

# FORD'S REAL PROGRAM: RECESSION AND WAR

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

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Following a series of mini-summits and a massive public relations buildup for his economic summit, Ford revealed that his policy is to allow the roaring inflation and deepening recession to proceed unchecked.

The real content of his economic package is recognition that absolutely nothing can be done to head off economic collapse and an appeal to the labor bureaucracy to assist in holding down wages and preventing the mobilization of the working class.

The package will allow business failures and a massive increase in unemployment, while preparing new controls over wages and seeking to impose the largest share of the slump on America's European and Japanese competitors.

While Ford relies on the labor bureaucracy, he intends to use the crisis and particularly unemployment to whip up right-wing movements and racial hysteria.

# AND WAR

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wing forces to deepen their poisonous racist campaign aimed at splitting and dividing the working class.

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## Workers Party Campaign In High Gear

BY A REPORTER

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The candidates of the Workers Party and the election manifesto have received tremendous support from workers and housewives who are seeking a real alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

The small turnout in September for the New York Democratic primary for governor and the prediction of polls that the turnout next month will be less than 40 percent shows the disgust of masses of workers with the Democrats.

Workers Party candidate Terry Delgado is running in the 12th Congressional District in Brooklyn against Shirley Chisholm, and Helen Halyard is running in the 14th Congressional District against Fred Richmond, a former Lindsay official.

In an election statement, Terry Delgado said:

"Chisholm and Richmond are not out campaigning because they have nothing to offer working people. They are more concerned with defending the system and that is why they have nothing to say about the unemployment and the inflation.

"Chisholm who claims to be a big de-

fender of the people was silent when the police shot down Claude Reese in Brownsville. She and Richmond are loyal members of a party that asks for troops to be sent to Boston, tells Ford to freeze wages, and considers putting up racists like George Wallace of Alabama as a candidate for president.

"Fred Richmond is a wealthy businessman who is afraid to even show his face in this district because he has no support."

The Workers Party candidates are the only ones telling the truth about the depth of the economic crisis and fighting for the construction of a labor party and socialist policies as the only way to defend living standards and basic rights.

Every worker knows this election will not solve anything. The inflation and deepening recession are the product of the crisis and decay of the capitalist system, and force the government into war against the working class.

We are using this election as an opportunity to prepare workers for these struggles by fighting to build a revolutionary leadership in the unions and communities and to recruit trade unionists and youth to the revolutionary party, the Workers League.

On October 9, 30 workers and youth heard the candidates speak at a meeting in the South Bronx.



## Dual Power In Portugal

BY DAVID NORTH

The task of seizing power and destroying the capitalist state is now posed to the working class of Portugal. By defeating the counterrevolutionary plot hatched by Spinola, the representative of the bankers and landlords, the working class has taken the offensive.

Armed detachments of workers are patrolling the streets of Lisbon and Oporto in pursuit of known fascists and their sympathizers. The determined actions of the working class are supported by the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese people who have known nothing but miserable poverty under the yoke of capitalism.

The peasantry is in rebellion; estates are being occupied, and many landlords have fled to Spain.

For the moment, the bourgeois state apparatus is virtually paralyzed. The army is in disarray with common soldiers openly displaying their solidarity with the working class.

However, the capitalists remain in power. General Costa Gomes, a long-time fascist and colleague of Spinola, has been installed as head of state.

The creation of this new military government is the work of the Communist Party of Portugal whose policies are directed by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

Stalinism is now the backbone of counterrevolution in Portugal. Its program is committed entirely to the defense of Portuguese capitalism and the defeat of the revolution. It is consciously working to prepare a defeat more bloody than that which occurred last year in Chile.

The working class rallied to defeat the coup planned by Spinola, although the Communist Party had done nothing to prepare for battle. Alvaro Cunhal, leader of the CP, was a member of the Spinola regime for six months. It was with the cover provided by Cunhal that the plans for a military dictatorship were laid.

Now, the Gomes regime is laying new plans for dictatorship and once again the Stalinists are seeking to disarm the working class. Gomes the fascist is being presented as a "liberator."

The atmosphere of euphoria being fanned by the Stalinists opens the working class to great dangers. The special Sunday work day proclaimed by the Stalinists

in support of the Gomes regime is an act of unmitigated treachery.

Workers were called on by the CP to donate their labor in order to help salvage the tottering capitalist economy. Students were sent out in the street to wipe political slogans denouncing the fascists from the walls of buildings. The Stalinists are attempting to divert all the enormous revolutionary power and energy of the working class and youth away from its burning political task: the overthrow of capitalism.

OPPOSE

Cunhal is openly declaring that the CP will oppose nationalization and a break with NATO. The Stalinists refuse to act against the very basis of all future plots by the ruling class: private property and world imperialism.

Cunhal declared several days ago that "private capital still has an important role to play...but with profits a little less great."

When asked last week by *Le Monde* if the Communist Party would demand the removal of NATO—springboard of all fascist plots—from Portugal, Cunhal replied: "We Communists do not pose the problem at this moment. There are American bases on Portuguese territory. They are there. Portugal belongs to NATO."

"These are great problems that must be resolved in the more general framework of European security, the ties of cooperation and development in a new climate of international detente. I think it is not necessary to change foreign policy in this point now."

In his praise of the military, Cunhal resembles the Chilean Stalinists who never wearied of assuring the workers of the democratic loyalties of the armed forces.

This is the most critical stage in the Portuguese revolution.

The Stalinists are committed to the bankrupt and reactionary policy of propping up a regime balanced tenuously between the working class and capitalists. But such a regime cannot last long.

A situation of dual power exists in Portugal. Such a situation emerges in every real revolution when the working class comes forward to take power, begins to create its own organs to accomplish this, but has not yet over-

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# Bulletin

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# HOW THE WORKING CLASS STOPPED SPINOLA

Reprinted from Workers Press, British daily Trotskyist newspaper.

FROM  
CLIFF SLAUGHTER

At the Lisbon bullfight last Thursday, a major rally and provocation was set up by the fascist "silent majority."

A big businessman had booked nearly every seat in the stadium.

In the central box sat President Spinoza and the "left-wing" Prime Minister Goncalves.

When the loudspeaker began to play a recording of the "comrades song," the right-wing forces carried out a prearranged plan and completely drowned the song with their boing.

A public altercation took place between Goncalves and Spinoza—who a month before had called on the "silent majority" to speak up.

This was the signal for the reactionaries to turn out into the streets with their slogans "Viva Spinoza!" and "Down with Communism!"

This was the first time that the fascists had dared to show their faces since the April 25 coup.

For four hours they fought running battles with members and supporters of the Communist Party and of their Maoist rivals, the MRPP.

So disoriented are these parties that an incident occurred in the early hours of the morning reminiscent of 1932 in Germany.

MRPP members, supporters of the Chinese Stalinists, started to beat up, threatening to kill, a leading Communist Party member, shouting, "We've done the

fascists, now we'll do the social-fascists!"

There could be no better condemnation of Maoism than this crude and criminal revival of Stalin's disastrous policy towards the rise of Hitler, when he told the Communist Party militants to regard the social democrat workers as the worst enemy.

The pro-Moscow Stalinists, not to be outdone, went the next night to surround and break up a Maoist meeting.

The fascists then announced a demonstration to be held on Saturday evening.

Later it was revealed that they had been using the "personal column" of the leading daily paper to coordinate their plans nationally.

It was at this point that the Communist Party was forced by pressure of its members and supporters in the factories to act.

Within hours the barricades were up at the city boundaries and at all important junctions.

The fascists travelling in to the demonstration, planned to take 300,000 to the front of Spinoza's palace, were caught and dealt with.

Workers armed themselves with the confiscated weapons.

By Saturday morning it was rumored that Spinoza himself was being held.

It is certain that he was given an ultimatum to ban the fascist demonstration.

His closest associate, the Minister of Information, had in fact banned all newspapers and broadcasts and was obviously part of the coup to be attempted.

Leaning on the strength of the working class, in order to preserve their own positions and their rotten alliance with the "democratic" bourgeoisie, the



Portuguese workers and students celebrate the fall of Spinoza's regime.

## Direct Report From Lisbon

Stalinists and Social Democrats now laid down their conditions to Spinoza.

He banned the fascist demonstration at the last minute and the Communist Party and Armed Forces Movement began to try and defuse the situation.

The air was soon filled with communiques and appeals saying that the situation was under the complete control of the armed forces, who had once again "saved the country from reaction."

The Prime Minister told the nation that the most important task was to avoid civil war.

All these forces, after the workers' demonstrations of Saturday, told the capital's population to go home and allow the forces of law and order to settle the dust.

Next, the army was dispatched to take over from the pickets. The Stalinists agreed

that all confiscated arms be surrendered to the army.

Now the government announces that they are to "continue the path of democratizing the country."

But the path they have taken, and the path they take now by disarming the workers, is the road which brought the dangers of the last days and permitted the resurgence of confidence of the fascist forces.

In recent weeks, the Stalinists and the government physically broke the strike of the TAP aircraft workers with scabs and police.

The Stalinists supported the government's sending of troops against the shipyard workers of Lisnave when they defied the bureaucracy and the army to march for their demands.

The Stalinists broke the Post Office strike.

Soldiers who refused to attack

strikers were jailed.

Only two weeks before the attempted coup, thousands of workers carried banners saying "Cunhal (the Communist Party leader, government minister) is a traitor" and "Communist Party, strike-breakers."

Was this the "path of democracy" and the way to unite the working class against the return of fascism?

Working class newspapers have been banned and fined and the editor of a Maoist paper imprisoned.

Freedom of assembly has been severely restricted. The great strength shown in the last few days was not of the "democratic forces," but of the working class itself, which was able to act decisively despite these treacherous attacks by the Stalinists and their bourgeois "democratic" allies.

## Dossier Reveals Three Coup Plots In Italy

BY MELODY FARROW

The Italian Defense Minister Andreotti, has turned over a dossier to the Attorney General in Rome that confirms three attempts at a right-wing coup d'etat have been made over the past three years.

The first took place in December, 1970, and the second in January, 1974, when the military was placed on alert and troops were positioned at all the main buildings. The third attempt was just this past August.

The details of the dossier, however, are being kept secret and the government has no intention of taking action even though there is ample evidence to arrest at least 20 high ranking political and military figures.

In fact, Andreotti had nothing but praise for the armed forces which he claimed "have been, are, and will not get involved in any political intrigue."

These plots were revealed just days before the Italian coalition government of Prime Minister Mariano Rumor collapsed on October 4, only six months after it was created.

### COALITION

The coalition is composed of the right-wing Christian Democrats, led by Amintore Fanfani, the Social Democrats, the small Republican Party, and the Socialist Party.

The resignation of the government reflects the panic and splits within the capitalist class created by the powerful resistance of the working class to all the attacks on living standards—tax increases, unemployment, inflation, and food shortages.

Even the ruthless budget

slashes of the Rumor government have done nothing to solve Italy's deepening economic crisis. Despite an emergency loan from West Germany for which Italy had to pledge her gold reserves, the national debt, now over \$9 billion, is spiralling, and the country is bankrupt.

Italy, Britain, and Portugal, with the weakest economies in Europe, are now feeling the full impact of the worldwide inflationary crisis and which is rapidly creating conditions for industrial collapse and depression. This crisis places these countries and soon all of Europe at the very center of the development of the socialist revolution.

The leaders of the three major trade union federations, representing 200,000 Fiat auto workers, are meeting on Thursday under pressure from the rank and file to call a national strike. Over 67,000 workers have been put on a three day week because of a decline in sales.

The revolutionary situation in Italy was the main topic of discussion between Italian president Giovanni Leone and Kissinger in Washington last week.

The Stalinist Communist Party is seeking to prop up a new coalition and forge a Popular Front with the Christian Democrats. This kind of alliance formed by the Stalinists in Portugal and Chile allowed the right-wing to plot a coup d'etat.

Kissinger wants to keep the Italian CP out of the government because he fears they will be unable to control the working class.

The most burning question facing the Italian working class is to take political power or face the imposition of a fascist dictatorship.

Italian workers must be armed and organize defense guards to take action to smash the fascists and all the right-wing conspiracies.



Prime Minister Mariano Rumor

The demand must be raised by workers that the CP break with the bourgeois parties and fight for a workers government to nationalize the bankrupt industries under workers control in order to expose the Stalinists.

This task requires the building of a Trotskyist party as a section of the International Committee of the Fourth International to defeat Stalinism and prepare the working class to take power.

# No Federal Troops UNIONS MUST ACT IN BOSTON!

BY MELODY FARROW

Three hundred state police and 100 additional police are being sent to Boston after Mayor Kevin White's request in Federal District Court for 125 federal marshals was turned down.

This may pave the way for federal troops or the National Guard to occupy the entire city.

A dangerous trap is being laid for all workers in Boston. Massive police forces are being mobilized not to defend the right to integrated schools or to stop the racial attacks. They are being requested to deepen the racial divisions and to test out police provocations against both black and white workers and youth.

## DIVIDE

The government is consciously creating conditions for racial incidents in a desperate attempt to divide the working class at a time when the economic crisis is bringing masses of workers into struggle to defend their living standards and jobs. Ford has now openly backed the racists.

The decision to ask for federal marshals follows on the heels of a stepped up campaign of provocations by police and the Tactical Patrol Force in Boston.

The first week of the busing plan, fights between black and white youth broke out at South Boston High School and soon after spread to Hyde Park High, where black students were bused in from Mattapan.

## COLUMBIA POINT

Columbia Point, a black housing project near South Boston, was cordoned off by police last week and whites have driven through the projects shouting racial insults and firing shots. Black youth in buses from the project were stoned when they arrived in South Boston.

In Charlestown, a white area, parents called a boycott in sympathy with the busing opponents in South Boston, and 400 Charlestown students who staged a march were attacked by squadrons of mounted police.

In every incident, the police stood idly by until the fights exploded and then moved in and beat up both black and white students to inflame tensions even further.

The most recent provocation took place on Saturday night at a tavern in South Boston by the Tactical Patrol Force, a unit of specially trained men under the personal control of Police Commissioner Robert diGrazia.

The TPF, claiming they were responding to an officer in distress, entered the bar and proceeded to beat up 12 of the 15 patrons. Then they systematically destroyed the cigarette machine, the juke box, liquor and other property worth \$20,000.

The next day a crowd of 1000

converged on the police headquarters, carrying signs that read: "Get diGrazia's Gestapo out of Southie" and "Hitler's SS—Is this America?"

## GESTAPO

One person described the tavern incident to the Bulletin: "The TPF are like diGrazia's gestapo. They had the whole thing planned.

"They came cruising down the street with their lights off, came into the bar, and started beating everybody.

"One guy was a cripple. He couldn't get out of the booth fast enough. Another guy jumped on top of him to protect him and

they beat on him too. They broke the invalid's arm when he raised it to protect himself."

Following this, racial incidents of stoning and beating have intensified.

On Monday, the most vicious racial assault took place when a Haitian worker, Jean Louis Andre Yvon, was pulled from his car in South Boston by hysterical anti-busing demonstrators and severely beaten.

The next day, youth fought at English High School. As soon as the fighting had subsided, 50 TPF members moved in to beat up the youth shouting, "black bitch."

Over the past two weeks, a

pattern of deliberate police provocation has developed. The government consciously uses the police to provoke the hatred and anger of white workers to create conditions where fascists such as the Ku Klux Klan can move in and turn this against the black workers.

## POISON

Those who are responsible for this are the Democrats and Republicans and the entire capitalist class who are assisting the KKK, the Nazis, and Democratic politicians like Louise Day Hicks to spread their racist poison.

## UNION

But the greatest responsibility lies with the trade union leadership which has refused to defend integration and has taken no action to force the police, and the KKK out of the working class communities.

Above all, the labor leaders' refusal to mobilize workers against unemployment or to map out a program to defend wages, decent housing, and schools, has allowed the right wing to exploit the frustration and anger over these conditions.

The leaders of the firefighters and building trades unions are playing into the hands of the enemies of the unions by taking a stand against busing.

The petition of the Boston Teachers Union for a biracial Parents Council to make integration work is important but is a totally inadequate step.

The revisionists in the Socialist Workers Party together with the Communist Party and every liberal and reformist group have called for federal troops to "protect" the black students.

These organizations accept the racial divisions, have no program to unite workers, and thus play into the hands of the government which is openly preparing to use troops for repression against all workers.

The Workers League and Young Socialists is fighting for a program to unite workers and youth in Boston. Our campaign is directed at mobilizing teachers, other trade unionists and students to demand that the Central Labor Council—

- Take action to defend the right of students to an education against the racists and against all the attacks on living standards.

- Organize defense squads at the schools and in the working class neighborhoods.

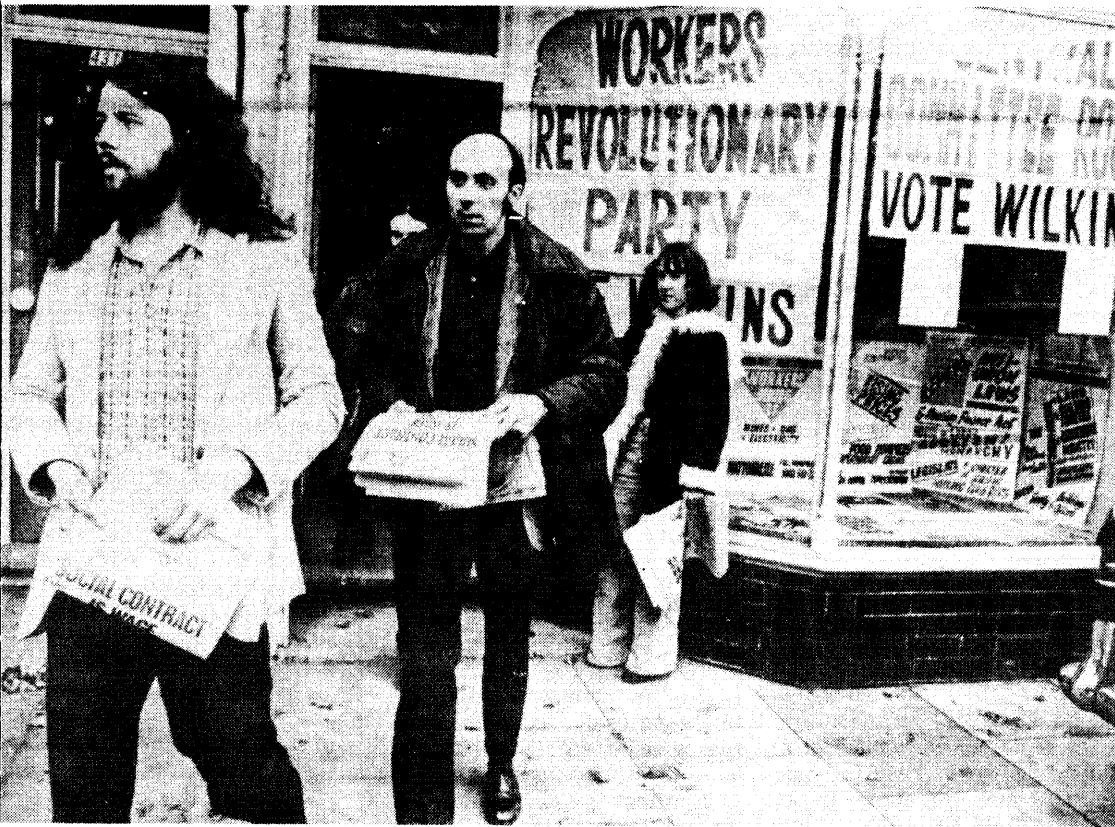
- No Federal Troops. Force the police and TPF out of the communities.

- Call a mass workers demonstration against the racists and fascists.

- Fight for a crash program of billions for new schools, housing, job opportunities, and other social services.

- Call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party, the only alternative to the big business parties, the Democrats and Republicans, who stand behind the police and the racism.

## Election Support Grows For WRP



WRP candidate Alan Wilkins (right) outside his committee rooms in Coventry.

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Two leading Sunday newspapers in Britain, the Times and the Observer, have publicly switched their longstanding support to the Conservative Party and endorsed the Liberal Party for the October 10 general election.

The switch reveals the panic of the bourgeoisie in face of the economic crisis. With all the polls predicting a Labor Party victory, the Liberal Party endorsements are designed to increase the pressure for a coalition government that would unite a section of rightwing Laborites with the Liberals and Tories in an "emergency national government."

Tory Party leader, Edward Heath, is openly warning that

economic crisis is so severe that Britain faces 30 percent inflation, food shortages, waves of banking and industrial collapses, and mass unemployment.

A coalition government would represent a masquerade behind which the capitalists, in the name of the "national interest," would make preparations for smashing democratic rights and the imposition of dictatorship.

Labor Party leader, Prime Minister Harold Wilson, is desperately trying to deny that there is any crisis at all and to rely on a "social contract" with the union bureaucracy to hold down wages and restrain the working class.

But on October 3, the miners struck a powerful blow to this social contract when they rejected the government's inducements to increase their production.

The Labor Party program for the crisis amounts to a policy of assistance to crisis ridden capitalist industry. Wilson refuses to fight for socialist policies to answer the crisis.

Only the Workers Revolutionary Party which is running 10 candidates is fighting on a program for the nationalization of industry under workers control.

The WRP is also fighting for the return of a Labor Party government with the largest possible majority. A Labor government will face a massive upsurge of the working class which will refuse to pay for the capitalist crisis.

This will create the best possible conditions for the exposure of the Labor leaders and the reformists and for the construction of the revolutionary party.

# Rockefeller Buys Everybody Off

**BY DAVID NORTH**  
Vice President-designate Nelson Rockefeller has confirmed reports that he made enormous financial gifts to key political figures, including Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

The news may force the Senate to reopen hearings on Rockefeller's confirmation. The Senators investigating Rockefeller last month had known about the gifts, but had not brought them to light to spare Rockefeller any political embarrassment.

Senator Howard Cannon said that the gifts made public so far are only "the surface." Another congressman stated that there were "a lot of people involved—public officials and non-public officials."

Kissinger was the recipient of a \$50,000 gift made by Rockefeller in 1969, just before he joined the Nixon administration. The money was placed in a trust fund for Kissinger's children.

This gift sheds some light on the closeness of the Rockefeller-Kissinger relationship which dates back to the 1950s. The little-known professor was drafted by Rockefeller to study US strategy for world war and counterrevolution. Kissinger was placed in charge of a large task force of intellectuals and military specialists; and he apparently worked closely with the CIA and Pentagon experts.

A gift of about \$550,000 was made to William J. Ronan, former chairman of the Metropolitan Commuter Transportation Authority and present chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey.

Ronan had been a close aide to Rockefeller since the day 17 years ago when he was "summoned" to Rockefeller Center.

In the ensuing years, Ronan emerged as one of the most

powerful figures in New York State politics. He was given control of the vast transportation enterprise through which the banks and corporate bond holders make millions.

What is so revealing about Ronan's career is that it demonstrates how Rockefeller uses his financial power to dominate politics.

Ronan and Kissinger represent only two cases in which men were elevated to the highest positions in politics and government on the basis of their personal service to Rockefeller.

It is now being reported that a whole crew of Senators and Congressmen are regularly entertained by Rockefeller at his estates in Seal Harbor, in Westchester, and occasionally in Venezuela.

The New York Times revealed on Tuesday that a large number of Senate and House members who will vote on the Rockefeller nomination have been beneficiaries of his largess.

Among them are Senator Javits who received a \$15,000 political contribution two weeks ago and Congressman Peter Peyser who got \$5000 from Rockefeller in March.

The Rockefeller contributions have been handed out to literally dozens of politicians.

William A. Rusher, publisher of the conservative National Review, claimed on Monday that Rockefeller had given out approximately one-half million dollars a year to political campaigns.

Rusher said the contributions added up to "a Who's Who of American politics." He claimed that not only money was involved but paintings, watches, and other valuables.

Other figures to receive large sums of money include the former New York State official L. Judson Morhouse and Rockefeller's personal secretary.

Morhouse received a gift of \$86,312.50 from Rockefeller. When the state official was convicted of bribery, he re-

ceived a pardon from Rockefeller.

The congress is determined to push the nomination of Rockefeller through in order to have him waiting in the wings in case Ford's presidency breaks down well before November 1976. Already, a coverup of these gifts—which normally might be referred to in less flattering legal terms—is in the works. A number of Senators are praising Rockefeller's "altruism."

## HAPPY DAYS ARE HERE AGAIN

The Senate passed a bill on Monday that formally declares the "national emergency" proclaimed by Franklin Roosevelt in 1933 during the Great Depression to be over.

The bill also cancels the state of emergency proclamations still in effect from the Korean War, the 1970 postal strike, and 1971 emergency economic situation.

On Tuesday, the Franklin National Bank was liquidated and the Stock Market continued to plunge to the lowest levels in 12 years.

The Senate is following in the footsteps of the Harvard Economic Society which declared after the 1929 crash that "the present recession both for stocks and businesses is not the precursor of business depression."

In 1930, the learned academicians declared that "the present depression has about spent its force." The society later declared in 1930: "We are now nearing the end of the declining phase of the depression."

The Senate bill now goes to the House but even if passed, it does not go into effect until next year. Under the emergency powers, the president has the right to declare any part of the US a "military zone" subject to martial law.

## Unprincipled Alliance In Brownsville

The Socialist Workers Party has lined up behind the reactionary nationalist leadership that has sought to dominate the protests against the murder of Claude Reese by the police in the Brownsville neighborhood of Brooklyn.

The October 11 issue of *The Militant*, weekly newspaper of the SWP, glorifies the September 25 march at city hall organized by Imamu Baraka's Congress of African People (CAP) and other nationalist groups as a great step forward in the fight against police repression.

The struggle against repression requires a fight against all those organizations, like CAP, who act to divert the militancy and revolutionary determination of the youth into a dead-end protest to the capitalist politicians. They tell youth that racism and the capitalist system are permanent and cannot be defeated.

WHAT WE THINK

The SWP deliberately distorts the real character of the city hall rally to cover up the right-wing policies of its leadership.

Baraka has no interest in mobilizing the youth in Brownsville. He did not mobilize youth or trade unionists at city hall. He turned to the street gangs, who together with various radical groups made up the majority of the small crowd of several hundred at this demonstration.

The gangs, which the SWP considers "progressive," are a completely backward and anti-working class force who attack and terrorize workers and youth. The presence of these gangs at the rally was used to keep trade unionists away, at the very time when more and more workers see the connection between the police attacks on youth and what they face.

All the rhetoric of the nationalists had one theme: the enemy is not the capitalist system, but "whitey" and therefore youth should concentrate on fighting for an all-black police force.

But the October 11 report in *The Militant* states: "Imamu Baraka of CAP gave a brief speech connecting the struggle against repression with the system that is responsible for it."

Baraka's demagoguery about the system is a desperate effort to appear "militant" to cover up his maneuvers with capitalist politicians.

In fact, the SWP was present at a meeting of the "Ad Hoc Committee for Justice for Claude Reese" the night before where Baraka made clear his program was "community control of the police." SWP leaders such as Derrick Morrison sat silent while Baraka and others squashed political discussion, especially by those who raised objections to the rally slogan "humanize the police."

CAP is a petty bourgeois organization that is openly hostile to the working class and has nothing to do with the problems and struggles of workers over unemployment, decent conditions, and wages. CAP equates the rank and file worker with the labor bureaucrats and says all workers are "bought off" by the system.

The nationalists act to hold the working class back from directing its struggle against the real enemy—the capitalist class. They use the militancy of youth as a bargaining tool in their maneuvers and behind the scenes deals with the politicians.

CAP and Baraka bear responsibility for the repression in Newark because it was the same man they supported for mayor, Kenneth Gibson, who ordered the police attack on the demonstration of Spanish workers and gave police shoot to kill orders to terrorize the projects.

It is only the Workers League and Young Socialists in Brownsville that fights against the repression on a principled basis. We warn that every police attack reveals the government's preparations to push the burden of the economic crisis on the working class through police state terror.

We demand that the trade unions take action against the repression and launch an investigation into Reese's murder and all the secret police military operations of the government.

This requires the fight for revolutionary leadership in the unions and the building of the revolutionary party to mobilize the power of the working class in a labor party.

The SWP begins with the strength of capitalism, with the past, and not with the movement of the working class.

This is the perspective that has brought the SWP into closer and closer collaboration with the Democrats and lies behind their request to sit at Ford's economic summit, side by side with the most reactionary spokesmen for the ruling class.

The Young Socialists and Workers League are fighting to construct a revolutionary youth movement in Brownsville, to turn the youth to the power of the labor movement. We are campaigning for the Workers Party candidates in the election to build the revolutionary party to fight for socialism and to lead the working class to power.

## Framingham GM Strikes

**FRAMINGHAM, Mass.—Workers at the Framingham division of the General Motors Assembly Division have walked out on strike.**

The strike was called by the United Auto Workers Local 422 after GM refused to settle a local contract. Framingham workers have been without a local contract for the last nine months.

The main issue is manning. The size of the work force has been reduced to one shift. Workers told the Bulletin that there is no speedup yet, but the men who leave are not replaced and the line speed remains the same. The end result is the same as an actual speedup.

The UAW is demanding that 200 men be recalled, but GM has offered to take back only five.

## Franklin National Goes Bankrupt

**BY JEFF SEBASTIAN**  
On Tuesday, federal banking authorities officially declared the Franklin National Bank insolvent and announced its takeover by the European Bank and Trust Company, a New York State bank owned by six of Europe's largest banks.

The Franklin collapse is the largest bank failure in the history of the United States. Only last year, Franklin was the twentieth largest bank in the US, with almost \$4 billion in deposits in late 1972. Today, after a panicked exodus of depositors, only \$1.37 billion in deposits remains.

### BREAKUP

The losses expected from the breakup of the bank are enormous. While savings depositors are protected, holders of the bank's public notes will sustain losses.

Owners of 821,000 preferred shares in the corporation face a total loss. Owners of common stock are also expected to lose their investment.

The Federal Deposit Insur-

ance Corporation will compensate the Federal Reserve for any losses sustained in loans of 1.7 billion to prop up Franklin, but the FDIC itself will absorb these losses.

Banking authorities are attempting to portray the orderly liquidation of Franklin as a sign of the stability and strength of the American banking system. In truth, the opposite is the case. Franklin's collapse is only the tip of the iceberg as far as the crisis of the banks is concerned.

### SURPRISING

The New York Times quotes Frank Willie, Chairman of the FDIC: "By itself, the fact that larger banks than before are showing up in current casualties and problems of the nation's banking system is not surprising... What perhaps is surprising is that an increasing number of banks in the size categories of \$100 million or more are included among them."

Franklin was a victim of the inflationary crisis. The bank expanded enormously during the 1960s on the basis of large loans extended to "high growth" com-

panies. A number of loan defaults severely damaged profits. In an attempt to recoup, the bank invested heavily in bonds just when the bond market turned down.

Faced with slumping profits, the bank ended up borrowing huge sums at current exorbitant interest rates. In many cases, Franklin was paying more for funds than it was earning on its low profit assets.

Its last desperate gamble to prevent the crunch was to speculate in the foreign exchange markets. Losses of over \$40 million forced the bank to cancel all dividends and brought the internal rot into public view. The resulting panic wiped out any possibility of the bank's survival.

Thousands of other banks which expanded during the inflationary boom on the expectation on limitless profits face exactly the same crisis as Franklin.

Franklin's demise is a warning of the coming collapse of credit that can result in a chain of banking and industrial failures and mass unemployment for millions of workers.

# C.I.A.

## THE TRADE UNION CONNECTION

BY FRANK MARTIN

The name Chile has become synonymous with the initials CIA.

The recent admission by President Ford of CIA involvement in the overthrow of the Allende government has led to a flurry of articles in the American capitalist press.

"Has It Gone Too Far?" asks Time on the cover of its September 30 issue. It concludes that the agency should be held more "accountable" for its actions. Time features a "personal portrait" of CIA director William Colby who is described, under a shot of him and his wife, as having "an unusual degree of openness and candor."

Of course, this liberal nonsense has not delayed the CIA one minute in carrying out its pressing tasks. With the deepening economic and political crisis it has turned its attention more and more to the advanced capitalist countries. The latest information indicates a stepping-up of CIA activity in Britain and Australia aimed against the labor movement of both those countries.

Only the smallest hints of domestic CIA activity, supposedly illegal, came out during the Watergate hearings. E. Howard Hunt came to the White House plumbers directly from the CIA. Throughout the Nixon administration, the collaboration between the plumbers and CIA was intimate. The break-in at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's physician was just one case in point.

The CIA's connection with the leaders of the American trade

union movement is of particular importance to the working class and its advanced sections. These close ties, which have received almost no attention in the capitalist press, make both very much involved in Chile and a number of other successful CIA "projects."

### JAY LOVESTONE

From a midtown Manhattan office, room 509, 1710 Broadway, an 8 page newsletter is published each month. The paper's name is AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News and it is published by the Department of International Affairs, AFL-CIO, Director, Jay Lovestone.

The June, 1974 issue carries a page 2 story headlined: "Lovestone to Retire from AFL-CIO Post."

The story carries a tribute to Lovestone by AFL-CIO President George Meany: "Jay Lovestone has achieved a distinguished record as a champion of democratic free trade unionism. He has been a resolute fighter against oppression and tyranny."

"His personal commitment to the cause of freedom and liberty has made him the target of all who would pervert democracy and destroy democratic institutions."

"Labor and the free world owe him a deep debt of gratitude. On behalf of the AFL-CIO and as an individual, I am proud to acknowledge that debt."

In the mid-1960s, information began to come out about the funneling of money from the CIA to the National Students Association. At the time, the Detroit Free Press published an interview in its May 23, 1966 issue with Victor Reuther, whose brother, Walter, was president



Jay Lovestone of the United Auto Workers.

Reuther claimed that the AFL-CIO "permitted themselves to be used by the CIA as a cover for clandestine operations abroad."

Reuther added: "There is a lot bigger story in the CIA's financial and other connections with the AFL-CIO than with the students."

The man in charge, according to Reuther, was Lovestone. Drew Pearson, in the February 24, 1967 issue of The New York Post wrote: "Lovestone takes orders from Cord Meyer of the CIA."

We shall meet Mr. Meyer again at a later date. For now, it is necessary to find out who Mr. Lovestone is and where he came from.

Meany's fond tribute to Lovestone is the result of a collaboration that goes back to 1944. But by that time, Lovestone already had extensive experience inside the American labor movement.

### AMERICAN CP

That experience he gained largely through the American Communist Party.

Lovestone was the party's General Secretary for three years.

Lovestone's ascendancy in the CP coincided with the consolidation of Stalin's power within the Soviet Union. This was the period when Stalin was defending the theory of "socialism in one country" against the Left Opposition led by Trotsky.

Having lost all confidence in the ability of the working class to conquer power in any country outside the USSR, Stalin put forward the conception borrowed from Bukharin, that

"...it may be said that politically, the bourgeoisie attains its greatest powers, its greatest concentration of forces and resources, of political and military means of deception, of coercion, and provocation, i.e., the flowering of its class strategy, at the moment when it is most immediately threatened by social ruin."

—Leon Trotsky, *The First Five Years of the Comintern*

talism. He was the author of a theory of American exceptionalism which held that the US was practically immune from severe crisis, not to mention social revolution. On the eve of the 1929 crash, and after it, Lovestone rejected any revolutionary perspective for the American working class.

He came to the forefront of the CP at the time Trotsky was being hounded out of the Russian Communist Party and when his American followers, James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman, were being expelled. Lovestone and his lieutenant, Bertram Wolfe—who also became a State Department adviser to American imperialism—launched diatribes against Trotskyism that bordered on hysteria.

Lovestone's position in the leadership of the CP came to an abrupt end when Stalin suddenly shifted policies toward an ultra-left position. Although devoid of principles, Lovestone was incapable of following the Third Period signal to an immediate revolutionary offensive given by Stalin. Lovestone found himself under fire as a follower of the Bukharinites who were being purged in the USSR.

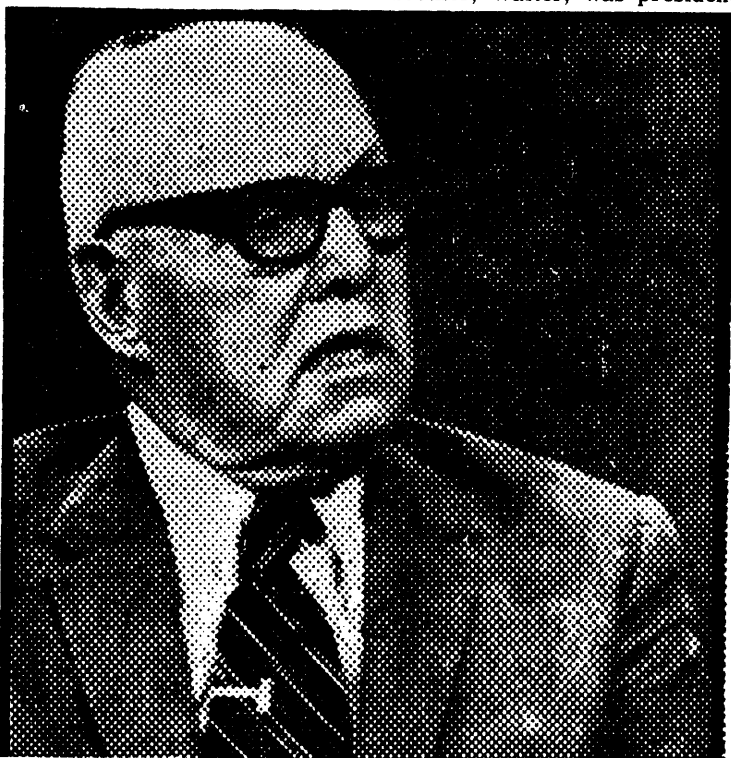
He was expelled from the party, but continued for years to seek readmission to the Comintern and a position of authority in the American CP. Lovestone supported the infamous Moscow Trials in 1937, but failed to win Stalin's good graces.

By the late 1930s, Lovestone had abandoned any pretense to Marxism. By 1938, he was exposed as the man responsible for a witch-hunt campaign against Communist Party members inside the UAW. He was working under the direction of UAW President Homer Martin. (Martin, following his expulsion from the UAW, ended his career in the pay of the Ford Motor Co.)

From there, Lovestone came under the patronage of David Dubinsky, right-wing president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. His rise inside the labor bureaucracy was extremely rapid.

Lovestone made the transition from Stalinism to outright anti-communism with little difficulty. His training as a Stalinist was the connecting thread between his career in the Communist Party and his later career as a paid agent of American imperialism. During his career in the CP, Lovestone developed his unshakeable faith in the invincibility of capitalism and an all-consuming hatred of revolutionary communism represented by Trotskyism.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE:  
"THE ANTI-COMMUNIST CRUSADE"



George Meany



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.

### THE CRISIS AND MEASURED - DAY WORK

The branch leadership and stewards conducted a relentless campaign of agitation and education among the Cowley workers. The 5/55 Branch News answered the company propaganda blow for blow and also exposed the role of the national trade union officials who had accepted MDW and were ready to negotiate its introduction at Cowley as the preliminary to its application through the entire combine.

For British Leyland, MDW at Cowley was the number one priority. On May 1, 1969, the Financial Times found that, "privately, most younger British Leyland executives will admit the company must follow Ford, Vauxhall and Rootes in abandoning piece rates...This is probably the biggest task of all lying ahead."

Leyland launched its gambit around the new model, the ADO 28, which became the Morris Marina. From the start Cowley management, acting under direct instruction of Lowry, made it quite clear that the Marina meant measured-day work.

The company's approach was a combination of brutal threats and blatant deception. They arrogantly warned the whole working class of Cowley and Oxford that a refusal to submit would mean mass unemployment. The letters of the then plant director, Ian Showan, are typical.

On October 29, 1970, he wrote to Cowley workers:

"First of all we would like to emphasize that the security of employment of thousands of people employed in the Oxford district depend on the success of the new model car which is to be manufactured at Cowley."

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British Leyland made their Cowley plant ready for the production of the Marina. They planned to transfer the labor force from the Morris Minor, at the end of its production life, onto the new tracks made to produce the new model.

The company played their first card. Normally in the pre-production stage of a new car, when piecework prices are still under negotiation, workers begin production on the "piecework average"—the average of the rates throughout the factory. Leyland refused to follow this practice. They offered to pay a rate higher than the piecework average—but it was a fixed rate, unconnected with the piecework system and, therefore, a crucial step towards measured-day work.

The challenge was taken up immediately. The assembly workers at Cowley struck. The dispute lasted for six weeks and everyone knew that piecework would be won or lost in this battle. Once the fixed rate was conceded in the QT section, where the Marina was to be produced, MDW was as good as in.

In their leaflets to the membership, senior steward Reg Parsons (in the absence of Bob Fryer) and the deputy senior steward Alan Thornett, warned and warned again of the dangers of surrender to the company. One ended with the prophetic

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The Cowley plant director, John Symonds (left) spies on workers holding a mass meeting at Cowley.



Left: Lowry, the British Leyland Labor Relations chief. Right: British Leyland workers on the march against the Industrial Relations Bill.

# VICTIMIZATION AT COWLEY

## by stephen johns

### PART 4

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

words: "...always remember that once you give up piecework you can never get it back. Measured-Day Work is like concrete—it is easy to get into when soft, but impossible to get out of once it sets."

This was a penetrating description by the two men of the company's strategy of offering what seemed to be concessions, in the form of wage increases, sugar coated in management assurances over speed-up and effort, in order to draw the labor force into the trap of MDW.

Eventually the strike was made official and the full-time officers struggled to work out a formula to get the men to go back to work. None of the bureaucrats were willing to fight the principle of measured-day work—but they recognized the resistance at Cowley would be the hardest nut to crack.

After a gruelling night session of negotiations at York, (the scene of countless sell-outs) Cliff Small, the Transport and General Workers Union district organizer, and Malcolm Young, the engineers' district organizer, made their famous night-ride (by company car) from York. They assembled the Cowley workers at 7:15 a.m. on October 9, 1970.

Their job was to get the men to go back on the basis of a formula worked out with management. This was an unprincipled document, dressed up with safeguards but basically designed to break the resistance to MDW.

The first clause stated that the company would "observe the payments by results agreement and all other national agreements. Either party seeking to change any such agreement will adhere to the terms of the procedure agreement." This sounded

good but meant absolutely nothing. It was simply a declaration by Leyland that they would stick to procedure over the negotiation to bring in measured-day work.

For this paltry "concession" the bureaucracy agreed to discuss the measured-day work and fight to call off the strike against the new system.

It took one-and-a-half hours of pleading and persuasion, and a passionate speech from Malcolm Young (never, before or after, had this man spoken with such feeling and intensity), before the two messengers from York got their much sought after slim majority to return to work.

This retreat handed the initiative over to the company. The action of the bureaucracy had demoralized the work force and encouraged the development of the backward and right-wing sections at Cowley—a procedure they were to employ in a more blatant manner three years later.

The company were now in a much better position. The next few months were spent publicly taking the bureaucracy and privately preparing the ground for the introduction of MDW by force. The man drafted into Cowley to direct this operation was Frank McDonagh, the ex-T&GWU convenor at Standard Motors, now an advisor to Leylands.

The firm's communications became more and more aggressive. One on December 30 warned:

"...we intend to pursue the application of the new system throughout the plant... (we) have been disturbed to hear references to the fact that some of our employees do not really believe the company is in serious financial trouble.

"For the good of us all (we) must make it absolutely clear that our future depends on acceptance of the need for change in this increasingly competitive industry."

By this time the national union officials were speaking openly about their acceptance of the principle of measured-day work. On December 12, for example, Moss Evans of the T&GWU explained he had no objections to the scheme provided the union obtained "very specific guarantees in relation to the efforts required from the men, on manning, speeds, and standard performance."

This was the line peddled in the trade union movement by leading Stalinists like Dick Etheridge, the convenor of the Leyland plant at Longbridge and the revisionist group International Socialism. They argued that a principled opposition to MDW was not important so long as guarantees were extracted from management to protect the workers from speedup, etc. •

The strength of the working class at Cowley, however, prevented the bureaucracy from reaching a complete settlement with the company. On January 8, 1971, the final stage of procedure ended at York with a failure to agree. Now Leyland were ready for the kill.

It came on January 14, 1971, and it was announced in yet another letter, this one addressed specifically to the workers producing the Marina in Cowley's newly-constructed South Side assembly plant. The Cowley Plant director, Ian Showan, made it clear that the company were prepared to ignore the opposition of the stewards.

He wrote: "We must exercise the right to approach each worker affected. We will, of course, enable each one of you to freely make up your own minds.

"We have repeatedly said that we have no intention of producing the new model with a piecework system."

On the important issue of whether future effort would need prior trade-union agreement, Showan warned: "We will not try to impose work standards arbitrarily. On the other hand we are not prepared to enter a Dutch Auction over operational times in the way that was customary under the old piecework system." (Emphasis added.)

He ended with this warning: "If you wish to accept the wages and conditions laid down in this letter you should report and start work in the normal way in the morning...in the case of the day shift workers, and on the evening of the same day for the night shift workers. Your having reported and started work will be taken as a clear indication of your acceptance of the wages and conditions contained in this letter.

"If you do not wish to accept...then you should report to work and immediately

advise your foreman accordingly. He will make arrangements for you to be transferred to the Transitional Labor Reserve while your situation is further reviewed.

"It remains for me to repeat that the company will not produce the ADO 28 on a piecework system of payment since we are convinced that this would prove disastrous to the future of the plant...This is a statement of fact and I hope you will consider it carefully when you decide whether to accept employment under the terms contained in this letter."

Showan could have saved ink and paper. Most of the workers on Marina assembly got his message, the company were offering measured-day work at \$2.40 an hour (a considerable increase of prevailing rates) or the sack.

The Cowley management employed the most unscrupulous maneuver to get the message across. The 5/55 Branch News of January 1971 tells how the operation was carried through.

"At 2:30 p.m. they called in the senior (steward) into the office and the deputies into another office for 'product information'. They disconnected our telephone (we didn't know this until the end of the meeting) so we could not be contacted. They kept us talking until about 4 p.m. and then told us Mr. Showan had just met all our members on the South Side, given them a document, and told them if they clocked in the following morning they would be on measured-day work.

"You all know what happened then. A mass meeting of all pieceworkers took place, which voted to reject measured-day work. The 550 men on the South Side who had accepted the company's offer did not intend to attend the meeting. They were instructed to come by the company and paid \$2.40 an hour for doing so.

"Therefore, while it appeared a close vote at the meeting, once you deduct from this vote the vote paid for by the company, it was a good majority."

At 7:15 the following morning the vast majority of workers clocked on and were put on measured-day work. The most principled section refused to clock on and they were promptly transferred to the Transitional Labor Pool to await the company's next move. Reg Parsons was not among this group.

The stewards were now faced with a difficult decision. MDW was a fact of life at Cowley. The struggle had been taken as far as it could go. It was clear that it would be wrong to leave the most militant workers in the pool to be isolated, victimized and sacked.

•Etheridge said: "I don't regard the wages system as principle. The Trots do, silly buggers. But you have to have some system. Communist countries use measured-day work come to that. I'd regard my job as to get the best possible deal, whatever the system. If you're asking what system is best, I'd say piecework, but if it comes to having a confrontation and smashing the whole thing, I'd say no." (Quoted in *The New Militants*, Paul Ferris, Penguin Special).

In his book *The Employers Offensive*, T. Cliff, a leading member of the International Socialists, states: "Whether it be on mobility of labor, job evaluation, overtime or safety, the demand 'mutuality' strikes a dagger at the heart of a productivity deal. By establishing the right to bargain this question we gain a limited degree of workers' control over the productive process—and that is exactly what productivity

deals are aimed at eliminating.

It was vital that the most militant sections take up the fight against speedup. The decision was made to ask the men in the pool to go back on the tracks to lead the struggle.

To do otherwise would have been to leave the initiative entirely in the hands of the company. Instead, the shop stewards leadership decided to use the strength which came from the long battle against measured-day work to force a mutuality agreement from British Leyland and get the best possible protection for the work force under the MDW system.

Leyland had won a toe hold for speedup by threatening workers who resisted MDW with the sack. But the new system had been brought in at Cowley without the agreement of the unions or the shop stewards. Labor relations at Cowley became a no-man's land, regulated by the clash of the opposing forces—management and the working class.

In the August 1971 Branch News the plant leadership described the situation:

"The company has been unable to introduce the real bones of MDW which requires study of the whole plant and consisting of an effort similar to that at Fords. We intend, as shop stewards, now that we are in this position, to do our utmost to get the best conditions under the circumstances and give full support to all our members doing this."

This did not involve any acceptance of the principle of MDW by the shop stewards' leadership. The men who fought the battle remained utterly opposed in principle to the system. The warning they made in December 1970, on the eve of the confrontation still stood:

"The decision once taken can never be reversed. As we have said before, Measured-Day Work is like concrete. You can get into it when it is soft, but once it sets it is impossible to get out. We are convinced that if Measured-Day Work is accepted, everyone in this plant will suffer for years to come, and we cannot be put in a position where it could be said that we did not explain the situation." (Branch News, December, 1970.)

The men who wrote these words were Bob Fryer, the senior steward, Reg Parsons, the deputy senior steward, and Alan Thornett, deputy senior steward. All three were to play major roles in the class battles ahead. But not all on the same side.

Meanwhile, British Leyland and Lowry were to learn a hard lesson. Measured-Day Work is not just a piece of paper—it needs to be implemented.

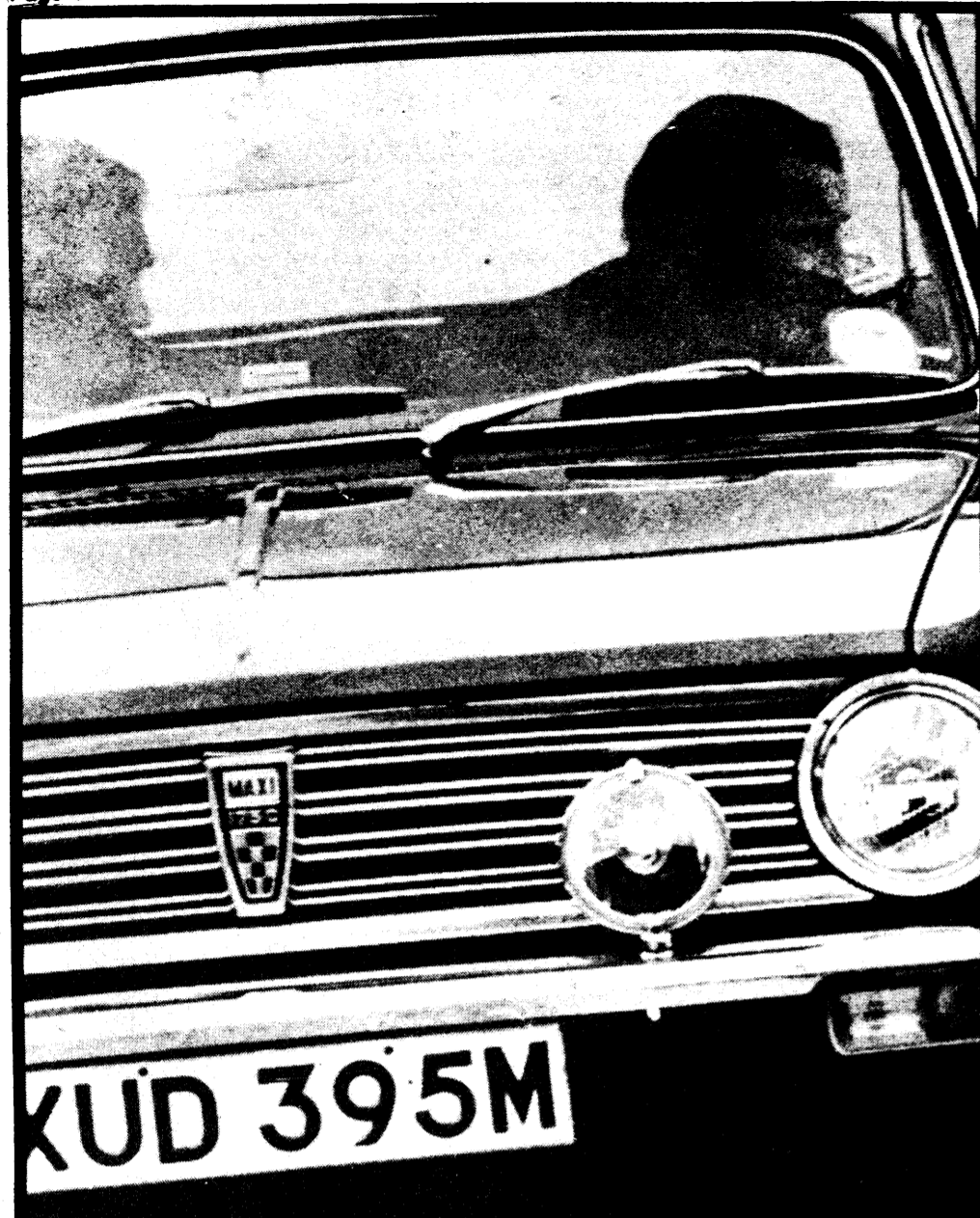
By raising the demand for mutuality—of speed, work standard, manning scales, etc.—we expose the employers' motive in introducing measured-day work. In fact, measured-day work with mutuality is of no value to the boss. He would certainly rather have piecework methods than this."

These are the words of a shallow and superficial thinker. Measured-day work *does* strengthen the employer. It makes him more able to attack the working class, break down all basic rights, agreements, and standards. Even if mutuality is achieved MDW provides the conditions to smash it. This has been the experience in every factory MDW has been introduced (see especially *The Measured-Day Work and Productivity Swindle*, an All Trades Unions Alliance pamphlet, by B. Franks.)



**TO BE CONTINUED**





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The challenge was taken up immediately. The assembly workers at Cowley struck. The dispute lasted for six weeks and everyone knew that piecework would be won or lost in this battle. Once the fixed rate was conceded in the QT section, where the Marina was to be produced, MDW was as good as in.

In their leaflets to the membership, senior steward Reg Parsons (in the absence of Bob Fryer) and the deputy senior steward Alan Thornett, warned and warned again of the dangers of surrender to the company. One ended with the prophetic

words: "...always remember that once you give up piecework you can never get it back. Measured-Day Work is like concrete—it is easy to get into when soft, but impossible to get out of once it sets."

This was a penetrating description by the two men of the company's strategy of offering what seemed to be concessions, in the form of wage increases, sugar coated in management assurances over speed-up and effort, in order to draw the labor force into the trap of MDW.

Eventually the strike was made official and the full-time officers struggled to work out a formula to get the men to go back to work. None of the bureaucrats were willing to fight the principle of measured-day work—but they recognized the resistance at Cowley would be the hardest nut to crack.

After a gruelling night session of negotiations at York, (the scene of countless sell-outs) Cliff Small, the Transport and General Workers Union district organizer, and Malcolm Young, the engineers' district organizer, made their famous night-ride (by company car) from York. They assembled the Cowley workers at 7:15 a.m. on October 9, 1970.

Their job was to get the men to go back on the basis of a formula worked out with management. This was an unprincipled document, dressed up with safeguards but basically designed to break the resistance to MDW.

The first clause stated that the company would "observe the payments by results agreement and all other national agreements. Either party seeking to change any such agreement will adhere to the terms of the procedure agreement." This sounded

good but meant absolutely nothing. It was simply a declaration by Leyland that they would stick to procedure over the negotiation to bring in measured-day work.

For this paltry "concession" the bureaucracy agreed to discuss the measured-day work and fight to call off the strike against the new system.

It took one-and-a-half hours of pleading and persuasion, and a passionate speech from Malcolm Young (never, before or after, had this man spoken with such feeling and intensity), before the two messengers from York got their much sought after slim majority to return to work.

This retreat handed the initiative over to the company. The action of the bureaucracy had demoralized the work force and encouraged the development of the backward and right-wing sections at Cowley—a procedure they were to employ in a more blatant manner three years later.

The company were now in a much better position. The next few months were spent publicly taking the bureaucracy and privately preparing the ground for the introduction of MDW by force. The man drafted into Cowley to direct this operation was Frank McDonagh, the ex-T&GWU convenor at Standard Motors, now an advisor to Leylands.

The firm's communications became more and more aggressive. One on December 30 warned:

"...we intend to pursue the application of the new system throughout the plant... (we) have been disturbed to hear references to the fact that some of our employees do not really believe the company is in serious financial trouble.

"For the good of us all (we) must make it absolutely clear that our future depends on acceptance of the need for change in this increasingly competitive industry."

By this time the national union officials were speaking openly about their acceptance of the principle of measured-day work. On December 12, for example, Moss Evans of the T&GWU explained he had no objections to the scheme provided the union obtained "very specific guarantees in relation to the efforts required from the men, on manning, speeds, and standard performance."

This was the line peddled in the trade union movement by leading Stalinists like Dick Etheridge, the convenor of the Leyland plant at Longbridge and the revisionist group International Socialism. They argued that a principled opposition to MDW was not important so long as guarantees were extracted from management to protect the workers from speedup, etc.

The strength of the working class at Cowley, however, prevented the bureaucracy from reaching a complete settlement with the company. On January 8, 1971, the final stage of procedure ended at York—with a failure to agree. Now Leyland were ready for the kill.

It came on January 14, 1971, and it was announced in yet another letter, this one addressed specifically to the workers producing the Marina in Cowley's newly-constructed South Side assembly plant. The Cowley Plant director, Ian Showan, made it clear that the company were prepared to ignore the opposition of the stewards.

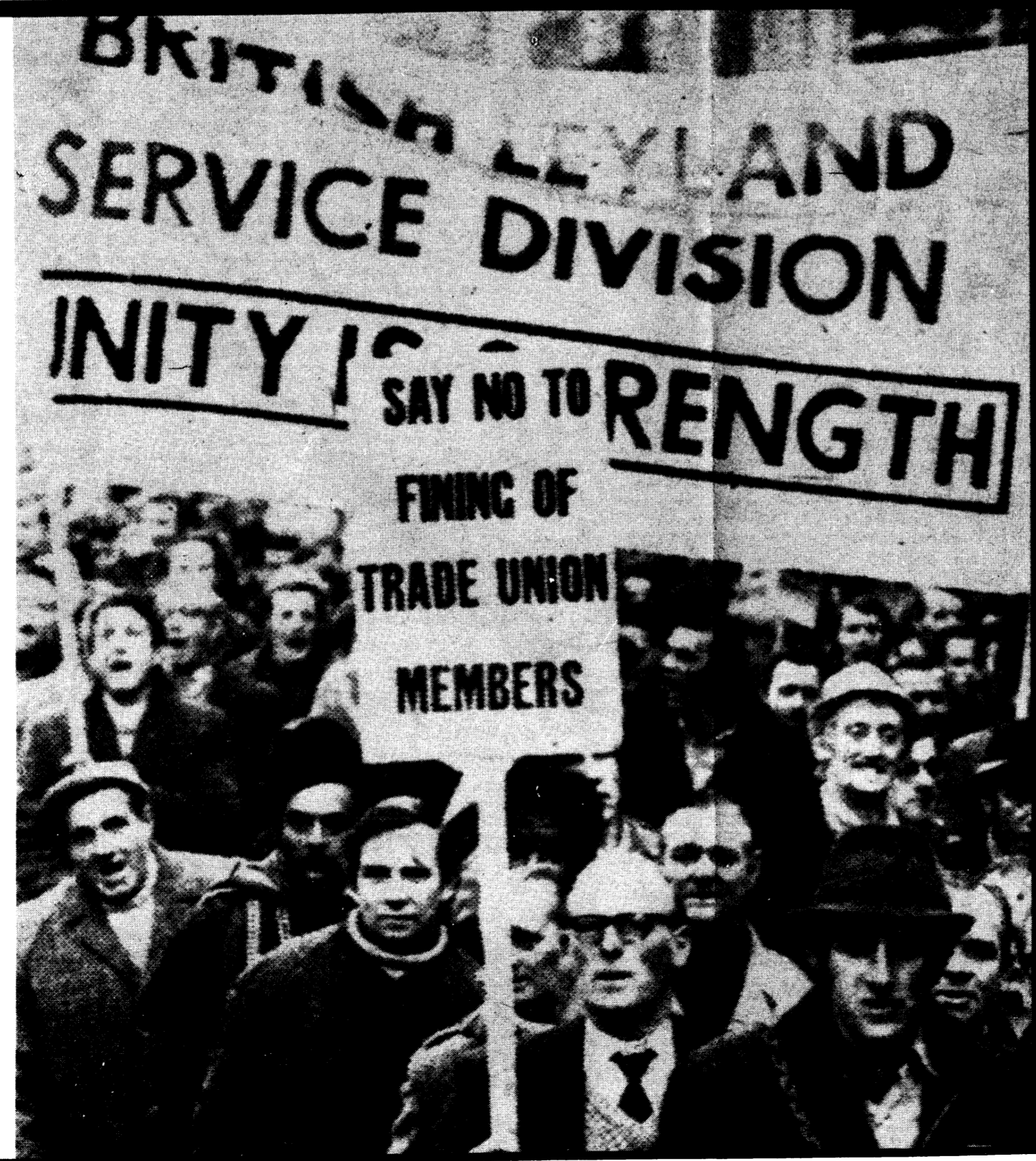
He wrote: "We must exercise the right to approach each worker affected. We will, of course, enable each one of you to freely make up your own minds.

"We have repeatedly said that we have no intention of producing the new model with a piecework system."

On the important issue of whether future effort would need prior trade-union agreement, Showan warned: "We will not try to impose work standards arbitrarily. On the other hand we are not prepared to enter a Dutch Auction over operational times in the way that was customary under the old piecework system." (Emphasis added.)

He ended with this warning: "If you wish to accept the wages and conditions laid down in this letter you should report and start work in the normal way in the morning...in the case of the day shift workers, and on the evening of the same day for the night shift workers. Your having reported and started work will be taken as a clear indication of your acceptance of the wages and conditions contained in this letter.

"If you do not wish to accept...then you should report to work and immediately



# VICTIMIZATION AT COWLEY

## by stephen johns

### PART 4

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

advise your foreman accordingly. He will make arrangements for you to be transferred to the Transitional Labor Reserve while your situation is further reviewed.

"It remains for me to repeat that the company will not produce the ADO 28 on a piecework system of payment since we are convinced that this would prove disastrous to the future of the plant...This is a statement of fact and I hope you will consider it carefully when you decide whether to accept employment under the terms contained in this letter."

Showan could have saved ink and paper. Most of the workers on Marina assembly got his message, the company were offering measured-day work at \$2.40 an hour (a considerable increase of prevailing rates) or the sack.

The Cowley management employed the most unscrupulous maneuver to get the message across. The 5/55 Branch News of January 1971 tells how the operation was carried through.

"At 2:30 p.m. they called in the senior (steward) into the office and the deputies into another office for 'product information'. They disconnected our telephone (we didn't know this until the end of the meeting) so we could not be contacted. They kept us talking until about 4 p.m. and then told us Mr. Showan had just met all our members on the South Side, given them a document, and told them if they clocked in the following morning they would be on measured-day work.

"You all know what happened then. A mass meeting of all pieceworkers took place, which voted to reject measured-day work. The 550 men on the South Side who had accepted the company's offer did not intend to attend the meeting. They were instructed to come by the company and paid \$2.40 an hour for doing so.

"Therefore, while it appeared a close vote at the meeting, once you deduct from this vote the vote paid for by the company, it was a good majority."

At 7:15 the following morning the vast majority of workers clocked on and were put on measured-day work. The most principled section refused to clock on and they were promptly transferred to the Transitional Labor Pool to await the company's next move. Reg Parsons was not among this group.

The stewards were now faced with a difficult decision. MDW was a fact of life at Cowley. The struggle had been taken as far as it could go. It was clear that it would be wrong to leave the most militant workers in the pool to be isolated, victimized and sacked.

Etheridge said: "I don't regard the wages system as principle. The Trots do, silly buggers. But you have to have some system. Communist countries use measured-day work come to that. I'd regard my job as to get the best possible deal, whatever the system. If you're asking what system is best, I'd say piecework, but if it comes to having a confrontation and smashing the whole thing, I'd say no." (Quoted in *The New Militants*, Paul Ferris, Penguin Special).

In his book *The Employers Offensive*, T. Cliff, a leading member of the International Socialists, states: "Whether it be on mobility of labor, job evaluation, overtime or safety, the demand 'mutuality' strikes a dagger at the heart of a productivity deal. By establishing the right to bargain this question we gain a limited degree of workers' control over the productive process—and that is exactly what productivity

It was vital that the most militant sections take up the fight against speedup. The decision was made to ask the men in the pool to go back on the tracks to lead the struggle.

To do otherwise would have been to leave the initiative entirely in the hands of the company. Instead, the shop stewards leadership decided to use the strength which came from the long battle against measured-day work to force a mutuality agreement from British Leyland and get the best possible protection for the work force under the MDW system.

Leyland had won a toe hold for speedup by threatening workers who resisted MDW with the sack. But the new system had been brought in at Cowley without the agreement of the unions or the shop stewards. Labor relations at Cowley became a no-man's land, regulated by the clash of the opposing forces—management and the working class.

In the August 1971 Branch News the plant leadership described the situation:

"The company has been unable to introduce the real bones of MDW which requires study of the whole plant and consisting of an effort similar to that at Fords. We intend, as shop stewards, now that we are in this position, to do our utmost to get the best conditions under the circumstances and give full support to all our members doing this."

This did not involve any acceptance of the principle of MDW by the shop stewards' leadership. The men who fought the battle remained utterly opposed in principle to the system. The warning they made in December 1970, on the eve of the confrontation still stood:

"The decision once taken can never be reversed. As we have said before, Measured-Day Work is like concrete. You can get into it when it is soft, but once it sets it is impossible to get out. We are convinced that if Measured-Day Work is accepted, everyone in this plant will suffer for years to come, and we cannot be put in a position where it could be said that we did not explain the situation." (Branch News, December, 1970.)

The men who wrote these words were Bob Fryer, the senior steward, Reg Parsons, the deputy senior steward, and Alan Thornett, deputy senior steward. All three were to play major roles in the class battles ahead. But not all on the same side.

Meanwhile, British Leyland and Lowry were to learn a hard lesson. Measured-Day Work is not just a piece of paper—it needs to be implemented.

Etheridge said: "By raising the demand for mutuality—of speed, work standard, manning scales, etc.—we expose the employers' motive in introducing measured-day work. In fact, measured-day work with mutuality is of no value to the boss. He would certainly rather have piecework methods than this."

These are the words of a shallow and superficial thinker. Measured-day work does strengthen the employer. It makes him more able to attack the working class, break down all basic rights, agreements, and standards. Even if mutuality is achieved MDW provides the conditions to smash it. This has been the experience in every factory MDW has been introduced (see especially *The Measured-Day Work and Productivity Swindle*, an All Trades Unions Alliance pamphlet, by B. Franks.)

### TO BE CONTINUED

# TUALP To Hold Steel Meeting

BY NANCY RUSSELL  
YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio.—The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party here will hold its first steel caucus meeting on Sunday, October 13 to begin the fight to build an alternative leadership to United Steel Workers President I.W. Abel who has joined Ford's Labor-Management Committee.

In the last several months, since the signing of the national contract, Youngstown-area steel workers have seen their real wages driven backwards. After getting a 3 percent wage increase, the price of food has risen 4.5 percent in the month of September alone in Ohio. This is a yearly rate of 54 percent.

Youngstown's unemployment rate has jumped to 7 percent, including over 200 people laid off several weeks ago from Sheet and Tube.

Three weeks ago, Republic announced that the engineering department of the steel building division will move to Louisville, Kentucky by the first of the year. The fate of workers' jobs, some with up to 25 years there, is completely uncertain.

A much publicized expansion program is announced by Sheet and Tube may now be scuttled because the necessary capital of \$200 million cannot be raised.

Abel has no policy to defend the jobs of steel workers. At the convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey last month, after pushing through a \$15,000 raise for himself and a two hour per month dues formula, Abel had no other business to attend to.

## PROFIT

Abel has joined Ford's Labor-Management Committee to assist the government in increasing the profits of the steel companies by sacrificing wages, jobs, and supporting productivity drives that drive up the level of exploitation to inhuman levels.

Abel was the first bureaucrat to sign an ironclad three-year no-strike deal, the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, that takes away the most fundamental right of workers.

TUALP is fighting to construct a leadership committed to socialist policies. The October 13 meeting will discuss this program:

- Force Abel off the Labor-Management Committee.
- Smash the ENA. Reopen the contract on wages and 100 percent cost of living. Thirty hours work at 40 hours pay.
- Stop layoffs.
- No cooperation with productivity. No crew-cutting or speedup.
- Call a Congress of the labor movement to defend the unions and begin the construction of a labor party.



Workers picket outside Helm in Detroit.

# Frenzied Steel Drive To Boost Productivity

BY WILL ROEMER  
CHICAGO, Ill.—At first sight, steel production in the United States appears to be in a healthy state, with production at full tilt. A closer look reveals the imminent collapse of the industry and massive layoffs.

The frenzied production now occurring in the mills is part of a cutthroat battle internationally for manufacturing techniques to get more work in less time.

In the past 15 years, the steel industry has continuously sought to revolutionize its productive process. In the 1950s, there was the Bessemer furnace; in the 1960s, the Basic Oxygen Furnace. Now, the steel industry is in a desperate drive to complete work to install the Quick Basic Oxygen Process (Q-Bop).

US Steel production is considerably less productive than that of Japan, which already has the Q-Bop.

The fundamental problem in the steel production is lessening the amount of time required to melt the iron and react it with oxygen to oxidize carbon and phosphorus, without disturbing the quality of the resulting steel.

While extreme security is being kept on all information about the Q-Bop, a technical advisor for Continental Can told the Bulletin that it was due to a shortage of cobalt and several other elements that the US was still in the initial stage of the Q-Bop. He said that rich deposits of cobalt are present in SE Asia and that this was why Japan had been able to develop the Q-Bop.

"In the last three years, Continental Can has stored away enough steel to close down the plant for one year. They have cut back the labor force by 20 percent. If you had a helper by you on the job, a few years ago, today you are working by yourself....They're gearing for a major crisis right now.

Continental Can, which has a plant in Germany now, can establish a certain level of production, say actually half of present level, and still make money in other countries."

## Bethlehem Shuts Mills

BALTIMORE, Md.—The plate mills at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore have been closed since September 29 with 1500 men laid off.

Prior to the shutdown, work in these mills had slowed down and workers who usually could take home \$40 or \$50 incentive pay a week were getting only \$11.

Sparrows Point is one of the biggest steel complexes in the country and the workers here are determined to defend their jobs and working conditions. There is resentment and anger at the Abel leadership of the United Steel Workers Association which recently held its annual convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

One steel worker said: "For the guys, the convention is a holiday, a party, a vacation. Every convention, they vote themselves a raise."

About the no-strike clause, a worker stated: "It's a way to control you. They won't give you a raise."

"In two or three years, with inflation, you won't want to work. You'll go on strike and they'll use people making under \$7500 to take your job. Abel is going along with breaking up the unions."

"We lost our right to negotiate. You go in with resolutions and they won't even let you get to the floor. If we don't agree—we don't agree. I guess most of the guys don't."

The technical advisor went on to explain that the steel companies were doing everything that they could to save every penny. As much as 20 percent of the labor is hired on a temporary basis, some for as long as 90 days, and is kept out of the union and without any benefits. Many inspectors have been removed so that one man has to chase all of the bad material that comes through. The companies just make more of an allowance for waste, and through the increased production offset any waste.

The steel industry also faces production difficulties due to the inflated price of oil and coal. Michael Tennenbaum, president of the Inland Steel Corporation, said last week that if there was a coal strike this year, the steel companies would probably close down to save what little coal they have to heat the ovens and keep the brickwork from cracking if the oven is cooled. He said that any increase in the price of coal would have to mean an increase in the price of steel.

Further difficulties for steel come as consumption of commodities and major goods like autos have fallen sharply. Although the auto companies are predicting a booming year, steel companies doubt that. Any

increase in the price of steel will have to lead to a state of over-production and may lead to a collapse of the industry.

Contradictions like these between the drive for increased production and the state of over-production, express the insolubility of the capitalist crisis. This situation in the steel industry explains the moves by the union bureaucracy to strangle the united opposition of the steel workers. The betrayal of the Abel leadership must be seen as expressing the desperation of the industry itself.

# Police Patrol At Helm

BY A REPORTER

DETROIT, Mich.—The bitter strike at Helm, Inc. continues into its ninth week with negotiations at a stalemate.

The strike, which began after Helm proposed a freeze on wages as well as an increase in the work-week in the new contract, has been marked by violence.

What has become clear is that this company, largest of its type in the Midwest, was prepared for the strike.

Helm dropped out of an association of companies which in the past had negotiated similar contracts, using the excuse that their operations no longer fit into the category of "bindery work." The association agreed to a small wage increase, but Helm stood firm in their refusal to grant any increase.

"We haven't worked 40 hours in 21 years," Lorraine told the Bulletin. "All shops in Local 20-B are on a thirty six and one-fourth hour week. At first they wanted us to go back to 40. Now they are saying thirty-seven and one-half."

Letters were sent to employees during the first weeks of the strike urging workers to come back to work and resign from the union. All fines, they stated, would be paid by the company.

Some 44 union members did return to work and have been joined by \$2 an hour temporary workers who are escorted into the plant each day in company station wagons guarded by the police.

The 24 hour picket lines are constantly watched by patrol cars and police.

"It's been pretty quiet the past two weeks," one of the men on the picket line stated. "What can you do with the police watching everything. We need some help. I haven't seen but about 10 people here from the other shops."

Strikers have been charged with everything from littering to harassment, but none of the cases have been brought to trial. Helm is refusing to take back 16 workers who have been fired since the strike began.

Helm is apparently seeking to adopt some of the methods used by Dow Chemical in the recent strike in Midland, Michigan, of the United Steel Workers.

Helm is spending huge sums of money to rent trucks and warehouses in order to continue operations, but refuses to budget more than a meager six to nine cents per hour on wages.

The stalemate now is centered on the firings of the 16 workers.

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# FOUR MUSLIMS ON TRIAL THE TRUTH ABOUT THE SHOOTOUT IN CLEVELAND



Attorney Stanley Tolliver, left. Defendants (l. to r.) Asa Harris, Craig Fowler, Charles Jordan and Larry Johnson.

**BY FRANK DENISON**  
CLEVELAND, Ohio—  
The trial of four young men on charges of kidnapping a notorious East Cleveland drug pusher Andrew (School Boy) Jackson, is entering its second week.

The judge and prosecution are attempting to conceal the involvement of police and other city officials in drug traffic, prostitution, murder, and the meaning of the police invasion on Mount Union Street that led to the capture of three of the four defendants.

Craig Fowler, Larry Johnson, and Charles Jordan, members of a small Muslim sect, were arrested immediately following the shootout. Asa Harris, also a member, who had no part in the shootout, was arrested two months later. They have been held in lieu of \$1.25 million bail apiece which was later reduced to \$75,000, the highest bail ever in the state. Together they face 33 counts of kidnapping, burglary, and attempted murder.

On the night of May 29, 1974, East Cleveland's Mt. Union street was the scene of a police operation that involved 200 police including units from Cleveland's Tactical Impact Squad and a special armored

car. For two hours, they poured tear gas and small arms and machine gun fire into the house of John O'Brien where the men were hiding together with members of the family.

Every house on the street was riddled with bullets. The prosecution alleges the three men robbed and kidnapped Andrew Jackson, and when they were chased by the police, they broke into O'Brien's house and held eight members of his family hostage. It further alleges that they, together with Asa Harris, were responsible for the shooting of three policemen and two members of the family.

Not only have these charges been directly contradicted by the testimony of the O'Briens, but the police and prosecutors know the charges are false. This is clear because police never questioned the O'Briens about the shooting of two members of their own family. In fact, they were shot by the police as they attempted to leave the house following the ceasefire.

#### WITNESS

Significantly, Judge J.J. Nahra has ruled out any questions by the defense which concerns the behavior of the police and the character of the state's star witness: School Boy. In addition, the judge has imposed a gag rule that forbids the defendants or their lawyers to discuss the case with the press.

The real story of what



Resident of Mt. Union St. near his car which was damaged by armored tank.

happened that night was related by Mrs. Asa Harris.

The four young men had formed an organization to rid the community of drugs. They attempted to pressure Jackson into giving up the drug business and becoming a Muslim. Jackson, who has never worked a day in his life and owns a bar,

pool hall, and delicatessen, and pays the bills on three houses, only pretended to cooperate and on the night of the twenty-ninth, he agreed to meet with them to destroy his drug supplies and begin to distribute the stolen wealth to community organizations with their help. While they were driving from one Jackson house to another in Jackson's car packed with valuables including a hunting rifle, the police converged on them. Jackson jumped from the car and ran to the safety of a police car screaming that he had been robbed.

The chase began that ended at the O'Brien house. "This was all planned out in advance," stated Mrs. Harris. "The police wanted to make sure that none of the brothers lived to talk about what they knew. This explains why the police never made an investigation after the incident, and explains the savage beatings that took place once they were in custody."

#### KEEP QUIET

Asa Harris was picked up two months later, after being named by Jackson. There is no doubt that he was arrested because he knew something both the police and Jackson wanted to keep quiet.

Precisely this information was being used to pressure Jackson from the beginning. The cross-examination of the O'Briens has revealed two more sinister facts. First, the police continued to fire despite the screams of the family and the telephoned pleas of one of the daughters informing the police that the men meant no harm to them.

Second, the gun used by the police to shoot Dennis O'Brien was equipped with a silencer, so no one heard the shots. "This trial is like Watergate," Mrs. Harris said. "Nixon appointed Ford, and Ford pardoned Nixon.

"The rich have no interest in the law except to use it against the poor. None of the defendants owned any guns or have so much as a police record. Neither do they touch drugs.

#### BEST

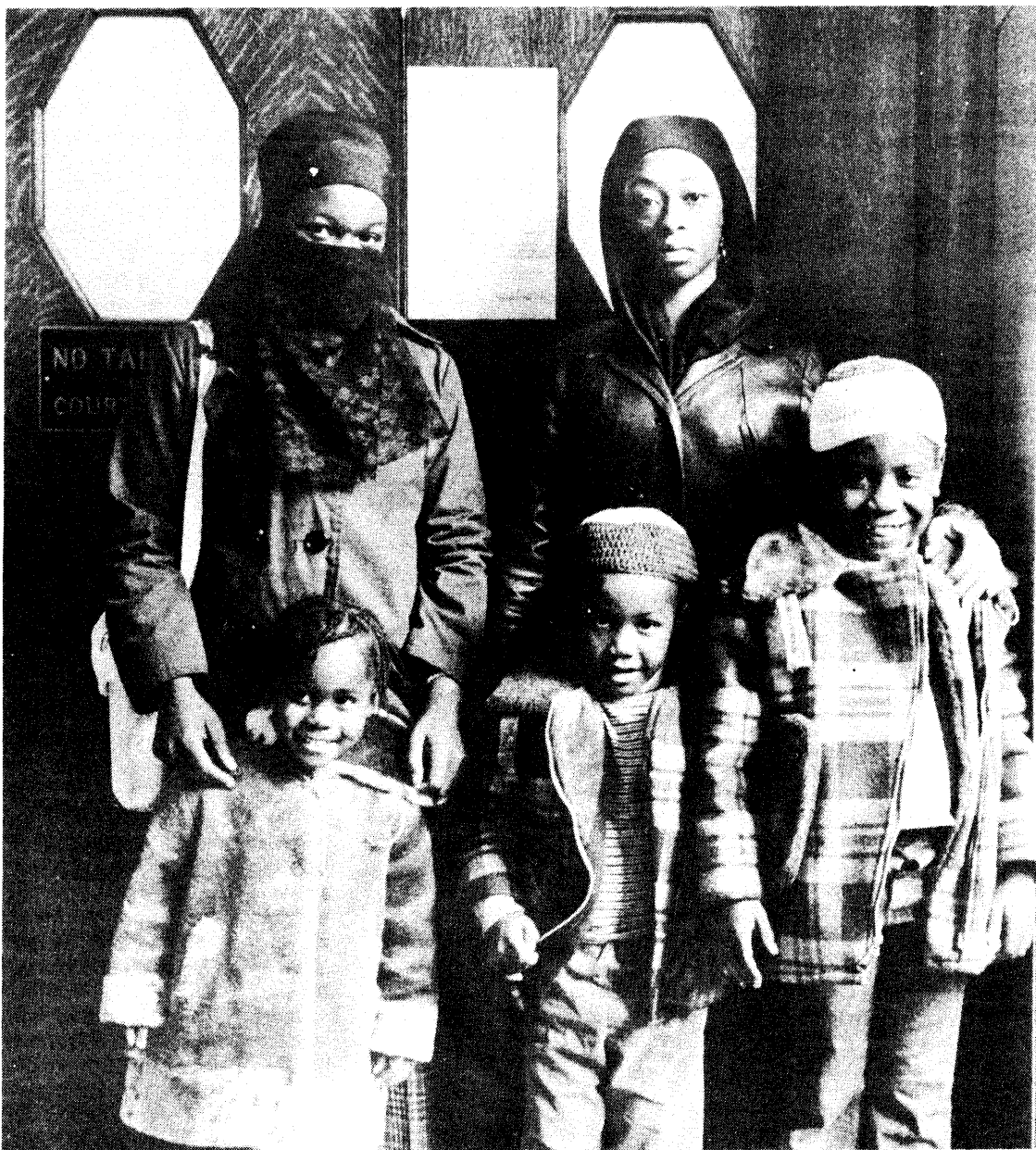
"The East Cleveland police are supposed to be the second best in the country. It is ridiculous to think that a man like Jackson can make thousands of dollars a day selling heroin and turning 17 year old girls into prostitutes without the police knowing about it. Immediately after the incident took place, the homes of the men were raided by the police without a search warrant and their families were threatened with death if they didn't cooperate."

The central question is why were 200 police mobilized against three men?

These events took place within weeks of the Los Angeles shootout execution of six members of the Symbionese Liberation Army which was staged by the police and carried on prime time television as a warning to the working class.

The capitalist system faces the deepest crisis in its history. The government prepares to defend its system against the struggles of workers in the trade unions and communities through police state terror and dictatorship. The invasion and shootout on Mt. Union St. was a dress rehearsal for military operations against masses of workers.

The Workers League defends unconditionally the men who are now on trial and demands their immediate release. We further call upon the trade union movement in Cleveland to launch a full investigation into this incident as part of a campaign to replace the Republican and Democratic Parties with a labor party pledged to carry out socialist policies.



Families of the defendants.

# Farm Workers Strike Buak Orchards

BY BOB WATSON  
 SAN JOSE, Calif.—  
 On September 23, 150 farm workers struck Billy Buak's Apple Orchards in Watsonville, near Salinas, California.

The harvest has been reduced 50 percent because of the overwhelming support of apple pickers in the area. Buak has stepped up harassment and physical attacks on strikers and on the United Farm Workers.

Buak, the biggest apple grower in the area, signed a sweetheart contract with the Teamsters union in June to prevent the UFW from organizing.

The strike is also directed against the Teamsters leadership. Teamster organizers have come here not to represent the workers, but to protect the growers through strikebreaking, and act as agents of the government in trying to destroy the farm workers union.

One of the leaders of the strike, and organizer of the United Farm Workers, Carlos Ruiz, told the *Bulletin*: "Buak had been firing people every day for little things, because after 1200 hours work, he was supposed to get benefits.

### PRICE

"The price he pays for a bin of apples is only \$5 or \$6, which is the same as 10 years ago. Workers were making \$80 or \$90 and ended with \$45 or \$50, with 60 hours work. Twenty men living in rundown housing were paying a total of \$1000 a month with no restrooms or water.

"The Teamsters let this happen. They're supposed to represent the workers, but when the strike began, the Teamsters brought in new people to break the strike instead of talking with and supporting the strikers."

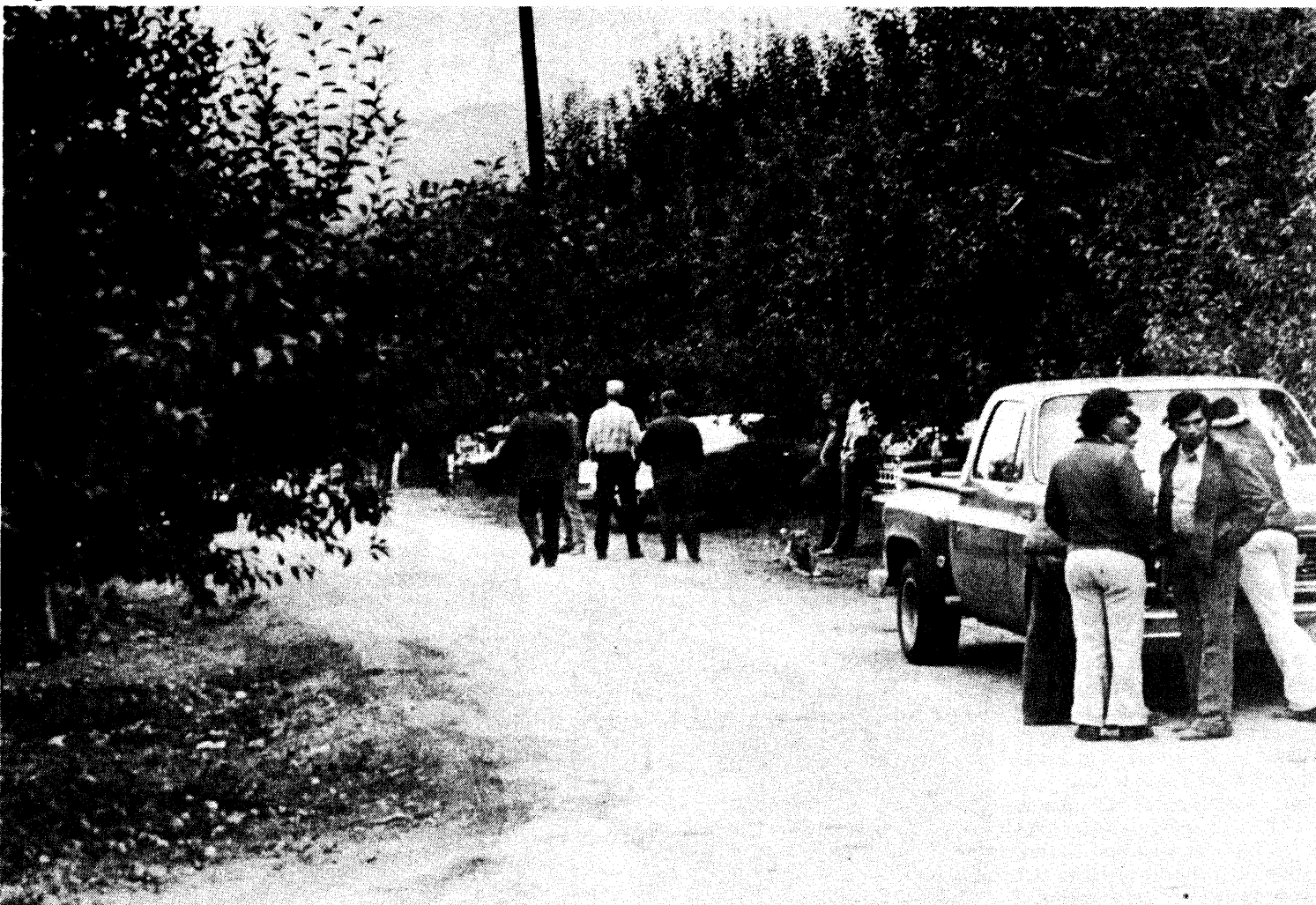
Buak and his Teamsters have not been able to effectively recruit workers. The UFW has massive support in Watsonville, so the handful of workers are being brought in from Salinas, where they are not told that there is a strike. Many of the workers last week, when hearing of the strike, refused to cross picket lines and joined the strike.

Two weeks ago, three Teamster organizers beat up Ruiz, as well as another farm worker, Pedro Gonzales. "Three Teamsters jumped us with sticks when we were trying to tell some workers that they were breaking the strike," Carlos said.

"They broke Pedro's arm in two parts and broke his head too. I think these guys are being paid \$65 a day to do this.

"The sheriffs also are no better. They did nothing when we told them we were jumped. They allow these things to happen. We need more people to picket and defend ourselves because I don't want to see anyone get hurt."

Recently, a court injunction was issued to limit picketing. Strikes in Morgan Hill, Davis and Watsonville show the determination of farm workers to defeat once and for all the growers and the government.



Farm workers near Salinas on strike against Billy Buak's Apple Orchards.

# New England Telephone Plans 1300 Layoffs

BY DAVE FRANKS  
 BOSTON, Mass.—  
 New England Telephone has announced the reduction of its work force by 1300 employees effective October 26. The company claims the layoffs are needed, "because the rate of growth in volume of our business since the first of the year has fallen far short of expectations and the current economic outlook projects no im-

mediate improvement."

"They say business is not getting higher, but that's a cold blooded lie," Cedric, one of the 1300 members of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 22221 who received their notices Friday, told the *Bulletin*.

"I gave up two years of my life. If I'd known this was going to happen, I would not have given the time up. They use you to make money, that's all.

### HIRING

"Two years ago, they were hiring like mad. They put in all this

new equipment and now they're getting rid of you."

Frank, who has four years and didn't get his notice said, "It's just the beginning. They're hitting all the high-paid jobs: company repairmen, linemen, EI installers.

"It's got to do with the last contract. They figured out how many men they would have to dump to save the money they gave us for a raise. They are laying off everyone under three years, but they make out on both ends because the older guys are still going to retire.

"They laid off 12 guys in my department, but there's still work on my floor. They're offer-

ing some of the guys jobs as operators, but at operator's pay.

"I think there must have been an agreement between the union and the company. Some guys came around collecting money for the ones who got laid off. I told them that's no good. What happens when they spend that 10 bucks, where's the next one coming from? The union's got to strike; we've got to go out."

The Boston Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party will be fighting to build a new leadership in Local 22221 on a program of immediate strike action against all layoffs, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, and a wage reopener on the 1974 contract.

# Borax Miners Vote No

BY SHEILA BREHM  
 BORON, Calif.—The latest offer of US Borax has been rejected by the union negotiating committee, with overwhelming support of the action from members of International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union Local 30.

US Borax's wage offer was only 28 percent over three years and the cost of living escalator clause has been eliminated.

In spite of the vicious police terror against the strikers, the 800 miners are remaining firm on their demands for a 25 percent wage increase and full cost of living the first year.

The strike against the largest Borax mine in the world is heading into the fourth month.

At the latest membership meeting, ILWU international representative Bill Percy told the strikers that ILWU members would be asked to raise their weekly voluntary assessment to

aid the strike from one dollar to five.

Local 30 members demanded more substantial support from the International, however. Local 30 union member Dennis Carter asked Percy if the ILWU leadership had communicated to dock workers unions throughout the world to black all Rio Tinto Zinc goods, as RTZ owns US Borax.

When Percy said this could be done, Carter said: "We know it could be done, I'm demanding that it be done." Percy pledged to the membership that steps would be taken to carry this out.

### TIE

Strikers were told at the meeting that International ILWU president Harry Bridges and two other ILWU representatives were given sole authority to "tie up ships carrying US Borax goods, if it was necessary and if it wouldn't destroy the union."

This is a giant retreat from Bridges' earlier pledge to Local 30 that he would, if necessary, shut down the docks. Bridges has not carried this out in spite of a full scale police mobilization against the Boron miners two weeks ago.

Overwhelmingly, the miners feel their strike is over the right of the union to exist. One miner said: "I started working at US Borax shortly before the strike began.

### RIGHTS

"Before, I was totally against unions. But when the strike began, I could see how they were trying to take away our rights, and since then I will fight for the right of working people to have a union. I've learned more in the three and one-half months of this strike than in the three years before."

US Borax was able to hire scabs and launch the police terror only because they were confident that Bridges would not live up to his pledge. The strategy of US Borax is to rely on Bridges to keep Local 30 isolated.

An immediate campaign must be taken up by Local 30 members on the West Coast docks to not only black all RTZ goods, but to demand that Bridges carry out his pledge to shut down the docks. The attack against Local 30 is aimed at the entire ILWU, whose members on the docks face massive unemployment.

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# Camera Company Lays Off 1400

BY MARTY JONAS

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—Lockheed has its Tristar jet engine, Pan Am has its 747, and now Polaroid has its SX-70.

Polaroid, the great success story of the past 25 years, is now foundering on the financial rocks. In the 1973 to 1974 stock market, Polaroid did the worst of all the tumbling glamor stocks. From a 1973 to 1974 high of 143 1/2, it closed August 29, 1974, at 20 7/8, a decline of 85.5 percent.

The ones who are paying the immediate price for this are the Polaroid workers. Fourteen hundred are being laid off at the Polaroid operations in the greater Boston area—10 percent of the total work force.

Polaroid was started a few years after the end of World War Two by Edwin H. Land, a scientist who had left Harvard in his late teens to develop and manufacture polarizing lenses for the general public.

In 1948, Land developed and marketed the first instant-picture camera, called the Polaroid Land Camera. It sold very well. From then on, it was one remarkable achievement in photography after another: 10 second photographs, instant color pictures, instant negatives and positives from one pack, and finally the SX-70.

## LAND

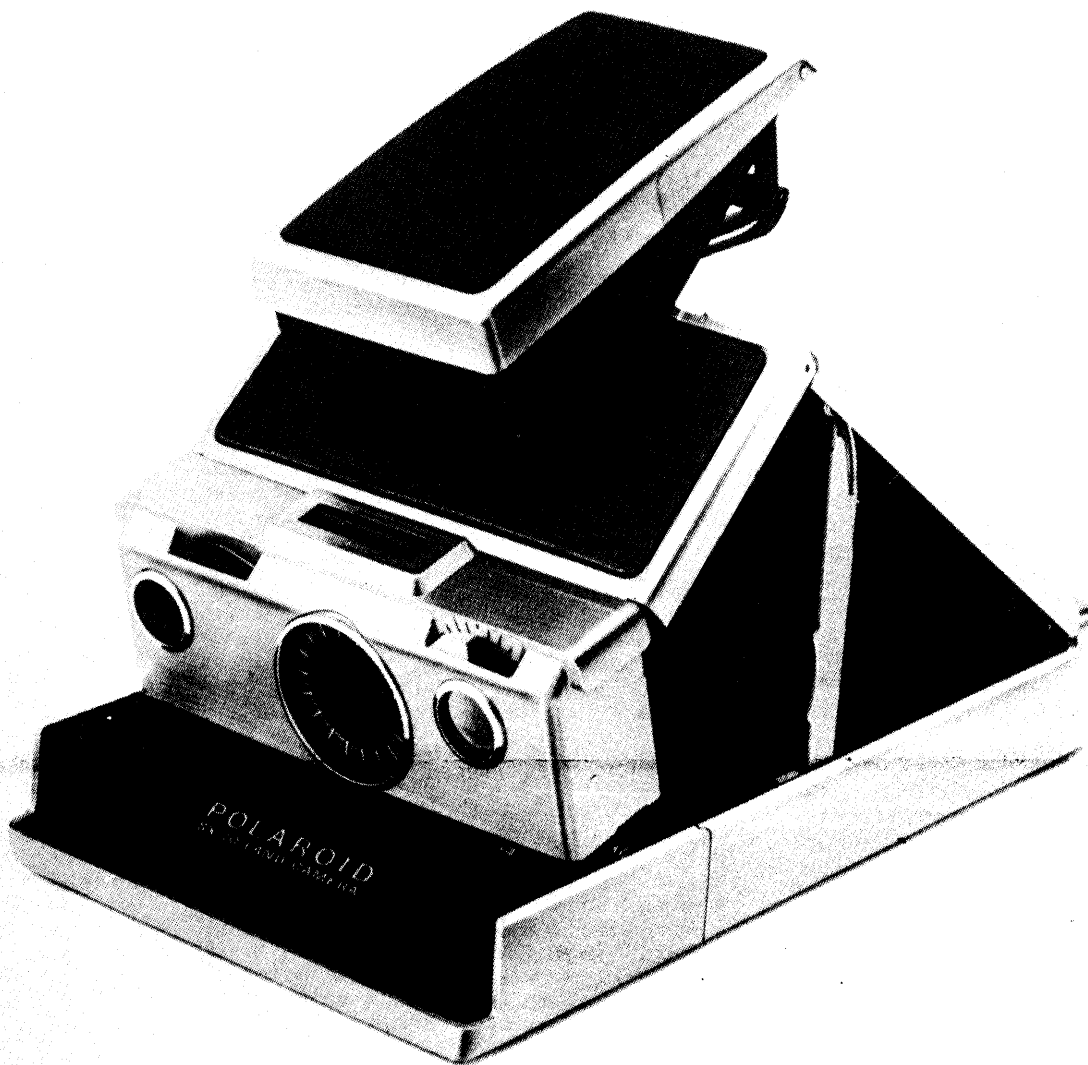
The company has always been dominated by Land, now 64, a great contributor to liberal causes who has been able to keep the unions out of Polaroid and has generously given the workers their own "company association," i.e., company union.

He and his family currently own 4.9 million shares of Polaroid. According to *Fortune* magazine, Land, ever the visionary, has decreed that after he retires, the company must always be headed by a scientist.

Polaroid grew up in the boom of the 1950s and Polaroid acts as though the boom was still here. This outlook has brought it to the edge; the SX-70 is pushing it over.

At a time when the buying power of workers and the middle class has been crippled by inflation, Polaroid decided to bring out a popular camera—the SX-70—to retail for \$180. The *Wolfman Report*, the camera trade's financial journal, stated that in 1972, US sales of all cameras

# From Polaroid: The 2-Second Bankruptcy



The SX-70

priced over \$100 totaled only 1.3 million.

Despite this, Polaroid went ahead. Seven years and \$250 million in research went into the SX-70. Important ground was broken in the fields of optics, photographic chemistry, and electronics. The 24-ounce camera delivered beautiful, durable color prints in 1.5 seconds.

The SX-70 was introduced in 1973 in a nine million dollar nationwide advertising campaign. This included Sir Laurence Olivier in his first TV commercial, very elegantly boosting the SX-70.

Land referred to the SX-70 as "a half-billion dollar investment." \$25 million of this went to build a plant in Norwood, Mass., one of five new plants

built solely for the SX-70. Up until the SX-70, Polaroid had farmed out the manufacture of color negative film—a very delicate and expensive process—to Kodak.

For the new camera, Polaroid decided to do it themselves and sank \$60 million into a new plant in New Bedford, Mass. This plant does nothing but make color negative film for the SX-70. In order to produce its own chemicals for the new film, Polaroid built a highly computerized chemical plant in Waltham, Mass., at a cost of \$13 million.

Even with such an optimistic beginning, Polaroid's troubles with the SX-70 had already started.

The national introduction of the SX-70 was almost a year behind schedule. Most problems had to do with the ultraminiature electronic components of the camera and many of the same problems still persist.

## EXPENSIVE

Quality control of the precise electronic and photochemical components remain expensive and difficult.

By far the biggest hurdle, one the company may never have a chance to jump, is the film pack. This expensive (\$6.90 for 10 pictures) ingredient is an important development in photography. It contains its own battery to power the flash bulbs,

a tiny motor that delivers the picture, and the electronic gadgetry.

Rather than replacing a battery in the camera every several months, the battery is replaced every time a new film pack is inserted.

The old one is thrown away with the used film pack. This is very clever, but it cuts the shelf life of Polaroid SX-70 film down to the shelf life of the battery. The shelf life of a roll of instamatic or 35 mm film is a couple of years. The shelf life of Polaroid SX-70 film is five months.

The stiff price of the SX-70 camera, together with the short shelf life of the film, has created great resistance among photo dealers to carrying the SX-70 system. Polaroid labs are hard at work, but have yet to solve the problem of the film's shelf life.

Polaroid's problems have just begun. Soaring prices of materials and production are steadily aggravating an already sick condition.

## MONOPOLY

The giant Kodak company is reported ready to beat down Polaroid's monopoly on instant pictures with its own instant picture system.

New York magazine reports that Chase Manhattan Bank, one of the company's largest stockholders, is getting ready to dump all its 792,000 shares (\$51 million) of Polaroid stock. In 1973, Chase sold \$31 million worth of Polaroid. Chemical Bank has also been reported as selling its Polaroid stock.

According to Louis Rusitzky of the Boston brokerage firm Adams, Harkness, & Hill: "Polaroid's finished as investment stock. There are too many questions, too many uncertainties...and the impact on Polaroid could be disastrous when Kodak comes out with its instant film system (perhaps next year). I think a fund has a fiduciary responsibility not to own this stock."

The company has marketed a cheap model SX-70, is bringing out a cheap black and white instant camera called the ZIP, and talks vaguely of research on instant movie film and slides. But all these plans cannot hide the fact that although sales rose over the last four years from \$522 million to \$701 million, the profits dropped from \$71 million to \$52 million.

Polaroid built five new factories for the SX-70, in effect rebuilt the company at incredible expense. But to make such an expansion worthwhile, the factories would have to run at full-capacity full-time. Reality caught up with Land. The market for the SX-70 was not the same as the market for the earlier cameras during the boom.

## OVER-PRICED

A modern scientific wonder, the SX-70 was, however, over-researched, over-manufactured, and over-priced. If Polaroid does not close down, merge, or get bought out, it will most certainly slow down to a crawl. The mass layoffs are just the beginning. They happen at the same time as mass layoffs are begun by New England Telephone and Boston Gas.

The first step for all Polaroid workers who are now faced with the threat of layoffs and unemployment on a mass scale, is to reject the "company association" at Polaroid, and to fight for organization into the trade union movement for a united fight against these attacks.

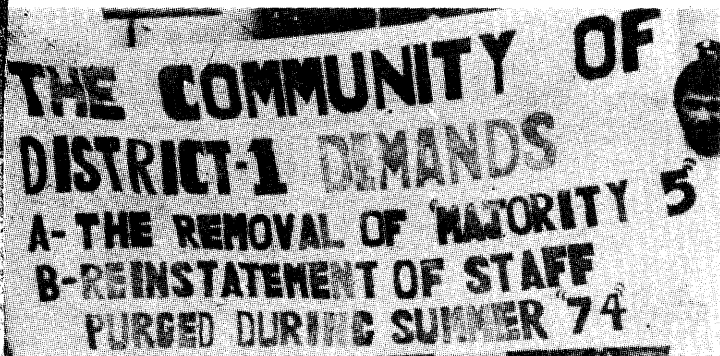


A Polaroid center shuts down in Boston.

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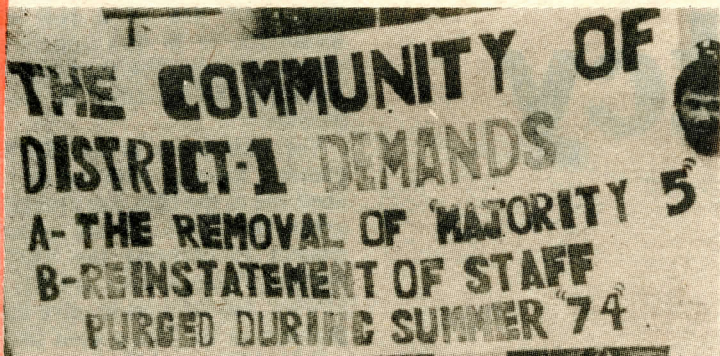
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 ● Forward to the daily Bulletin!

Friday October 25, 8pm

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