is afraid to go to the front.

He says that he is always involved in other peoples' battles rather than fighting his own and that when he was with the striking workers in Paterson, New Jersey, it was not his fight but their fight. While the workers were forced to spend months or years in jail, he got off easy because he was a reporter. To portray Reed's activities as the result of some psychological problem is not only a crude slander, but denies his true role in the early class struggles.

After his release from jail, Reed joined Big Bill Haywood and other working class leaders in speaking to various groups on behalf of the Paterson strikers. To bring the truth to thousands of people, he wrote a stage pageant about the strike that was performed at Madison Square Garden.

Reed witnessed and wrote about the horrors of World War One and campaigned against it as an imperialist war that workers could not support. He was a participant in the Russian Revolution and wrote his classic book *Ten Days That Shook The World* about his experiences.

After the 1917 revolution, Reed returned to the US to take up a struggle with American workers for an understanding of this revolution and the need to build a Leninist type of party here.

Men like Reed made a tremendous contribution to the development of scientific socialism in America.

Reed was above all a Marxist and an internationalist who played an important role in pioneering the communist movement in the US.

by Alan Coombs

Barker Workers Go Out

BY A LOCAL 1090 MEMBER

PORTLAND, Ore.—United Furniture Workers Local 1090 struck Barkers Manufacturing Company September 30 when their old contract expired.

On August 29, a one-day wildcat took place, after Barker suspended the local union president. One week later, all but one union official, a shop steward, were fired. After hasty negotiations and a national protest from the UFWA to Barker, the firing was changed to a 10-day suspension without pay.

This was on the eve of the negotiations to reopen the Barker contract. The union demanded a \$1.50 wage increase, a six percent increase twice a year after that, and a cost of living escalator.

The company offer including 1.5 percent in 1975 and mandatory overtime, was overwhelmingly rejected.

On Tuesday, September 24, a union meeting voted unanimously to strike.

Local UFWA leader McAfee openly opposed the strike vote: "No matter how long we stay out, we won't get \$1.50." He insisted that the union members give him some lower figure to negotiate for.

At an emergency meeting held the following Sunday, McAfee told the packed hall that Barker was stalling the negotiations.

He said the company insisted on lower wages now, comparable to their competitor companies in right-to-work states. McAfee was continually interrupted by cries of "No, we won't take that," and "strike, strike!"

On Monday, the day before the strike was scheduled to begin, it was announced that there had been a bomb threat and everyone was ordered to leave the plant.

"Last time there was a bomb threat," said one worker, "we went outside and waited until maintenance checked it out. Now they even sent maintenance home."

This phony bomb threat was quickly followed by a company appeal to the Federal Mediation Service.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party has issued a leaflet to Barker workers warning that recession in construction will rapidly effect the furniture industry.

"We need our own political party that will not solve the crisis at the expense of the workers like the Democrats and Republicans."

•For the full \$1.50 and a full cost of living clause.

•No laws or government intervention in the unions.

•Nationalization under workers control of any company which refuses to pay decent wages or guarantee jobs.

•The AFL-CIO must break with Ford. Call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party,

5 Teachers Victimized

SAN JOSE—Faculty members of the Economics Department at California State University at San Jose have been disenfranchised of any rights on hiring and firing policies after they appealed the administration's firing of five left-wing economics professors.

The unprecedented disenfranchisement of the department was made by California State University President John Bunzel.

Gayle Southworth, one of the fired teachers and a member of the United Professors of California, said:

"In the Spring, I and four other people who were all radicals, some of them Marxists, were told by the administration that we would not be rehired. This was nearly June.

"The majority of the Department voted to rehire us and the administration didn't want them to do that so they had to take over the Department, disenfranchising it of any of its rights. Our firing was the culmination of a long struggle in the Economics Department between the radical and open-minded people and the conservative teachers led by Department Chairman Dr. James Willis."

After the firing took place the victimized teachers led a successful student boycott of their former classes which forced the university to cancel five of the classes. All the teachers chosen by the administration to take the jobs of fired teachers are right-wing economics teachers.

"All they want taught in the classroom is Freedman and the

official capital of economic theory that blames workers for the inflation," Southworth stated.

Freedman is an advocate of the government's tight money policies and massive unemployment to stop the inflation.

The Academic Senate of the college last week voted to call on Bunzel to restore governmental rights to the department. The UPC of the AFL-CIO has supplied lawyers to take the firings to court but it has not even called a membership meeting as of yet to discuss a defense of the teachers.

Political victimization of the economics teachers is part of an overall policy by the government to fire any teacher who opposes or questions the government's move toward dictatorship. The University has also instituted new policies aimed at completely destroying the security of any newly hired teacher. The new policy, the 80-20 plan, states that 20 percent of the untenured teachers will be continually replaced on a regular basis, never allowing these teachers to gain a tenured status.

The UPC policy of going to court to defend the democratic rights of teachers is completely bankrupt. These are the same courts which are now legitimizing the government's attacks.

Teachers and students must demand that the UPC mobilize the broadest possible campaign in the labor movement in defense of the fired teachers. The center of this campaign must be the calling of a Congress of Labor to build a labor party to defend every worker.

Ford pushes trade war

Prescription for Disaster in Canada

by Frank Martin

Canada is feeling the effects of the world capitalist slump and recession.

The downturn in world trade and investment spells disaster for whole sections of the manufacturing and resource industries and threatens the jobs of millions of Canadian workers.

During the campaign for the July 8 federal elections, Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau pointed out that the critical decisions affecting Canada's economy would not be taken so much inside the country as outside of it. The organic ties between the American and Canadian economies, for so long the main basis for growth and "stability" in Canada, now create conditions for wholesale collapse and bankruptcies.

In industry after industry, the slump is having its impact.

In the critical resource industries:

•Lumber: Prices have fallen between 20 to 40 percent in both domestic and foreign markets, "the fastest fall we've seen since the war," according to industry spokesmen. Already, 7000 forestry workers in British Columbia have been laid off, while another 2735 are expected to be out of work by mid-October.

•Petroleum: The giant American oil companies like Imperial Oil (Exxon) and Shell are making no new investment and are carrying out no new industry projects. The decision by the American government to proceed with the Alaskan pipeline will inevitably mean a cut in Canadian oil exports.

MANUFACTURING

In the manufacturing industries, the situation is even worse:

•Auto: Car production is down by 6 percent over last year. Canada's previous trade surplus with the US in cars has now turned into a deficit. Instead of making further investments in Canadian car production, the Big

Three—GM, Ford, and Chrysler—are shipping fully assembled cars into Canada direct from Detroit.

Thousands of "temporary" layoffs announced at the Ford plants in Windsor, Oakville, and St. Thomas and at the big GM complex in Oshawa in March of

scene of an eight and one-half month strike by the UAW.

•Construction: Housing starts have declined by 25 percent from an annual rate of 285,000 to 215,000. Prices are up on building materials and mortgage rates have skyrocketed. The construction trades face the highest



7000 trade unionists marched in Montreal in September to support striking transit workers.

this year have been made permanent. Any further cuts in investment would not only threaten the jobs of 85,000 auto workers in Canada, but 100,000 other workers in related rubber and glass industries.

•Aerospace: Canadian firms like de Havilland in Toronto and Canadair in Montreal are on the verge of bankruptcy and are demanding government subsidies to stay alive. American firms, Douglas Aircraft and United Aircraft, have already begun large cutbacks. Douglas recently laid off 760 workers while United in Montreal has been the

unemployment rate in the country.

EXPORT

The center of this slump lies in Canada's export trade. With a population of only 20 million and an enormous supply of natural resources, Canadian industry has always been geared to export production rather than to the domestic market.

In the last year, export volume in real terms (discounting inflation) has dropped by 8 percent. The merchandise trade surplus with the US in the first six months of 1974 fell from \$960 million to \$335 million.

Inflation is running at the rate of at least 15 percent a year, with the rise in the price of food running much higher. The Trudeau cabinet recently ordered the destruction of some eight million eggs to stop egg prices from falling.

Inflation is combined with the threat of mass unemployment. There are already close to 500,000 out of work. The Conference Board, a leading Ottawa research firm, has predicted a 30 percent rise in unemployment by winter.

This could mean that by next year, one million would be unemployed in a country out of a labor force of 9 million.

Because 65 percent of all industry is American owned, the slump in America has already sent violent tremors throughout the Canadian economy. The crisis thus develops at an even more accelerated rate, creating conditions for sharp confrontations between classes.

Trudeau's Liberal Party is now forced to impose conditions of depression on millions of workers. Every Liberal and Tory politician knows that this will provoke tremendous resistance from the working class.

When Trudeau first took power in 1968, he was pictured in the capitalist press as Canada's "Kennedy," a liberal reformer. He had come out of the reformist New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party) to lead the Liberals to a major election victory.

MARTIAL LAW

But Trudeau became the first leader of a major Western country to impose martial law in peacetime when he sent the troops into Montreal during the kidnapping of the Quebec Labor Minister and the British trade commissioner by the Quebec Liberation Front in October, 1970.

Since then, it has been revealed that, under Trudeau's instructions, plans were developed for a full-scale takeover by the Canadian military. A special squad of provocateurs was set up to use against the unions and the socialist movement by Canada's federal police, the RCMP.

A member of this squad, Robert Samson, was recently discovered when a bomb he was planting exploded in his hands. The bomb was being planted near the house of a Montreal supermarket chain executive whose firm was involved in a bitter labor dispute. The clear intention was to blame union militants for the bomb and start a witch-hunt.

STRIKE

In the three months since the federal election, the working class has staged a major strike offensive centered on the demand of cost of living raises to meet inflation.

The strikes by grain handlers both on the West Coast and on the Great Lakes, and the strikes by transit workers in Montreal and Toronto have all been staged in defiance of court injunctions, threatened fines, and prison terms. In Montreal, 7000 workers were mobilized in a

mass demonstration to defend the transit workers.

This offensive has paralyzed the government and forced Trudeau to delay the reopening of Parliament since July.

Despite his new majority, Trudeau cannot any longer guarantee that the laws he passes in Parliament can be imposed.

"We are at the point where judgements have been rendered by the courts and they are defied openly by the union. Where does a country go if the law is being openly defied?" This was the assessment of the situation by a government official during the Montreal transit strike.

Under these conditions, the reason for the police-military conspiracies become clear. A weak ruling class, dependent heavily on American support, confronts a powerful labor movement. The decisive issues will not be resolved in Parliament, but outside of it.

AMERICAN

The development of the crisis in Canada is of critical importance to American workers. The fight against the Ford-Rockefeller government now poses to millions of US workers the need for independent political action, the need to construct their own labor party. The 13 years of experience of Canadian workers with a labor party, the New Democratic Party, holds many lessons for American workers.

The NDP bears direct responsibility for Trudeau being in power today. For 16 months up to the last election, they maintained the Liberals in power through an informal coalition.

The whole purpose of their election campaign was not to pose as the alternative to Trudeau, but to rally working class support for the Liberals. They fully supported Trudeau's claim that his government was the only "realistic" alternative to the Conservative Party of Robert Stanfield which was campaigning for a wage freeze and a ban on the right to strike. At the same time, Lewis attacked the trade unions for making "excessive demands."

COALITION

The real intention of the reformist NDP leaders was to join a coalition government and take ministry posts. Instead, they lost 15 seats in Parliament (NDP leader David Lewis even lost his own seat), while Trudeau walked away with a majority.

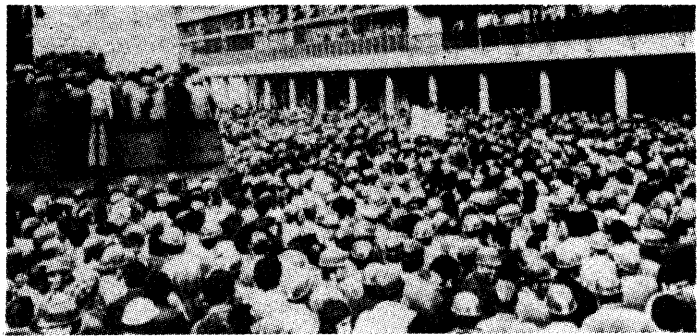
As Trudeau moves against the working class, particularly through the imposition of state control on wages, it is clear that the NDP and trade union leaders are prepared to cooperate fully with the government.

The lesson of the Canadian experience is precisely that American workers must build a labor party fundamentally different than the reformist NDP. Just as in the 1930s, when American and Canadian workers built the CIO together, so today American and Canadian workers will unite to defend their rights, not on the basis of reformist politics, but on the basis of revolutionary leadership and socialist policies.

La labor de esta columna es la construcción de un nuevo liderazgo en la clase obrera. Es por ello que necesitamos el apoyo de todos los obreros hispanos en desarrollar esta columna. Favor de dirigir su correspondencia a: Lucia Rivera, c/o Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

lucha obrera

lucía rivera



Portugal- Adelante con la Revolucion Socialista

La renuncia obligada del General Antonio Spínola en Portugal significa un cambio decisivo en la revolución portuguesa.

Los eventos portugueses, desde la caída del fascismo en abril de este año, son de una tremenda importancia internacional.

Son el resultado directo de la incontrolable crisis mundial económica y política del capitalismo, que está rompiendo las antiguas formas de dominación en todas partes y poniendo en la agenda luchas revolucionarias de la clase obrera por la toma del poder.

Ya para abril, la inflación en Portugal era de 20 por ciento anual, habiendo causado una serie de huelgas, hasta llegar a descomponer el régimen fascista de Marcelo Caetano. El fascismo dominaba el país desde los años 20. Spínola, que durante el gobierno de Caetano dirigió las luchas contra-revolucionarias en contra de las colonias africanas, vio la oportunidad de tomar el poder. Y lo hizo con el apoyo de la burguesía que buscaba un nuevo gobierno que fuera capaz de contener las luchas revolucionarias que se avecinaban; en particular, con el apoyo del sector de la burguesía que quería mantener la dominación económica sobre las colonias.

Desde un principio la clase obrera estuvo en la ofensiva. Ados semanas del derrocamiento de Caetano, la junta tuvo que prevenir las luchas "mini-revolucionarias"—una referencia a los trabajadores de correos, transporte, electricidad, teléfonos y aerolíneas que intentaban destituir a los burócratas del gobierno fascista de Caetano.

Pero Spínola, con el apoyo del Partido Comunista Portugués y el Partido Socialista, fue incapaz de controlar estas luchas, mientras la crisis económica y política seguía agudizándose.

Durante la semana pasada, miles de trabajadores se movilizaron en todo el país para prevenir la manifestación ultra-derechista, convocada por el gobierno para el 28 de setiembre como un último recurso para mantenerse en el poder. Spínola llamaba a la "mayoría silente" a que le dé su apoyo públicamente para darse poderes dictatoriales.

Mientras tangués tomaban posiciones alrededor del palacio gubernamental y los periódicos eran intervenidos, el proletariado organiza la resistencia. Las uniones del transporte instruyen a sus militantes para boicotear la manifestación, cerrando todas las entradas a Lisboa y creando en diferentes lugares demostraciones anti-fascistas, hasta lograr que Spínola cancele su manifestación. El General, viéndose derrotado por la ofensiva de la clase obrera, presentó su renuncia el 29 de setiembre.

Spínola, al subir al poder, lo hace con el apoyo de los partidos comunistas de todo el mundo. El PC portugués se ve obligado a unirse a los militares para mantener a la clase obrera bajo la dominación capitalista. Sus líderes como Alvaro Cunhal, vuelven a su patria solo para integrar el gobierno, sentándose a lado de los militares, líderes del PS y ultra-derechistas.

Sin embargo, miles de trabajadores se unieron al PC pensando que representaba al socialismo. Los stalinistas han usado su influencia para apoyar a los militares en su lucha contra las huelgas obreras. Ellos se unieron a Spínola en su política anti-uniones y de congelación de salarios.

Los stalinistas apoyaron a Spínola no solo en Portugal, sino también en las colonias africanas donde la clase obrera lucha por su independencia.

Y hoy se unen al nuevo régimen del General Francisco de Costa Gomes solo para continuar con su tentativa de mantener a la clase obrera dentro del sistema capitalista.

Lo que se necesita en Portugal es construir un partido Trotskista—la alternativa independiente que lleve a la clase obrera al poder como el primer paso para nacionalizar la industria sin compensación y bajo control obrero.

En cuento a nosotros, tenemos la obligación de aprender de las lecciones portuguesas relacionándola a nuestra lucha diaria. Debemos de contruir nuestro propio liderazgo revolucionario, la Liga Obrera, contra el Partido Comunista, contra la política de Frentes Populares, contra los burócratas de las uniones que hoy se han unido a Ford en su política de desempleo y cortes-salariales, participando en el Comité de Administración del Trabajo.

PORTUGAL. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

The strength of the Portuguese working class has been demonstrated in the events of the past week.

With the bourgeoisie in complete disarray, the working class now has the most favorable possible opportunity to go forward and seize the power.

The fact that the most advanced sections of workers are openly breaking with the Communist Party leadership, as at Lisnave where the workers demonstrated denouncing party leader Alvaro Cunhal as a traitor, is the clearest indication that power is immediately posed.

Following on the fall of the colonels' dictatorship in Greece, the defeat of Spínola's plans is a severe blow to world imperialism which undoubtedly supported the fascist plot through the CIA and other reactionary agencies.

Many of the biggest capitalists, implicated in the plot, are now in prison and Spínola's supporters in the military junta have been forced to resign.

But these measures do nothing to settle the basic class questions in Portugal.

Spínola has been replaced by General Costa Gomes, one of his closest friends, who went on TV after the president's resignation to pay tribute to him.

The workers who came out onto the streets, disarmed the fascists and forced the Communist Party to oust the president are being urged by their leaders to hand back the weapons they captured and disperse.

The savage anti-strike laws and the restrictions on the Press imposed under Spínola remain in force.

General Costa Gomes is being presented as the savior of democracy.

The Communist Party is presenting his appointment as a "brilliant victory."

In reality Costa Gomes comes from exactly the same political background as Spínola himself.

He was the commander of the fascist forces in Mozambique and then in Angola before being appointed commander in chief of all the armed forces by dictator Marcelo Caetano.

In May, Costa Gomes declared that unless the Mozambique nationalist movement, Frelimo accepted a ceasefire, the army would continue and even intensify the fighting in the colony.

In his TV speech on taking office, Costa Gomes praised Spínola as a great man and a true soldier.

He said differences of opinion were only natural and he had spent many hours trying to persuade the general not to quit the presidency.

Commenting on the reactionary outburst Spínola was allowed to make, appealing to his fascist supporters on TV, Gomes said:

"I can't agree with Spínola's conclusions, although I respect them."

Yet the appointment of this man is being presented by the Stalinists as creating the conditions "for the progress of the course of democratization and decolonization."

The exact opposite is the case. Gosta Gomes balances between the working class and the reactionaries.

He is using the threat of civil war and counterrevolution to disarm the workers militarily and politically with the active assistance of the Stalinists and the reformists.

The Costa Gomes government remains a Bonapartist regime along the same lines as Spínola's.

This regime must be completely rejected by the working class, which must create its own organs of power in the form of workers' councils and a workers' militia to prevent the growth of fascism.

The Communist Party's talk of democracy in Portugal is a complete fraud.

Nobody elected the government they have joined, which is ruling by decree and has in the past five months systematically encroached on the basic rights of the working class.

The Communist Party is now boosting Costa Gomes in exactly the same treacherous way as they were boosting Spínola only a short time ago.

They are trying to generate an atmosphere of euphoria about Spínola's resignation which must be fought against at all costs.

Exactly the same type of propaganda was spread by the Chilean Communist Party leaders after the abortive coup in July 1973, which proved in reality to be only the curtain-raiser for the decisive blow struck on September 11 by the armed forces.

The more the Stalinists and their reformist allies try to avert civil war by conciliating the military chiefs and the capitalists, the more certain they make it, just as their counterparts did in Chile last year.

They opened the door for Spínola's attempt to seize power and their continued presence in the Costa Gomes government prepares the ground for fascist attempts which will cer-

tainly be far better organized.

Portuguese capitalism is in acute crisis.

With raging inflation and a very large balance of payments deficit, the country is virtually bankrupt and reliant on hand-outs from the international bankers.

Weakened by centuries of parasitism, the Portuguese capitalist class were defeated in their African colonies by the struggle of the workers and peasants.

Unless they are overthrown, the ruling class will turn with unparalleled savagery against the workers at home.

The crisis of leadership in the Portuguese working class can be resolved only by the building of the Portuguese section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Only in this way can the Stalinists' grip on the leadership of the workers' movement be broken decisively and the road to power opened for the working class.

The demand must be raised throughout the working class to expose the Communist and Socialist Party leaders by calling on them to break with Costa Gomes, the military chiefs and the bourgeoisie and take the power into their own hands.

There can be no compromise with the Popular Front regime which is now clearly exposed as a front for extreme reaction. The demand must be:

•Down with the Popular Front government!

•Smash the capitalist state—replace the Bonapartist regime of Costa Gomes with workers' and peasants' councils throughout the country!

•Arm the working class!

•Withdraw all troops from overseas!

•Immediate and unconditional independence for all the colonies!

•Immediate elections to a Constituent Assembly on the basis of secret and universal suffrage!

•Outlaw the bourgeois opposition parties which support the rule of private property!

•Disband the standing Army! Form workers' militias!

•Bring all the fascists to public trial immediately before workers' courts!

•Nationalize the banks, industries and the landed estates under workers' control and without compensation!

•Expose the Stalinists and the reformists by demanding that they take the power!

•Build the revolutionary party as a section of the International Committee of the Fourth International!

October 1, 1974

Workers League Meeting

10 YEARS OF THE BULLETIN

● Labor must call its own congress!

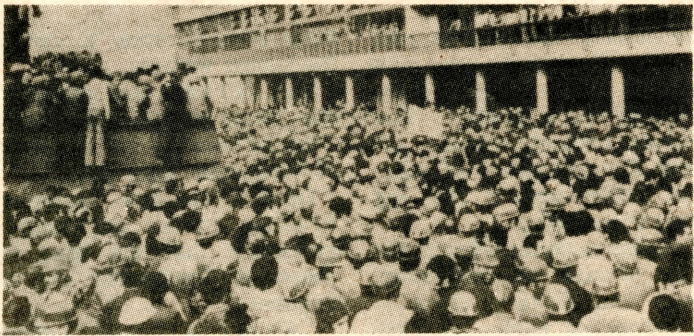
● Build a labor party!

● Forward to the daily Bulletin!

La labor de esta columna es la construcción de un nuevo liderazgo en la clase obrera. Es por ello que necesitamos el apoyo de todos los obreros hispanos en desarrollar esta columna. Favor de dirigir su correspondencia a: Lucia Rivera, c/o Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

lucha obrera

— lucía rivera —



Portugal- Adelante con la Revolución Socialista

La renuncia obligada del General Antonio Spínola en Portugal significa un cambio decisivo en la revolución portuguesa.

Los eventos portugueses, desde la caída del fascismo en abril de este año, son de una tremenda importancia internacional.

Son el resultado directo de la incontrolable crisis mundial económica y política del capitalismo, que está rompiendo las antiguas formas de dominación en todas partes y poniendo en la agenda luchas revolucionarias de la clase obrera por la toma del poder.

Ya para abril, la inflación en Portugal era de 20 por ciento anual, habiendo causado una serie de huelgas, hasta llegar a descomponer el régimen fascista de Marcelo Caetano. El fascismo dominaba el país desde los años 20. Spínola, que durante el gobierno de Caetano dirigió las luchas contra-revolucionarias en contra de las colonias africanas, vio la oportunidad de tomar el poder. Y lo hizo con el apoyo de la burguesía que buscaba un nuevo gobierno que fuera capaz de contener las luchas revolucionarias que se avecinaban; en particular, con el apoyo del sector de la burguesía que quería mantener la dominación económica sobre las colonias.

Desde un principio la clase obrera estuvo en la ofensiva. Ados semanas del derrocamiento de Caetano, la junta tuvo que prevenir las luchas "mini-revolucionarias"—una referencia a los trabajadores de correos, transporte, electricidad, teléfonos y aerolíneas que intentaban destituir a los burócratas del gobierno fascista de Caetano.

Pero Spínola, con el apoyo del Partido Comunista Portugués y el Partido Socialista, fue incapaz de controlar estas luchas, mientras la crisis económica y política seguía agudizándose.

Durante la semana pasada, miles de trabajadores se movilizaron en todo el país para prevenir la manifestación ultra-derechista, convocada por el gobierno para el 28 de setiembre como un último recurso para mantenerse en el poder. Spínola llamaba a la "mayoría silente" a que le dé su apoyo públicamente para darse poderes dictatoriales.

Mientras tangués tomaban posiciones alrededor del palacio gubernamental y los periódicos eran intervenidos, el proletariado organiza la resistencia. Las uniones del transporte instruyen a sus militantes para boicotear la manifestación, cerrando todas las entradas a Lisboa y creando en diferentes lugares demostraciones anti-fascistas, hasta lograr que Spínola cancele su manifestación. El General, viéndose derrotado por la ofensiva de la clase obrera, presentó su renuncia el 29 de setiembre.

Spínola, al subir al poder, lo hace con el apoyo de los partidos comunistas de todo el mundo. El PC portugués se ve obligado a unirse a los militares para mantener a la clase obrera bajo la dominación capitalista. Sus líderes como Alvaro Cunhal, vuelven a su patria solo para integrar el gobierno, sentándose a lado de los militares, líderes del PS y ultra-derechistas.

Sin embargo, miles de trabajadores se unieron al PC pensando que representaba al socialismo. Los stalinistas han usado su influencia para apoyar a los militares en su lucha contra las huelgas obreras. Ellos se unieron a Spínola en su política anti-uniones y de congelación de salarios.

Los stalinistas apoyaron a Spínola no solo en Portugal, sino también en las colonias africanas donde la clase obrera lucha por su independencia.

Y hoy se unen al nuevo régimen del General Francisco de Costa Gomes solo para continuar con su tentativa de mantener a la clase obrera dentro del sistema capitalista.

Lo que se necesita en Portugal es construir un partido Trotskista—la alternativa independiente que lleve a la clase obrera al poder como el primer paso para nacionalizar la industria sin compensación y bajo control obrero.

En cuenta a nosotros, tenemos la obligación de aprender de las lecciones portuguesas relacionándola a nuestra lucha diaria. Debemos de contruir nuestro propio liderazgo revolucionario, la Liga Obrera, contra el Partido Comunista, contra la política de Frentes Populares, contra los burócratas de las uniones que hoy se han unido a Ford en su política de desempleo y cortes-salariales, participando en el Comité de Administración del Trabajo.

PORTUGAL. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

The strength of the Portuguese working class has been demonstrated in the events of the past week.

With the bourgeoisie in complete disarray, the working class now has the most favorable possible opportunity to go forward and seize the power.

The fact that the most advanced sections of workers are openly breaking with the Communist Party leadership, as at Lisnave where the workers demonstrated denouncing party leader Alvaro Cunhal as a traitor, is the clearest indication that power is immediately posed.

Following on the fall of the colonels' dictatorship in Greece, the defeat of Spínola's plans is a severe blow to world imperialism which undoubtedly supported the fascist plot through the CIA and other reactionary agencies.

Many of the biggest capitalists, implicated in the plot, are now in prison and Spínola's supporters in the military junta have been forced to resign.

But these measures do nothing to settle the basic class questions in Portugal.

Spínola has been replaced by General Costa Gomes, one of his closest friends, who went on TV after the president's resignation to pay tribute to him.

The workers who came out onto the streets, disarmed the fascists and forced the Communist Party to oust the president are being urged by their leaders to hand back the weapons they captured and disperse.

The savage anti-strike laws and the restrictions on the Press imposed under Spínola remain in force.

General Costa Gomes is being presented as the savior of democracy.

The Communist Party is presenting his appointment as a "brilliant victory."

In reality Costa Gomes comes from exactly the same political background as Spínola himself.

He was the commander of the fascist forces in Mozambique and then in Angola before being appointed commander in chief of all the armed forces by dictator Marcelo Caetano.

In May, Costa Gomes declared that unless the Mozambique nationalist movement, Frelimo accepted a ceasefire, the army would continue and even intensify the fighting in the colony.

In his TV speech on taking office, Costa Gomes praised Spínola as a great man and a true soldier.

He said differences of opinion were only natural and he had spent many hours trying to persuade the general not to quit the presidency.

Commenting on the reactionary outburst Spínola was allowed to make, appealing to his fascist supporters on TV, Gomes said:

"I can't agree with Spínola's conclusions, although I respect them."

Yet the appointment of this man is being presented by the Stalinists as creating the conditions "for the progress of the course of democratization and decolonization."

The exact opposite is the case. Gosta Gomes balances between the working class and the reactionaries.

He is using the threat of civil war and counterrevolution to disarm the workers militarily and politically with the active assistance of the Stalinists and the reformists.

The Costa Gomes government remains a Bonapartist regime along the same lines as Spínola's.

This regime must be completely rejected by the working class, which must create its own organs of power in the form of workers' councils and a workers' militia to prevent the growth of fascism.

The Communist Party's talk of democracy in Portugal is a complete fraud.

Nobody elected the government they have joined, which is ruling by decree and has in the past five months systematically encroached on the basic rights of the working class.

The Communist Party is now boosting Costa Gomes in exactly the same treacherous way as they were boosting Spínola only a short time ago.

They are trying to generate an atmosphere of euphoria about Spínola's resignation which must be fought against at all costs.

Exactly the same type of propaganda was spread by the Chilean Communist Party leaders after the abortive coup in July 1973, which proved in reality to be only the curtain-raiser for the decisive blow struck on September 11 by the armed forces.

The more the Stalinists and their reformist allies try to avert civil war by conciliating the military chiefs and the capitalists, the more certain they make it, just as their counterparts did in Chile last year.

They opened the door for Spínola's attempt to seize power and their continued presence in the Costa Gomes government prepares the ground for new fascist attempts which will cer-

tainly be far better organized. Portuguese capitalism is in acute crisis.

With raging inflation and a very large balance of payments deficit, the country is virtually bankrupt and reliant on hand-outs from the international bankers.

Weakened by centuries of parasitism, the Portuguese capitalist class were defeated in their African colonies by the struggle of the workers and peasants.

Unless they are overthrown, the ruling class will turn with unparalleled savagery against the workers at home.

The crisis of leadership in the Portuguese working class can be resolved only by the building of the Portuguese section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Only in this way can the Stalinists' grip on the leadership of the workers' movement be broken decisively and the road to power opened for the working class.

The demand must be raised throughout the working class to expose the Communist and Socialist Party leaders by calling on them to break with Costa Gomes, the military chiefs and the bourgeoisie and take the power into their own hands.

There can be no compromise with the Popular Front regime which is now clearly exposed as a front for extreme reaction. The demand must be:

•Down with the Popular Front government!

•Smash the capitalist state—replace the Bonapartist regime of Costa Gomes with workers' and peasants' councils throughout the country!

•Arm the working class!

•Withdraw all troops from overseas!

•Immediate and unconditional independence for all the colonies!

•Immediate elections to a Constituent Assembly on the basis of secret and universal suffrage!

•Outlaw the bourgeois opposition parties which support the rule of private property!

•Disband the standing Army! Form workers' militias!

•Bring all the fascists to public trial immediately before workers' courts!

•Nationalize the banks, industries and the landed estates under workers' control and without compensation!

•Expose the Stalinists and the reformists by demanding that they take the power!

•Build the revolutionary party as a section of the International Committee of the Fourth International!

October 1, 1974

Workers League Meeting

10 YEARS OF THE BULLETIN

● Labor must call its own congress!

● Build a labor party!

● Forward to the daily Bulletin!

Friday October 25, 8pm

Debs Hall 310 West 43 St. NYC

\$2.50; \$1.50

youth & unemployed

call 924-0852