

Bulletin

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

HOOVER

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INSTITUTION

VOLUME TEN NUMBER EIGHTY FIVE 421

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1974

UNION LABEL 6

TWENTY CENTS

200,000 MORE OUT OF WORK

BY MELODY FARROW

The recession that has thrown thousands of auto workers and construction workers out of their jobs is spreading like wildfire to every section of the economy.

Unemployment jumped from 5.8 percent to 6 percent this month, the highest jobless rate for October since 1941. This means another 200,000 lost their jobs in one month.

Next month's figures will be even grimmer. Last Friday, Ford Motor Company announced 13,000 would be on layoff this week, 1000 of them indefinitely. This affects the small car assembly plants in Dearborn, Michigan, Metuchen, New Jersey, and San Jose, California, as well as parts plants.

MOTOROLA

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The fact that factory orders for durable goods (basic metals and transportation equipment) declined 5.9 percent last month means that big layoffs are ahead in aerospace, steel, and the entire electrical industry.

PRETENSE

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William Seidman, Ford's chief economic consultant, coolly declared on television last week that unemployment had to keep rising as "a necessary" cure for inflation.

Secretary of the Treasury William Simon told the press that the government would not back down on its antiinflation program as it had in the past. "I intend to insist on a budget cut and I intend to insist on a tax increase," he warned.

While millions of workers are demanding the trade union leadership take action to defend

jobs, the AFL-CIO bureaucrats are scurrying around like frightened sheep.

It is nothing but a fraud for Emil Maze, vice-president of the United Auto Workers Union to declare: "We simply must send a strong message to Washington that we expect our government to do something about the economic crisis this nation faces."

What the labor bureaucrats do not want to confront is that it is the conscious policy of the Ford government to fuel the recession. The big bankers and billionaire industrialists behind Ford are calling the shots. The Federal Reserve Board is tightening up credit, thus triggering closures and bankruptcies in a desperate attempt to control the inflation that is destroying their profits.

UNCONTROLLABLE

But this inflation is uncontrollable because the value of paper dollars, no longer backed by gold, keeps on depreciating. Inflation is now at the point where the capitalist class cannot stave off a complete collapse.

The bankers have no intention of pumping more money into an economy already staggering under a mountain of worthless dollars.

Depression, mass unemployment and superexploitation are the solution of the capitalist class to the crisis of their bankrupt system.

HANDOUTS

Millions of workers are not just going to quietly take their place on the unemployment line or take measly government

(continued on page 11)



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Miller In Secret Talks With Ford

BY FRANK MARTIN

The last chances for stopping a national miners' strike are quickly evaporating.

The United Mine Workers bargaining Council, which must ratify any contract offer, has been sent home from the Washington talks. This followed a blowup at the talks on Sunday, when the Bituminous Coal Operators Association refused to respond to union demands for sick pay and a cost of living increase.

Harry Patrick, UMW secretary-treasurer, accused the mine owners of stalling and "utter contempt." He said there was now no way of avoiding a national strike starting midnight, November 11.

Walkouts could begin as early

as next Saturday. Even if UMW President Miller comes up with a last minute deal, there is every indication that the miners will reject it.

The greatest danger facing the miners is the continued collusion of Miller with the government and the coal bosses. Last Tuesday, Miller met with President Ford. Not a single thing has been explained about the purpose or the results of this meeting.

Even at this point, Miller continues to meet with federal mediation chief W.J. Usery, Jr. They are discussing a contract based on the recent steel agreement. This deal imposed a 3% wage increase on basic steel workers. Even if the coal bosses increase their offer to 5 or 6 percent, what does this mean for miners under conditions when inflation is rising at 12 percent?

George Viers, a West Virginia miner, told the Bulletin:

"They're trying to rush through this contract. We're entitled to as much as the best of the major industries."

Miller claimed at the start of negotiations that "the men don't want a strike." But Viers said: "The miners want the full right to strike written into the contract."

On the safety issue, where Miller claims to have won some concessions, Viers stated: "The coal companies will make an agreement with you and then turn around and break it."

He added: "A lot of people are not pleased with Miller's meeting with Ford. This contract is none of Ford's business."

With every passing day, strike fever is mounting on the coal fields throughout the country. The miners are right in not trusting Miller's negotiations.

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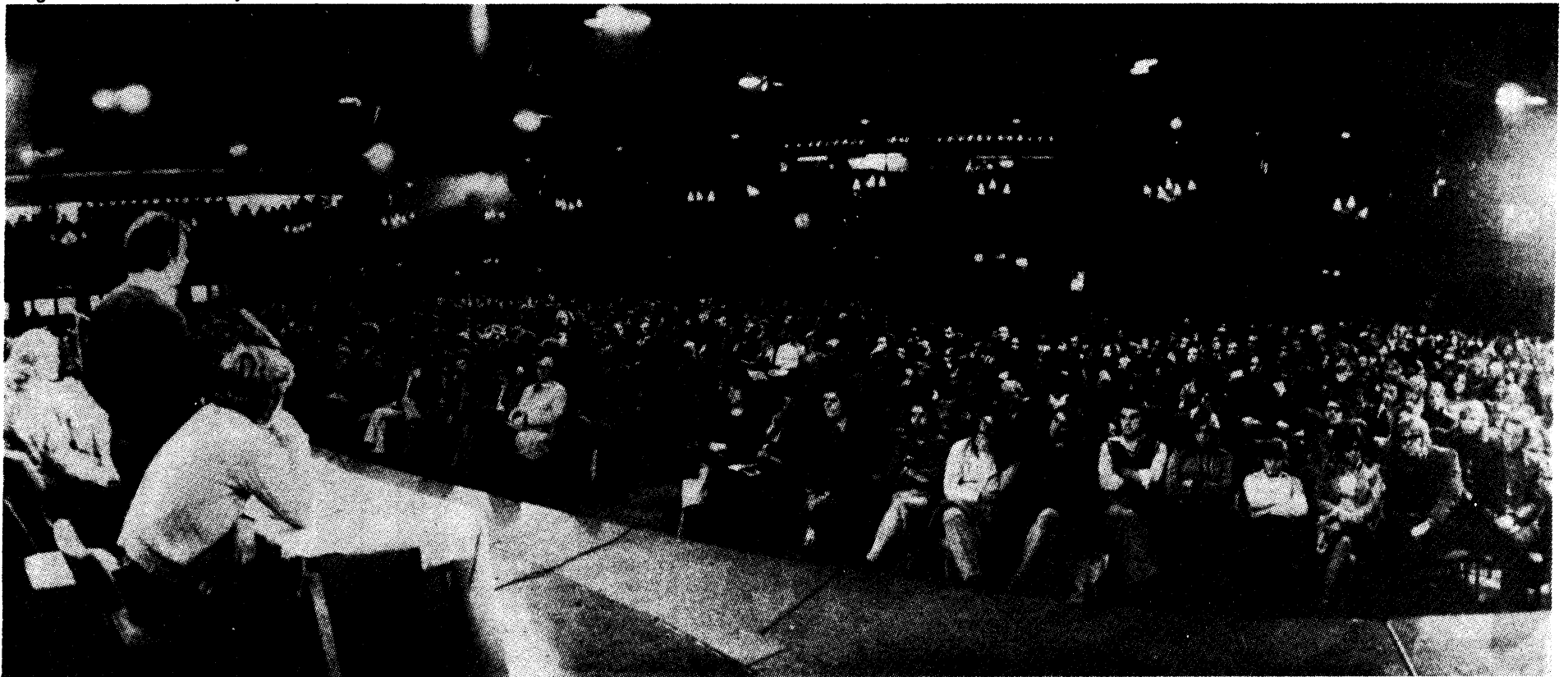
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BRITAIN: 3000 GREET 5 YEARS OF DAILY WORKERS PRESS

BY A REPORTER

The Fifth Anniversary Meeting of the Workers Press in Britain—first daily Trotskyist newspaper in the world—shows the growing strength of the Workers Revolutionary Party in the working class.

It was a powerful meeting of over 3,000 trade unionists, housewives, and youth who packed the Hammersmith Palais in London on October 27.

Speakers included WRP General Secretary Gerry Healy, auto workers Alan Thornett and John Dillon, and Vanessa Redgrave, WRP candidate for parliament.

When the campaign was launched for the daily at the 1964 First Young Socialists Conference, all the revisionists contemptuously sneered that it could not be done.

The Workers Press has been published continuously since September 27, 1969 (replacing the twice-weekly Newsletter). It has been in the forefront of every struggle of the British working class and has laid the basis for the building of the mass revolutionary party.

FUND

Its sole financial support is the thousands of workers and youth who contribute regularly to the monthly fund drives which have always been met in full.

Gerry Healy, addressing the meeting, said: "Every issue of the Workers Press is a powerful verification of the historical significance of Trotskyism as a continuation of the teachings of

Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

"Throughout the 44 years of the struggle to build the Trotskyist party in Britain, every principle has been checked out in practice many times over.

"No other movement faces the future better equipped theoretically than ours. This applies in particular to our historical analysis of the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism and the social-democratic Labor bureaucrats taken in conjunction with the mishmash of centrist groupings who hover in between them."

Healy spoke of Stalinism, which represents the privileged bureaucracy in the Soviet Union:

"Historically speaking, the Stalinist bureaucracy represents—and still represents to this day—degeneration in the workers movement, which reflects imperialist pressure upon that movement, without being able to change the nationalized

property relations established by the October Revolution.

"This is the reason why the Workers Press, continuing the theoretical work of Trotsky, fights day in and day out to expose the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism which is today based on the reformist theory of the 'peaceful road to socialism.'"

Healy explained that social democrats, such as the British Labor Party leaders and trade union bureaucrats, reflect the pressure of the capitalist class. During times when capitalism is threatened, they always defend it.

UNPRINCIPLED

He said that all the revisionist and centrist groups reject this analysis and form unprincipled alliances with the bureaucracy because they reject the crisis of capitalism and the revolutionary tasks facing the working class. "Phrases such as sectarian easily drip from the lips of the cowardly opportunists.

"The struggles of workers since the General Election, such as the strike of Scottish trade unionists, shows that the working class is moving rapidly to the left and is advancing demands that mean a collision with the Labor government and its 'social contract'.

"As in every revolutionary period, we are saying that the mood of the masses has changed rapidly in the course of these strikes.

"...Power is about to be posed in its sharpest form and the greatest achievement of the past year for the Workers Press was the establishment of the Workers Revolutionary Party almost a year ago.

PRACTICE

"This struggle of the Workers Press to exist as a daily newspaper represents in effect the struggle of every single member of the WRP, reader, and supporter to carry Marxist theory into practice.

"We insist that the building of the Revolutionary Party is bound up with the political development of the working class. The growing influence of the Workers Press, therefore, reflects the powerful thrust forward of the working class for a



Gerry Healy

revolutionary settlement with capitalism."

The meeting was followed by a special play, 1931, written and performed by members and supporters of the WRP. The play is about the betrayal of the Labor Party government in 1931 which paved the way for a coalition and severe attacks on the working class.

The Workers Press was made possible because of the fight taken up by the Young Socialists to take the newspaper to the factories, the shipyards, the mines and car plants, and by the turn of the party towards the training of a leadership in the trade unions.

CONSERVATIVES

When the Conservative Party won the 1970 election, the Workers Press called on the working class to mobilize and force Heath out of office.

It led the fight against the anti-union Industrial Relations Act and the state pay laws. This policy was confirmed in February, 1974 when the struggle of the miners over wages forced Heath to resign.

In the last General Election on October 10, 1974, the WRP ran 10 candidates to fight for socialist policies and to warn that the Labor Party, if returned to power, would betray the working class.

The campaign was a tremendous success. In the two and one-half weeks of the campaign, 2,000 members were recruited to the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Castro Supports Nixon Pardon

BY DIANNE ISAACS

"It will take decades to change the economic and social system of the United States. It is the last place in the world where change will take place, because capitalism there has given the maximum results."

These are the words of Fidel Castro, the "self-made Marxist" hero of the revisionists and Stalinists, whose interview was televised October 23 in a special entitled "CBS Reports: Castro, Cuba, and the USA."

"SOFTER"

As anchorman Dan Rather remarked, Castro's tone was quite a bit "softer" for the American reporters than it had been the previous evening, where he spoke against American imperialism to a gathering in Havana.

So anxious is Castro to begin negotiations with the US capitalist class to remove the economic blockade that he began the interview by praising Ford for pardoning Nixon, declaring:

"You found a correct formula to liquidate the matter" and that a trial "would have been troublesome."

He professed a "certain hope" about Ford because he believes Ford, unlike Nixon, is "not involved with Cuban counterrevolutionaries."

LAMENTABLE

Most revealing of all, Castro, finds it "lamentable" that Henry Kissinger masterminded the Pinochet-CIA coup in Chile. The murder and torture of thousands of militants and revolutionaries in Chile was, according to Castro, a "blow to Kissinger's prestige" and might "allow the enemies of international detente to gain an advantage."

"Kissinger does not hate Cuba," Castro states. "He is a realistic politician in favor of international detente."

POWER

Castro also revealed that he is absolutely opposed to the working class taking power in Latin America. "A revolutionary process has been going on in Peru," he proclaimed, "because the government can count on the support of the army. Allende's trouble was that he did

not have military support."

Such is the contempt of this so-called revolutionary for the international working class.

But as American capitalism faces its most tremendous political and economic crisis and the determined struggle of the working class internationally, it is not unexpected that Castro gives his full support to the architects of dictatorship all over the world.

CRISIS

This has thrown the Castro regime into tremendous crisis. The Soviet Union pours \$1.5 million a day in loans, raw materials, personnel, and equipment into the country. Cuba is completely dependent on the international market because of its one crop sugar economy. Castro is forced to move closer to imperialism by the very logic of the crisis. He proclaimed that lifting the US economic blockade would create "conditions of equality" between the US and Cuba.

Castro's policies are based on the perspective of Stalinism, which is to maintain faith in the "good will" of the capitalist class and hold back the working class from revolutionary struggle.

Tarrytown Men Want UAW Action Against Layoffs

**BY A REPORTER
TARRYTOWN, NY—**
The men of UAW Local 664 are angry.

They are angry because on November 8, 2000 of them are going to be laid off from the GM plant at Tarrytown and nothing is being done about it.

Tony, an assembly worker, spoke to the Bulletin:

"It's a rotten situation. Everyone knows the layoffs are coming, but the union won't say anything.

"They put up a sign on the bulletin board saying there won't be any information for at least another two weeks. Don't we even have the right left to know if we're going to be thrown out ahead of time?"

"They're saying that the cutoff point will be anyone hired on or after September 18, 1963. But they may very well move that back soon to January 15. I've worked at the plant for close to 10 years, so my chances don't look very good.

"The conditions inside the plant are not what they should be. You work at least 56 jobs an hour. It's a hectic pace. I work with the vinyl and clips. We work in teams of two, but lately they've cut out some jobs and forced the two of us to do the job of three men.

OLD

"Now, they're going to cut out all the younger guys and make the old guys work on the line. Guys with 23, 24, or 28 years experience, some of them 50 years old and over. Most of these guys have been working soft jobs like maintenance or millwright. Now, for instance, they are going to eliminate 40 jobs in millwright and either force these guys to work on the line or throw them out.

"How are these guys going to keep up with the pace of the line? Nobody over 40 years old could do it. They'd be crazy because it would be unbearable.

"I put my time in on this job. With a wife and two kids, I've got a right to know where I stand. The union has got a responsibility to do something here.

"I make \$10,000 a year. With the SUB (Supplementary Unemployment Benefits) payments, I figure I'm alright for a year. But it's true that GM's SUB fund is very low.

"If this thing isn't temporary, if they just go ahead and shut down the whole plant like they're doing in Detroit, then a lot of people are going to be in trouble.

"It just seems to me that Nixon comes in and does one-half of it and Ford comes in to do the other half."

HARD

Mary, Tony's wife, added: "Times are hard enough. I used to work at the Tarrytown Nursing Home. Before they brought in a union, they used to pay us nothing.

"I left that job and they refused to give me a reference letter. I haven't been able to find a new job and now he's going to be laid off."

The layoffs in Tarrytown threaten to make it a ghost town. A housewife said: "My husband works for Anchor Trucking which hauls the cars from the plant. We moved here from New York City to settle down. Now, with these layoffs, we might have to move back again and look for work in the city."

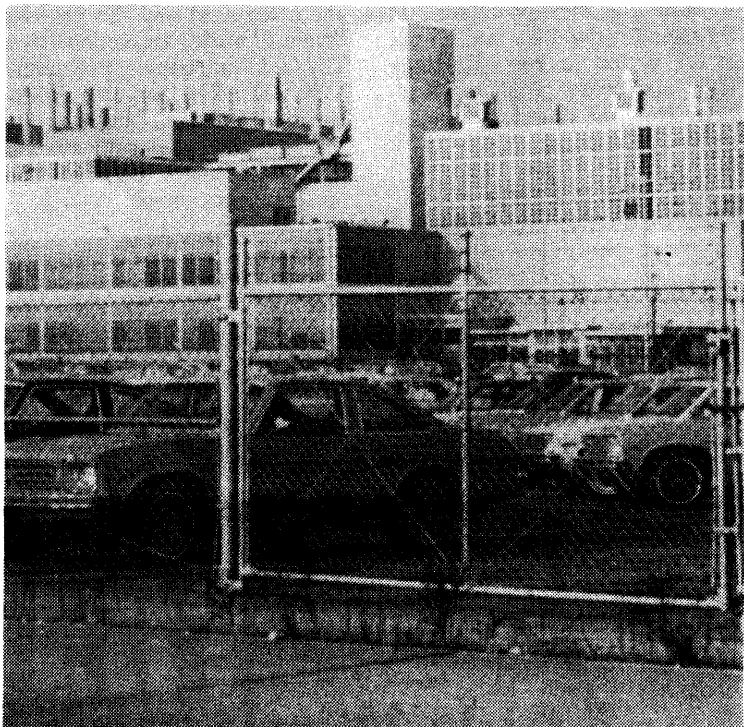
Outside the plant gate, another worker told the Bulletin: "I work part-time. I come up from

workers. Unity is more important than ever before."

CRITICIZE

What Scott really means is that auto workers should unite behind Woodcock and not criticize the officials who are primarily responsible for not preparing the men for the layoffs and who are so terrified of the ranks they will not even call a union meeting.

Auto workers must begin the struggle against the Woodcock leadership and demand a national auto strike to stop all scheduled layoffs and to recal



General Motors Tarrytown plant.

New York, where I study, to work here. The UAW has done nothing to defend the jobs of part-time workers, who are all being laid off. They are throwing us onto the streets and if I don't have a job, there is no way I'll be able to continue studying."

Another worker said: "I come from Haiti. I have a wife and four kids. They try to divide you, American against immigrant, black against white. But these layoffs will now unite all workers in a fight against this outrage."

BUREAUCRATS

The bureaucrats at Local 664 do not take too kindly to men buying the Bulletin. They always make sure one of their own is at the gate to try and discourage sales. But they have not succeeded. As one older worker put it:

"Build a labor party. That's what we need. If I have to go back on that line, I'll die."

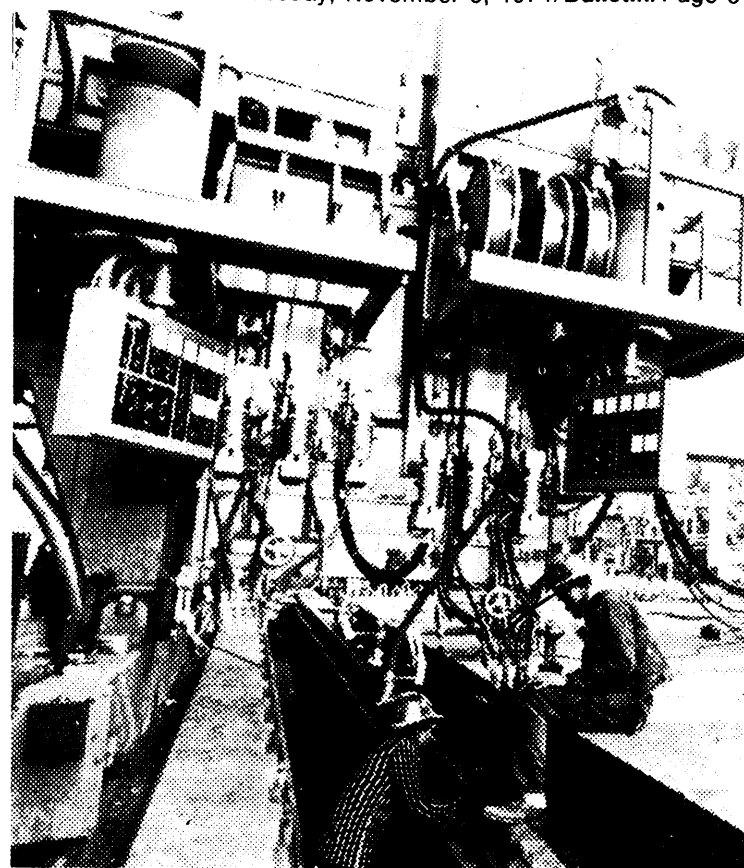
The Daily World, the newspaper of the Stalinist American Communist Party, is seeking to prevent a struggle against the UAW bureaucrats like Leonard Woodcock and Ray Calore who refuse to take action to defend jobs.

By quoting these officials without comment, the CP wants to create the fraudulent impression that they intend to fight.

Bill Scott, a zone committeeman at Tarrytown, is quoted in the Daily World as saying: "The enemy is at this point GM... Our main concern must be the

all those laid off before. The UAW must declare a policy of occupations of any plant that closes.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is fighting to organize a new leadership in the UAW based on a program to mobilize and unite the working class against the Ford government. This means the call for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party, in order to nationalize the auto industry and all basic industries under workers' control and to institute immediately a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to provide jobs.



Seatrains workers at Brooklyn Navy Yard.

'Seatrains Is A Slave Yard'

**BY A REPORTER
NEW YORK, NY—**

Workers at the Seatrain naval yard in Brooklyn are angry about the three-year contract signed between management and full-time union officials.

It provides for an utterly useless 85 cents an hour increase.

This does not compensate for the sharp rises in the cost of living over the past few years and will not meet the prices explosion already underway.

The deal was reached without consultation with the 4000-strong work force which produces supertankers for the oil monopolies.

Speaking to the Bulletin, workers deplored the officials of the Seafarers International Union who had concocted the package behind the workers' backs.

MANAGEMENT

"These union officials work with the management all the time," one worker said. "Instead of doing what we tell them, instead of working on our behalf, they are part of management."

UPS Blackmails Strikers

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, NY—United Parcel Service has threatened to close its New York City warehouses if members of Teamsters Local 804 do not end their 65-day strike.

During the strike, all metro-area deliveries have been handled by the Secaucus, New Jersey terminal and UPS claims that this facility could handle the entire 265,000 parcels-a-day operation. The company claims that it is losing \$8 million a year on operations in the area.

The striking Teamsters are faced with the greatest danger, as Local 804 President Ron Carey has committed himself to "amend our position" if the company's books are opened to the union and the financial difficulties can be confirmed.

UPS is demanding the right to cut at least 1200 of the 4500 union members and replace them as needed with part-time help. They have offered raises of \$26 a week this year and \$12 a week in the second and third year of the contract.

The Teamsters International has refused throughout the strike to allow Local 804 pickets to shut down the Secaucus facility and prevent rerouting.

A total of 218 UPS facilities have Teamster contracts across the country, and the ranks must mobilize now to demand action by the International in support of the New York jobs.

Signs of a rank and file revolt have emerged in the formation of a Seatrain Workers Committee set up to "make the union be a union."

An anonymous leaflet says: "You are the union. You are supposed to tell the union what to do. We got to let the union know we know this.

"The union better represent us. We are going to make the union be a union. We are going to let them know we are the force, that we are the union."

Such a campaign can only be realized on the basis of a fight to unite the Seatrain work force in a struggle for decent wages and conditions. (Safety is a burning issue since hardly a week goes by without some serious accident.)

MEETING

Workers must demand a mass meeting to reject the management's offer. They must instruct their officials to fight for a contract determined by the rank and file.

Such a contract must call for a substantial pay increase which covers past losses of earnings and future increases in the cost of living; a cost of living clause which gives regular increases according to rises in living costs; an end to all work hazards and dangerous work practices; increased holidays; better shift allowances.

Seatrains workers are prepared for a principled fight behind these demands. A welder said: "They are turning this place into a slave yard. The men are fed up.

TRUST

"We don't trust the union officials or the politicians, Republican or Democrats. I heard a TV commercial for Carey the other night in which they said he had provided 6000 jobs in the yards. The company says there are 4000 jobs. I think the figure is nearer 3000.

"We can't trust these people at all. They lie about jobs, inflation, everything."

Asked about the building of a labor party, he replied: "We've got to have our own party. People are ready for it. That's the only way working people are going to have a party to protect them."



20,000 construction workers demonstrate against unemployment and the union-busting tactics of the area contractor in Somers, New York.

Building Men Demand Jobs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM SOMERS, NY, Oct. 31—**"The really bad thing is, Westchester County is in the strongest shape in the whole state."**

Tommy McMahon is a member of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 501. He and close to 20,000 other construction workers from throughout the area demonstrated at Somers today against unemployment and the union-busting tactics of area contractor Henry Paparazzo.

Eighteen to fifty percent of all construction workers in the county are currently unemployed, according to county officials. McMahon estimates that 500 members of his local will be unemployed over the winter.

LOCAL 25

Local 25 in Long Island is in worse shape. New York City's Local 3, which usually can absorb extra craftsmen from suburban areas is now holding its own list of unemployed members.

"When electricians are out of work, you know things are really looking bad," McMahon said. "We can work inside, when the laborers and the carpenters who make forms for concrete have to stay home.

"As long as they've been working in the spring, we have work to go through the winter.

"But there wasn't much work this spring and summer. The interest rates are too high to start building. In White Plains, by our local headquarters, there are blocks of empty lots, where they were planning to put up office buildings. All they built were fences.

HOUSING

"Housing is bad, too. Rents are not going to be cheap, no matter who builds it. And if a man's out of work, he can't pay \$300 or \$400 a month rent or buy a place for \$40,000."

Several of the men pointed out that the situation would be far worse now that the nearby Tarrytown General Motors plant was closing down its night shift, throwing 2,000 workers off the job.

Under these conditions, construction union ranks are determined to win union rights at the huge Heritage Hills condominium development in Somers, one of the few large construction sites in the state. Members of 35 construction unions

closed every job in the county to fill the fields and roads near the \$200 million dollar project.

The 3000-unit development is expected to take eight more years to complete, and occupies almost 900 acres. Developer Henry Paparazzo has refused to pay union wages at the site, and all union members have boycotted Heritage Hills jobs since early summer, staging a series of smaller demonstrations and pickets.

Paparazzo is working the project largely with Connecticut workers whom he claims are employees of his company, and with French Canadian laborers. The press, and the union leadership itself, have attempted to divert the determined fight for jobs and union rights into a reactionary campaign against out-of-state and "alien" workers.

Union officials helped to prepare a raid last month by the United States Naturalization and Immigration agents, who deported five French Canadian workers.

"The issue is not really aliens," McMahon said. "Everyone needs to work. Paparazzo is trying to break the union. He's saying we can come in and work, but he won't pay us our union wages.

"If one local gave in, that would start the whole thing. Before you know it, the card we carry won't mean anything."

ISSUE

"There's another issue behind the jobs issue," Matty from Local 501 added. "He's hiring guys who will do more than one job, and he pays them low wages and no benefits. If he can do that, any builder will be able to do that."

Paparazzo is said to be paying as little as \$3.50 an hour on the site. He has gone to great lengths to continue the work, even hiring a helicopter to airlift a trailer of supplies when a Teamster driver refused to cross a picket line one day this summer.

Most supplies are brought in from out of state because of the wide support among Teamster drivers from the area. A complete lumber mill has been set up at Heritage Hills to cut the number of deliveries that must be made.

The Heritage Hills homes will sell for \$38,500 to \$73,000, yet they are so poorly built that they are potentially death-traps, according to the Local 501 members. Many of the units have garages directly under the bedrooms, built with no proper insulation against carbon monoxide fumes and no fire-proofing.

The flood of construction

workers that poured into Somers is an indication of the tremendous determination to defend both the right to a job and the right to a union. Yet the leadership of these 35 unions still refuses to mobilize an all-out strike action to keep Heritage Hills and every other construction site shut down until union rights are assured.

POLITICIANS

At the rally, they paraded dozens of politicians campaigning for the November 5 election. To the thousands of men gathered in the morning fog, they proposed that the unions and the men cancel their insurance policies with companies belonging to the Hartford Fund, which is said to be helping fund Paparazzo.

"Gov. Wilson, he was best, because he told the truth," Matty said. "He said he's not going to do anything."

"I think we would have been better off if the politicians hadn't

come at all," McMahon said.

The Westchester County demonstration was the latest in a series of mass protests by construction workers, hit hard by unemployment and the growing "right to work" anti-union drive. The fact that so many politicians have walked on the picket line at Heritage Hills and turned out for the early-morning rally reveals their enormous fear of this powerful movement.

CRIMINAL

This makes all the more criminal the role of the union leadership, which maintains the closest ties with the state and federal governments even as they slash construction budgets.

The ranks of the building trades unions must turn immediately to the preparation of a new leadership to break these ties and defend construction unions in the fight for a labor party demanding the nationalization of the banks and all construction.

Abel Aids Witch-hunt In Local 890

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE SILVER CITY, New Mexico—With the assistance of steel worker head I.W. Abel, two officials of Local 890 here have been dismissed by the Kennecott Copper Company.

Juan Chacon and Israel Romero, who led the fight to organize area copper miners into the Mine, Mill, and Smelters Union during a month-long strike in 1953, were dismissed for "leading an illegal strike." Local 890 walked out for two weeks when copper contracts expired nationally last July 1.

According to both the company and officials of the United Steel Workers of America, which now organizes the local, the walk-out was a wildcat because Abel had extended the contract in a last-minute negotiating move. During grievance hearings on last week's dismissals, an International representative has reiterated the International's position that the

walkout at the Chino Mines was, in fact, illegal.

Juan Chacon is president of the local, which organizes some 700 miners at Kennecott's Chino facilities and about 600 additional copper workers from nearby Phelps-Dodge and U.V. Industries mines. He is widely known in the labor movement for his appearance in the film *Salt of the Earth*, which records the organizing struggles of the local.

Chacon told the *Bulletin* in a telephone interview that the dismissals are now being processed through normal grievance channels.



Juan Chacon

According to Chacon, the firings may be taken to court if they are not reinstated, or a job action might be started. "The men are ready to do anything we advise," he said.

"A strike on this issue would be very difficult, but we may

Alcoa Fires 362 At Vernon Plant

BY VERA SULLIVAN

VERNON, Calif.—The sellout of the Alcoa Aluminum strike here has resulted in the firing of 362 workers, the continuation of the hated rotating shifts, and no change in the grievance procedure.

When the negotiating committee of the United Auto Workers Local 808 pushed through the contract at a meeting on October 27, they did not say a word about the layoffs. The vote was 427 to 224 to return.

Only later did the men get telegrams informing them that it was "unlikely" they would be called back. The entire extrusion department is laid off, and since the return to work, conditions have gotten worse.

At stake were the grueling and vicious rotating shifts which the company had forced on workers to increase production, and a company-oriented grievance procedure.

The company had tried to break the prolonged strike by routing products to the Ohio Alcoa plant and by threatening a closure.

The workers say the settlement is a hoax, because the purported modification in the rotating shifts is nonexistent and the grievance procedure has been changed in management's favor.

When asked whether workers are satisfied with the settlement, Louis Soto told the *Bulletin*: "No, we don't think so. We actually lost on the grievance procedure. It's worse than before.

"The grievance committee is allowed only four hours a week to get together with management to thrash out our grievances, and we don't see any change in the rotating shift system."

begin a work-to-rule action, an overtime ban, or something like that."

The copper contract negotiated with Kennecott has paved the way for sharp new attacks on the ranks, and Chacon said the firings are "intimidation, aimed at stopping the fight here on grievances and other issues."

He said that about 10 new grievances are filed each week, in addition to the dozens of safety violations and grievances that were taken into negotiation as local contract issues. Every one of these demands was left unresolved because of the contract Abel signed, which included a "wipe-out clause" to cancel any local issues left unsettled two weeks after signing.

Chacon reports: "The company has taken quite a bit of advantage. They have become very strict. They are expecting more work out of the men.

"At the same time, we have been given notice that they are going to stop refining here and send everything to Baltimore. That means 50 smelting men will be laid off.

"With the price of copper going down again, they are now working five or six days instead of seven. We are afraid that as many as 200 will be laid off by the end of the year.

"We begin negotiations on our next contract already in January, and if Abel will not fight for us, I feel the men might move very fast to leave the union."



THE MAKING OF A COLD WARRIOR

"Let us throw down these guns that we hate. With the morning, we shall go together and in charity and hope build a new life and a new world."

—Waves of Darkness
Cord Meyer Jr., 1945

BY FRANK MARTIN
In 1945, Cord Meyer Jr. was embarking on a crusade to save the world from annihilation.

Meyer was one of those "sensitive young men" who came from a well-to-do New York family. When he graduated with top honors from Yale in 1942, he was voted "the senior adjudged by the faculty to have done most for Yale by inspiring his classmates."

He joined the army and lost an eye in combat. Horrified by the war, he left the army determined that such an event should never occur again. He became a leading spokesman for a movement demanding world government.

Everything about Meyer seemed so right. His wife, Mary Pinchot, was a young, pretty crusader for liberal causes from an equally well-to-do family. She joined Meyer as he campaigned across the country to unite the world and stop "this insanity of war."

He was greeted with enthusiasm everywhere he went. His "evangelical fervor" won standing ovations. Co-eds pinned up his picture on their walls in campuses across the country.

Yet in 1973, a certain Mr. Cord Meyer Jr. shows up in Britain as a "political liaison officer" in the American embassy in London. He is certainly not there to convince the British on the merits of world government. On the contrary, Mr. Meyer is in charge of reorganizing and stepping up CIA operations inside Britain.

LIBERALISM

How did this pillar of American liberalism become a leading CIA man? An article published in the January 7, 1973 issue of the New York Times Magazine throws some light on this question. It is written by the novelist Merle Miller, an old associate of Meyer's during his liberal days.

In the period after World War Two, a wave of pacifism swept the American liberals. Just as, in 1941, they had rushed to "save the nation" through war, now they rushed to save the nation from it.

Meyer became involved from the outset. He gave up a private law practice in New Haven to become an aide to Comdr. Harold Stassen, a US delegate to

the drafting of the United Nations charter in San Francisco. There he met Charles Bolte, another veteran, who had just set up the American Veterans Committee.

Both Bolte and Meyer believed that the UN charter did not go far enough. Meyer wrote: "I left San Francisco with the conviction that World War Three was inevitable if the US was not substantially strengthened in the near future."

Bolte and Meyer set up a National Planning Committee of

with the American Communist Party. It seems that the CP had been making a futile effort to gain control of the American Legion (!). Finally, they decided it would be more useful to join the AVC.

The CP was, however, opposed to the abolition of the veto in the UN Security Council. Meyer fought them over this issue. He was accused of being a "fig leaf of American imperialism." He won out.

In any case, the AVC began to lose most of its popularity



Cord Meyer and wife Mary Pinchot in 1945.

the AVC to map out a campaign for world government. The group was lavishly publicized in the capitalist press and promoted as the "leaders of tomorrow."

COMMITTEE

The committee included: Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr.; Oren Root Jr., a liberal Republican; Gil Harrison, who became editor-in-chief of *The New Republic*; Michael Straight, at the time, editor of *The New Republic*; G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams, who became Assistant Secretary of State under John Kennedy and later governor of Michigan; and Robert Nathan, an economic advisor first to FDR and later to George McGovern.

Meyer and his crew began their crusade for world government. The idea behind the crusade, to the extent that there was any coherent idea, was to abolish the veto of the "Big Four Powers" on the UN Security Council and thereby make its decisions effective. This was combined with a call for a worldwide federated political system bound together by world law.

Appealing mainly to students, the AVC began to grow rapidly by the autumn of 1946. About this time, Meyer had his first run-in

around this time. Undaunted, Meyer continued his crusade. He published his book "Peace and Anarchy" in 1947. He joined together several smaller groups and formed the United World Federalists.

In 1947, the Junior Chamber of Commerce chose him as one of 10 outstanding young men in the USA. One of the other people on that list was "Richard M. Nixon, 34, of Whittier, Calif., Congressman."

By 1949, UWF membership had gone from 20,000 to 47,000, largely due to Meyer's efforts. But by that time, the popularity of pacifism began to wane in American liberal circles. The onset of the cold war and the McCarthyite witch-hunts had begun.

Meyer abandoned his world government movement. In 1951, after two years at Harvard, Meyer took a job with another well-known liberal of the period, Allen W. Dulles, at the Central Intelligence Agency.

William Sloane Coffin, Jr., later to become a liberal "cause celebre" as Chaplain of Yale and co-defendant in the draft conspiracy trial with Dr. Benjamin Spock, also joined the CIA in 1950.

Coffin describes it this way: "Stalin made Hitler look like a

Boy Scout. I was very strongly anti-Soviet...When I graduated from Yale in 1949, I was thinking of going into the CIA, but I went into seminary instead.

"After a year at the Union Theological Seminary, when war with the Soviet Union seemed to be threatening, I quit to go into the CIA, hoping to be useful in the war effort."

At that time, there was a whole rationalization created to justify the role of liberals in the CIA—to keep it out of the hands of the "reactionaries." Meyer was considered a leading light of the "enlightened, liberal, internationalist wing of the CIA."

A career in the CIA was considered an extension of liberal activity. And, in a sense, this was correct. For the hallmark of American liberalism before, during, and after the war has been its complete subordination to the requirements of American imperialism.

Meyer began his career as an assistant to Thomas Braden, an old friend from AVC, who was in charge of the department responsible for funneling money into organizations like Radio Free Europe and, later on, into the National Student Association. This was a key area of operations for ideological and propaganda work against Communism. The money in the NSA was used to buy off the student leaders and provide an opposition inside the international student organizations. It also gave the CIA valuable information about left-wing groups developing on the campuses.

At the time of the NSA exposures in the press in 1967, Drew Pearson wrote a series on the CIA in the *New York Post*. In the February 24, 1967 issue, Pearson discussed the close working relations between the CIA and the AFL-CIO. Jay Lovestone was the go-between. Pearson added: "Lovestone takes orders from Cord Meyer of the CIA."

RECRUITMENT

This was a multi-million dollar project for the systematic recruitment and training of trade union officials, particularly in Latin America, by the CIA.

A school for "trainees" was set up at Front Royal, Virginia, under the auspices of the American Institute for Free Labor Development. The "graduates" were extremely helpful on such key projects as the recent Chile coup.

Meyer's official position is Assistant Deputy Director of Plans. His boss, the Deputy

Director, is a man commonly known in Washington circles as "the Greek." His name is Thomas H. Karamessiness.

Karamessiness is second only to Director William Colby in the CIA. He and Meyer lead the department in charge of espionage and clandestine operations.

The Washington columnist, Stewart Alsop, described the Greek's role: "The DDP is Washington's closest equivalent to James Bond's boss, 'M'...Karamessiness's share of the CIA—the lion's share in both people and money—is called by detractors of the agency, 'the department of dirty tricks'."

It was Meyer who also was responsible for the attempted censoring of the recent book, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*, which dealt with the CIA's involvement in the narcotics traffic in Vietnam, and the successful censoring of another book, *The Cult of Intelligence*, by ex-CIA agents Victor Marchetti and John Marks.

POLITICS

One close acquaintance talked about Meyer's politics: "...in addition to godless Communism, it takes very little to get Cord started on the subject of the press and the media generally, and although he is perhaps more articulate than Ted Agnew, he sounds very much like him, although perhaps Cord is harsher."

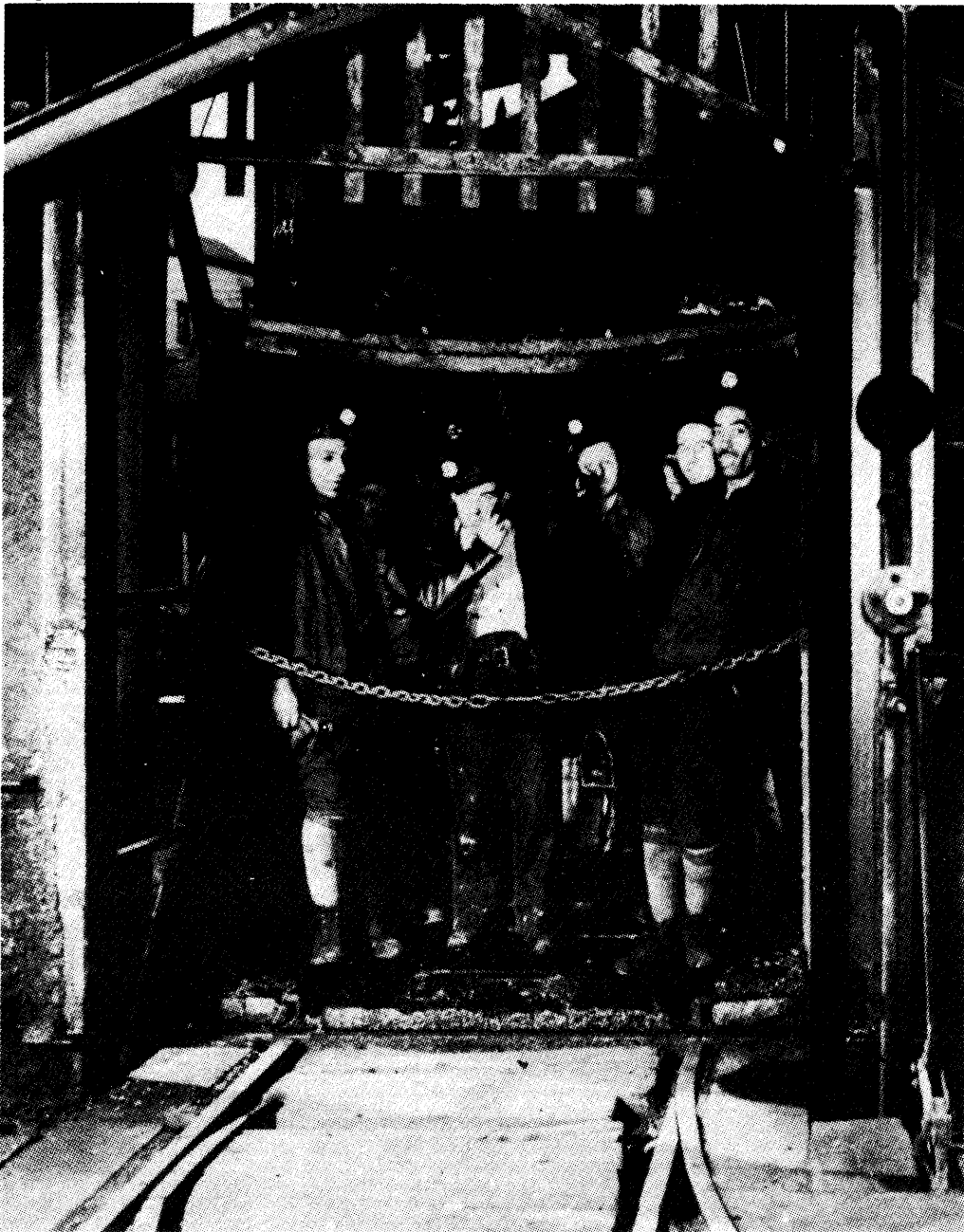
His personal life has become shrouded in mystery. He divorced his first wife in the late 1950s. Early one October morning in 1964, Mary Meyer was walking on the old Chesapeake and Ohio Canal towpath near her home in Georgetown. She was shot and killed. The man accused of shooting her was acquitted. The murder has never been conclusively resolved.

Meyer arrived in Britain in 1973 just before the British miners' strike which brought the fall of the Tory government.

As one of the leading agents of American imperialism for over 20 years, he is being called upon by the American and British capitalists to use his experience to hold back the movement of the working class.

His methods are well-learned and ruthless—infiltration of the unions, bribing of officials, funding of right-wing movements.

He is the consummate CIA man, or as his friend Merle Miller put it: "He threw himself into the CIA like a Jew who has become the Chief Inquisitor."



THE 1943 COAL MINERS' STRIKE

HOW THE MINERS BEAT FDR BY DAVID NORTH

With less than one week to go before the deadline expires on the United Mine Workers contract, desperate measures are being taken by both the government and the union bureaucracy to prevent a strike by the 125,000 coal miners in the United States.

The Ford administration has been drawing up plans for emergency fuel allocation in order to weaken the impact of the strike if the miners go out. During the past few weeks, there have been reports that Ford has discussed the possibility of using Taft-Hartley to force the miners back.

As for the union bureaucracy, UMW president Arnold Miller has been working closely with the government in order to find ways to avoid a strike. He has deliberately downplayed the issue of wages, seeking to divert the attention of UMW members to secondary issues in the contract struggle. Miller has met privately with Ford, and has even asked President Ford to intervene in the contract negotiations.

What both Miller and the government fear is that a strike by coal miners on November 12 could escalate into a full-scale confrontation between millions of workers throughout industry and the capitalist state.

Government spokesmen have stated privately that if the miners successfully defy Ford's "anti-inflation" (read wage cutting) program by winning a big wage increase, they will inspire a massive offensive by the entire trade union movement in defense of workers' living standards and against government plans for any form of wage controls.

Union officials are worried that they might lose control of a strike. As the Wall Street Journal recently pointed out: "Some warn that if a strike occurs, it could take on a life of its own."

The ruling class' great fear of the miners is based on its bitter realization that the ranks of the UMW are prepared to defy corporations as well as governments in order to defend their rights. The memory of the great war-time strikes of 1943 has not faded.

What is so extraordinary about the 1943

UMW strikes is not just that the miners walked out four times, but that they did so in the face of universal condemnation by the entire leadership of both the AFL and CIO and still managed to defeat President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who sought to mobilize the full power of the state to crush the strike.

The victory of the miners in 1943, against fantastic odds, inspired millions of workers, recharged the sagging CIO which was being betrayed by its leaders, and paved the way for the powerful CIO offensive of 1945-46.

In recalling the 1943 struggles, historians and UMW officials have often attempted to suggest that it was John L. Lewis who forced the confrontation with Roosevelt.

This is not the case. The drive to defeat Roosevelt and smash the "no-strike" pledge came from the miners themselves. Lewis never intended to call a strike during the war, but was forced into action by a full-scale rebellion against the government's war-time wage freeze which erupted shortly after New Years 1943.

For the American working class, World War Two meant an unparalleled assault on their democratic rights and living standards. All the gains won through the CIO upsurge of the late 1930s were attacked. To a man, the bureaucratic leaders of the CIO—spearheaded by the Stalinists of the American Communist Party—pledged their support to the imperialist war and voluntarily agreed to abandon any fight in defense of workers' rights.

The "no-strike" pledge was the main symbol of this rotten desertion of the working class. The AFL and CIO bureaucrats—including Lewis—agreed that they would oppose any strikes for the duration of the war.

Major disputes were to be resolved by the reactionary antiunion War Labor Board and all wage increases were to be fixed by the Little Steel formula of 1942. According to this agreement, workers were to receive compensation for the rise in the cost-of-living between January 1, 1941 and May, 1942. Wages were then to remain frozen.

Millions of workers saw their living standards slashed to levels as bad as the darkest days of the depression. For working class families, the "home front" was as bad as the battle zones. On a shrinking diet, workers were subjected to the brutality of war-time speedup which bosses gleefully

imposed in the name of "patriotism."

VICIOUS

The government and the bosses reserved the most vicious attacks for the miners. They saw the war as an opportunity to crush the fighting ability of the UMW, which had been the backbone of the struggle to build the CIO.

For miners, who bought their food and basic necessities in the company stores of the isolated coal towns, the impact of inflation was devastating.

From August, 1939 to February, 1943, the food cost of the most basic essentials rose 124.6 percent.

During that period, beef soared 100.8 percent. Pork chops went up 132.2 percent. Butter and eggs increased 147.8 percent. Chicken jumped 119 percent. Fresh fruit and vegetables went up 110.6 percent.

Still more terrible than the statistics on inflation were those on the accident rates in the mines. In 1941, 64,000 coal miners were killed or injured as the operators began the production drive in anticipation of US entry into the war. In 1942, with the war well under way, 75,000 miners were killed or injured. In 1943, more than 100,000 miners were killed or injured in job accidents.

The union bureaucracy was utterly indifferent to the drastic deterioration of the living standards of American workers. They were basking in the patriotic limelight of the "national war effort."

PRAISE

The right-wing bureaucrats like Philip Murray, president of the CIO, linked arms with Stalinist leaders like Julius Emspak of the United Electrical Workers and Mike Quill of the New York transit workers to praise Roosevelt, whom they all cravenly referred to as their "Commander-in-Chief."

Although Lewis had opposed entry into the war before December, 1941 as well as the reelection of Roosevelt in 1940, he too went along with the "no-strike" pledge. Lewis abandoned his opposition to American entry into the war after Pearl Harbor and was one of the leading voices for "national unity" during the war.

Lewis's capitulation to Roosevelt's policies in December, 1941 was the product of his refusal to go beyond militant trade union struggles to a political fight against the two parties of big business.

While he detested Roosevelt and had exposed him in numerous public speeches as a bitter enemy of the CIO, Lewis would not mobilize workers politically against Roosevelt by calling for the building of a labor party. In 1940, it was known that he did consider issuing such a call. But finally, Lewis did nothing more than endorse the candidacy of the Republican presidential nominee, Wendell Wilkie.

This bankrupt endorsement of a candidate who shared the imperialist program of Roosevelt and the same determination to destroy the CIO left the working class without any political means of defeating the government offensive.

With the coming of the New Year, 1943, Lewis was still openly opposed to defying the government's wage freeze and production drive.

ACTION

Then the miners went into action. Eighty years before, in the midst of the Civil War, unorganized miners had banded together and struck.

Despite this historical precedent, both Roosevelt and Lewis were totally unprepared for the insurgent movement that spread through the mining regions in January, 1943.

It began without warning on December 30, 1942. Anthracite miners in Western Pennsylvania walked off their jobs, spontaneously raising the demand for a \$2 per day wage increase. The Little Steel formula allowed only a fraction of that demand.

The strike spread like wildfire. Within the first week of January, 18,000 anthracite miners were out, and signs of support were visible in coal towns throughout the country.

On January 9, union leaders and bosses sent a joint telegram to UMW District 1 stating that "the proper thing to do and the logical American thing to do is for all the men to return to work at once, producing coal for the country's needs and that all matters in dispute to be taken up in an orderly and direct democratic way for consideration and adjustment."

This telegram had no effect whatsoever on the miners. The strike continued.

On January 11, a Senate Committee headed by future president Harry S. Truman demanded the end to the wildcat and claimed that army camps were running short on coal.

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Lewis was stunned by this defiance of his leadership by rank and file miners. Despite all his orders, he could not get the miners back to work. UMW leaders in Hazleton, Pa., notified him that 20,000 more miners were ready to go out for \$2 per day.

The UMW denounced the mass walkout as an "outlaw strike" and added:

"This illegal strike is beyond doubt the most outstanding attempt of mine workers to slow up their own progress and defeat their own economic gains that has taken place within the UMWA in many years."

Miners were embittered by these statements. How could Lewis talk about gains when they were being driven into slow starvation by the war-time inflation?

The mood of the miners grew angrier with each public denunciation. Immediately following the back-to-work threat by the WLB, 8000 more miners in Wilkesbarre, Pa., joined the strike.

Roosevelt entered the war against the miners, dropping the "friend of labor" mask and baring his fangs. He demanded that the miners "return at once to their job of producing vitally needed coal for their country."

He warned that within 48 hours "your government will take the necessary steps to protect the security of the country against the strike, which is doing serious injury to the war effort."

It was not Roosevelt's threats, but the news that the UMW leadership was planning to incorporate the \$2 per day demand into the upcoming contract talks that led the miners to return—very slowly—to work. The strike ended on January 29.

On the very next day, the Roosevelt government, which had in the previous days issued the most rabid denunciations of the miners' demands for a living wage, granted the request of the western Pennsylvania soft coal operators for a 23¢ per ton increase.

A wave of rage passed through the coal towns of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Appalachia. Lewis feared that unless he acted, the official UMW leadership would lose all authority with the ranks. On March 5, Lewis announced that the UMW would demand a \$2 per day wage increase for bituminous and anthracite coal miners when the national contract expired on April 1.

On March 10, Lewis appeared before Appalachian soft-coal operators at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York City and presented the demands of the UMW.

After denouncing the War Labor Board, Lewis presented the major demands. Among the seven were: (1) retention of the existing 35 hour, five day week; (2) amendment of present hours provision by establishing portal-to-portal practices for starting and quitting time for underground workers; (3) basic wage increase of \$2 per day.

Even in formulating his demands, however, Lewis was careful not to challenge the Little Steel formula head on. His demand for a \$2 per day increase was linked to the "portal-to-portal" demand.

The coal operators rejected the UMW demands, confident that they had the full backing of the government in any showdown with the miners.

On March 26, Lewis was called before the Truman Senate War Investigations Committee to justify the wage demand. At this memorable session, Lewis exposed the venomous hatred of the coal miners felt by Democratic and Republican senators alike.

Truman, who would as president issue more Taft-Hartley injunctions than any man after him, opened the questioning by asking Lewis to explain the "absenteeism" of coal miners.

ABSENTEEISM

After explaining the physical impact of mining on each worker, Lewis fixed his stare on Truman and stated: "As for absenteeism, I have been told that absenteeism is higher in Congress than in industry."

The committee then turned to the issue of wages and the "fight against inflation." (Gerald Ford is not the first big business politician to dredge up this slogan.)

Senator Burton asked Lewis: "If we restrain industry and finance, are you willing to work on holding down wages?"

Lewis replied with an expression of disdain on his face: "My dear Senator, whenever you have restrained industry and finance, just call me on the telephone and let me know."

Though a confrontation was clearly inevitable, Lewis still did not commit himself to defying the "no-strike" pledge. Just two days before the contract deadline, Lewis announced that he would accept a 30 day

"truce" to help negotiations get off the ground.

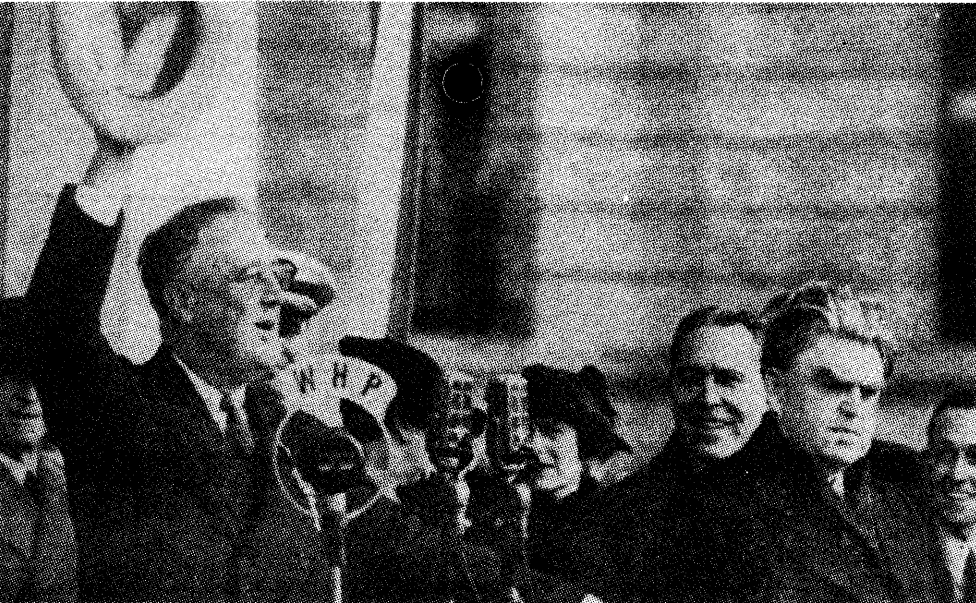
But negotiations got nowhere. The bosses had the government behind them and had no intention of granting a wage increase when they knew that Roosevelt was itching to bust the UMW.

The coal operators were heartened when on April 8, Roosevelt gave his "hold the line" speech which placed wages under the strictest controls in history. The War Labor Board, with which Lewis refused to negotiate, announced that it was assuming jurisdiction over the UMW demands on April 22.

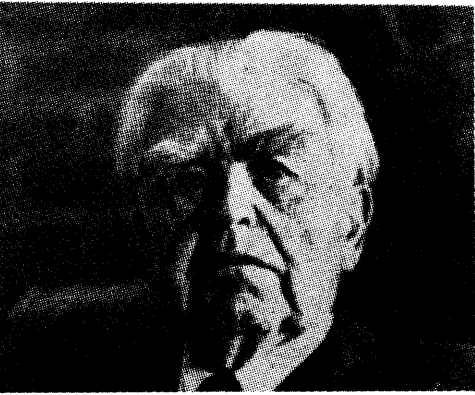
Whatever doubts Lewis had about defying the "no-strike" pledge were resolved by the miners. When WLB chairman Will Davis stated on April 24 that wage settlements would have to be decided within the framework of the Little Steel formula, the miners' rebellion broke out once again.

Miners in West Virginia and Alabama immediately walked out, one full week before the April 30 deadline. By April 28, 41,000 miners were out. Lewis's hand was forced. On April 30, he announced that miners "will not trespass on the properties of the coal operators in the absence of a contract."

The first authorized strike since the start of US involvement in World War Two was



John L. Lewis (right) campaigning with FDR in 1936 before Lewis broke from Roosevelt.



Lewis in his later years.

on. It was also the biggest industrial strike in the history of the country. More than 530,000 coal miners declared that they would stay out until they won their wage increase.

Roosevelt was stunned by the solidarity and organization of the miners. He warned that he would use "all the powers vested in me as President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy" if the strike was not ended by May 1.

On that date, every soft coal mine in the country was shut. Saul Alinsky, the noted biographer of Lewis, recalled the situation:

"On Saturday morning, May 1, 10 a.m. came and went with the miners immovably on strike. It had happened! Nearly a half-million American coal miners were defying their government and their national commander-in-chief in the midst of war. It was insurrection bordering on revolution. As the nation held its breath, Roosevelt seized the coal mines and ordered Solid Fuels Administrator for War, Harold L. Ickes, to take over and direct operation of all coal mines closed by strike, which meant practically all of them."

The seizure of the mines was carried out with the full support of the coal barons. They were optimistic that the miners could be forced back to work if only an American flag were run up a flagpole strategically placed at the entrance of the pit.

But Roosevelt's outbursts only served to make the miners even more determined. An officer of UMW District 6 in Bellaire, Ohio, said that Roosevelt's attacks "in my opinion, do more to antagonize the miners of America than any other one thing. These boys are getting mad. They're not going to let anybody kick them around."

Just a few hours before Roosevelt was going on nationwide radio to denounce the miners, Lewis announced a 15 day "truce." However, Roosevelt was in such an uncontrollable rage over his inability to influence the miners that he went ahead with his previously planned denunciation.

The situation remained tense throughout the month of May. An additional extension of the strike deadline, rescheduled for May 31, did not lead to a settlement.

Ferocious attacks on Lewis and the miners were kept up in the press. The newspapers were filled with exclusive stories pretending to show how American soldiers were unanimously opposed to the strike.

The mood in the working class was absolutely the opposite of what the capitalist newspapers claimed.

The opposition to the strike was confined to the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists who had become the leading drill sergeants for the capitalist class inside the factories the moment Hitler invaded the Soviet Union.

But among the ranks, the miners had powerful backing. In Detroit, 1000 delegates representing 350,000 UAW members defied the leadership of Reuther and Thomas (backed by the Stalinists) to pass a resolution supporting the miners' wage

demand and strike.

Furthermore, the action by the miners was having its effect on broader sections of the working class. A wave of wildcats broke out in May: 30,000 auto workers shut down Chrysler and Dodge plants in Detroit; 50,000 rubber workers went on strike in Akron.

On June 1, the miners began their second nationwide strike, ignoring Roosevelt's declaration that they "are employees of the government and have no right to strike."

Next to Roosevelt, the most vicious response to the strike came from the Stalinists. The National Committee of the Communist Party issued a resolution demanding that the miners go back to work and called on Roosevelt to take whatever measures he considered necessary to break the strike. Demanding an end to the "insurrection against the war," the CP declared that "There is not the slightest doubt that Lewis is working and has worked over the past two years at least, as an integral part of the pro-Nazi Fifth Column..."

In the entire organized labor movement, there was only one voice that was constantly raised in defense of the miners strike—it was that of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party whose leaders had already been sentenced to prison for "subversion" against the imperialist war.

The WLB, on Roosevelt's instructions, ruled against the verbal agreement between the operators and the UMW. The next day, June 19, the miners were on strike again. Roosevelt was beside himself. He ordered Congress "to set up machinery" to draft and court martial striking miners.

For four days after Roosevelt issued his ultimatum the miners remained on strike. Then Lewis called another truce and set a new strike date for June 20.

The coal operators were now bargaining with the UMW and came to an oral agreement to pay \$1.30 per day in travel pay. However, the government pressed ahead with its attack. The Democratic-controlled Congress overwhelmingly passed the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Bill which sought to eliminate the right to strike. Roosevelt vetoed this bill because he considered it too weak.

Lewis, now believing that he could sew up an agreement with the operators and himself worried that coal stocks were running

low, called another truce to last until October 31. This time, he had even more difficulty getting the miners back.

The UMW negotiated a pact with the Illinois Operators Association granting a \$2 per day increase. Lewis appealed to the miners to await a ruling by the WLB, but strikes hit Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Illinois.

But the WLB rejected the Illinois pact on October 26. Within five days, 530,000 miners were out for the fourth nationwide strike within six months.

Now, Roosevelt's resistance collapsed. Ickes stepped in to approve a \$1.50 per day wage increase setting miners' weekly pay at \$57.07 per week. The UMW accepted the new contract on November 3, 1943.

The miners had smashed the Little Steel formula and the Roosevelt wage freeze. This victory strengthened the entire working class, and led to the powerful offensive that broke out with the end of the war. The miners had written a heroic and inspiring page in the history of the working class. But the purpose of looking back on this history is not to glorify it. Particularly as miners stand on the eve of another great struggle, it is necessary to learn the lessons of earlier battles.

The victory of 1943 was a step forward for the American working class. It gave workers confidence in their strength and ability to fight the government.

But the achievement of the miners, despite their heroism, was inadequate. The Lewis leadership refused to take the miners and the entire American working class forward by raising the political issues posed by the miners strike.

The vicious union-busting drive of Roosevelt, the attempt to make the American working class mere cannon fodder for imperialism, showed the utter necessity of a political break by the unions with the capitalist parties. The 1943 miners strike demonstrated the need for building a political alternative of the working class to the Democrats and Republicans, a labor party.

The failure to introduce these political tasks into the struggle gave the miners strike—in spite of great support within the factories—an episodic character. This was the deliberate policy of Lewis, who, for all his flamboyant militancy, was utterly opposed to mobilizing the working class politically against the capitalist system. He never viewed the miners strike as anything more than an attempt to pressure the government to meet certain limited trade union demands.

But the real question that had to be raised in 1943 was that of power. Who was to run the country: the working class or the war-profiteering capitalists? In order to raise that question before the working class, it would have been necessary to fight for the building of a labor party.

By refusing to go beyond trade union militancy and by maintaining the alliance between the UMW and the Democratic Party, the Lewis bureaucracy prepared serious setbacks for the miners within a few years of the 1943 victory.

When the economic crisis hit the coal industry in the early 1950s, Lewis had absolutely no policies to propose to the miners. Accepting the capitalist system, Lewis saw no way to defend jobs and living standards that had been built up by the UMW in the preceding 20 years. He then collaborated with the operators in destorying more than 65 percent of the jobs in the coal industry.

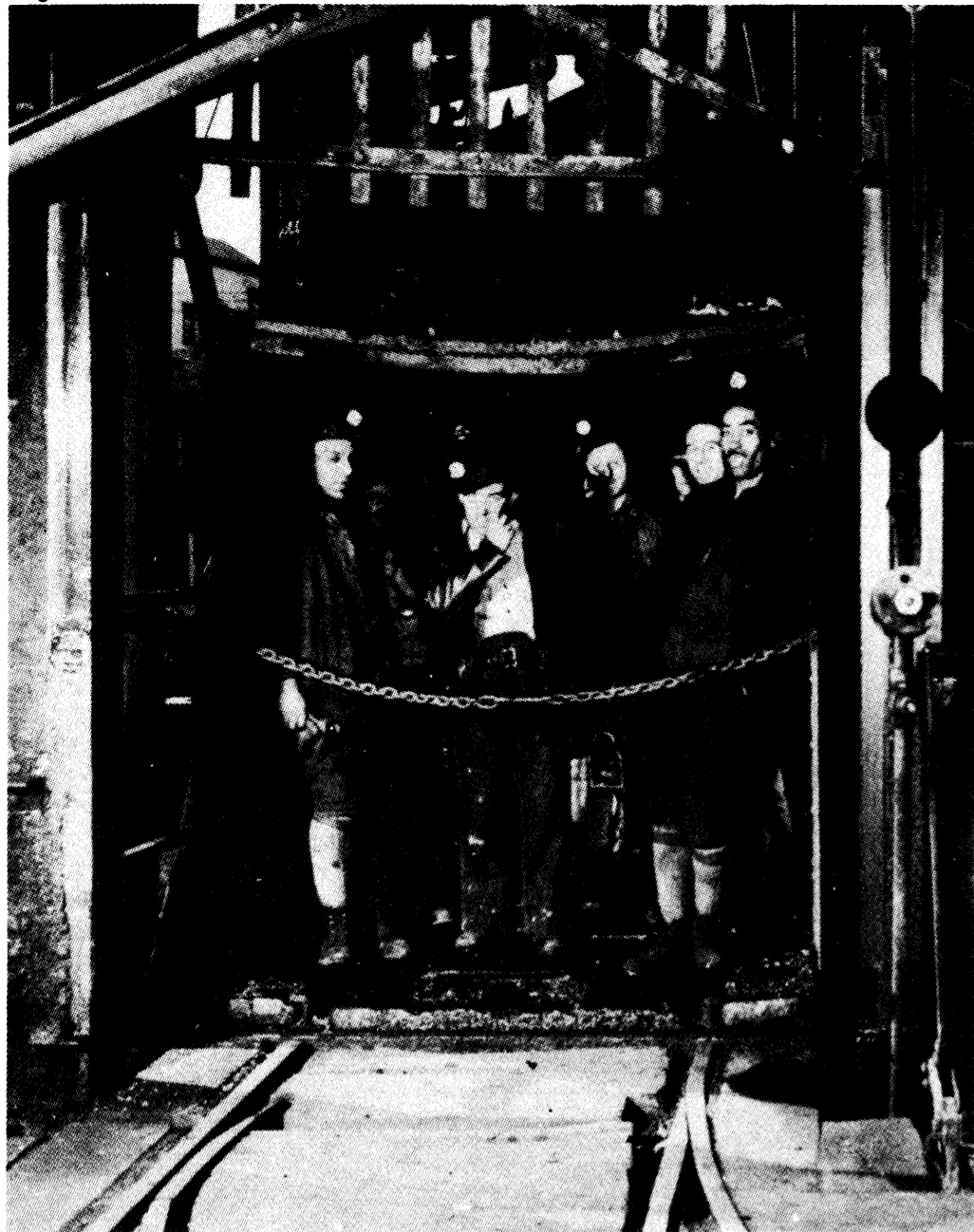
The bureaucracy which he built up became absolutely criminal as it sought to force miners to accept these attacks. The Boyle regime emerged out of the refusal of Lewis to fight politically against the attacks of the capitalist state.

This opposition to the political struggle is carried over today in the Miller leadership, which seeks at all costs to avoid a fight with the government even as a strike draws near. Miller is neck deep in government schemes to "save" the capitalist economy.

Lewis was a lion compared to Miller. But if Lewis's policies were inadequate in 1943, how absolutely treacherous those of Miller are when the future of the working class is at stake.

The struggle that faces miners today—the defense of their jobs, living standards, democratic rights—requires an utterly new leadership within the UMW. This must be a revolutionary leadership fighting for the political mobilization of the working class against Ford and Rockefeller through the construction of a labor party.

The fight for this leadership is being taken up by the Workers League and its industrial section, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.



HOW THE MINERS BEAT FDR BY DAVID NORTH

With less than one week to go before the deadline expires on the United Mine Workers contract, desperate measures are being taken by both the government and the union bureaucracy to prevent a strike by the 125,000 coal miners in the United States.

The Ford administration has been drawing up plans for emergency fuel allocation in order to weaken the impact of the strike if the miners go out. During the past few weeks, there have been reports that Ford has discussed the possibility of using Taft-Hartley to force the miners back.

As for the union bureaucracy, UMW president Arnold Miller has been working closely with the government in order to find ways to avoid a strike. He has deliberately downplayed the issue of wages, seeking to divert the attention of UMW members to secondary issues in the contract struggle. Miller has met privately with Ford, and has even asked President Ford to intervene in the contract negotiations.

What both Miller and the government fear is that a strike by coal miners on November 12 could escalate into a full-scale confrontation between millions of workers throughout industry and the capitalist state.

Government spokesmen have stated privately that if the miners successfully defy Ford's "anti-inflation" (read wage cutting) program by winning a big wage increase, they will inspire a massive offensive by the entire trade union movement in defense of workers' living standards and against government plans for any form of wage controls.

Union officials are worried that they might lose control of a strike. As the Wall Street Journal recently pointed out: "Some warn that if a strike occurs, it could take on a life of its own."

The ruling class' great fear of the miners is based on its bitter realization that the ranks of the UMW are prepared to defy corporations as well as governments in order to defend their rights. The memory of the great war-time strikes of 1943 has not faded.

What is so extraordinary about the 1943

UMW strikes is not just that the miners walked out four times, but that they did so in the face of universal condemnation by the entire leadership of both the AFL and CIO and still managed to defeat President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who sought to mobilize the full power of the state to crush the strike.

The victory of the miners in 1943, against fantastic odds, inspired millions of workers, recharged the sagging CIO which was being betrayed by its leaders, and paved the way for the powerful CIO offensive of 1945-46.

In recalling the 1943 struggles, historians and UMW officials have often attempted to suggest that it was John L. Lewis who forced the confrontation with Roosevelt.

This is not the case. The drive to defeat Roosevelt and smash the "no-strike" pledge came from the miners themselves. Lewis never intended to call a strike during the war, but was forced into action by a full-scale rebellion against the government's war-time wage freeze which erupted shortly after New Years 1943.

For the American working class, World War Two meant an unparalleled assault on their democratic rights and living standards. All the gains won through the CIO upsurge of the late 1930s were attacked. To a man, the bureaucratic leaders of the CIO—spearheaded by the Stalinists of the American Communist Party—pledged their support to the imperialist war and voluntarily agreed to abandon any fight in defense of workers' rights.

The "no-strike" pledge was the main symbol of this rotten desertion of the working class. The AFL and CIO bureaucrats—including Lewis—agreed that they would oppose any strikes for the duration of the war.

Major disputes were to be resolved by the reactionary antiunion War Labor Board and all wage increases were to be fixed by the Little Steel formula of 1942. According to this agreement, workers were to receive compensation for the rise in the cost-of-living between January 1, 1941 and May, 1942. Wages were then to remain frozen.

Millions of workers saw their living standards slashed to levels as bad as the darkest days of the depression. For working class families, the "home front" was as bad as the battle zones. On a shrinking diet, workers were subjected to the brutality of war-time speedup which bosses gleefully

THE 1943 COAL MINERS' STRIKE

imposed in the name of "patriotism."

VICIOUS

The government and the bosses reserved the most vicious attacks for the miners. They saw the war as an opportunity to crush the fighting ability of the UMW, which had been the backbone of the struggle to build the CIO.

For miners, who bought their food and basic necessities in the company stores of the isolated coal towns, the impact of inflation was devastating.

From August, 1939 to February, 1943, the food cost of the most basic essentials rose 124.6 percent.

During that period, beef soared 100.8 percent. Pork chops went up 132.2 percent. Butter and eggs increased 147.8 percent. Chicken jumped 119 percent. Fresh fruit and vegetables went up 110.6 percent.

Still more terrible than the statistics on inflation were those on the accident rates in the mines. In 1941, 64,000 coal miners were killed or injured as the operators began the production drive in anticipation of US entry into the war. In 1942, with the war well under way, 75,000 miners were killed or injured. In 1943, more than 100,000 miners were killed or injured in job accidents.

The union bureaucracy was utterly indifferent to the drastic deterioration of the living standards of American workers. They were basking in the patriotic limelight of the "national war effort."

PRAISE

The right-wing bureaucrats like Philip Murray, president of the CIO, linked arms with Stalinist leaders like Julius Emispak of the United Electrical Workers and Mike Quill of the New York transit workers to praise Roosevelt, whom they all cravenly referred to as their "Commander-in-Chief."

Although Lewis had opposed entry into the war before December, 1941 as well as the reelection of Roosevelt in 1940, he too went along with the "no-strike" pledge. Lewis abandoned his opposition to American entry into the war after Pearl Harbor and was one of the leading voices for "national unity" during the war.

Lewis's capitulation to Roosevelt's policies in December, 1941 was the product of his refusal to go beyond militant trade union struggles to a political fight against the two parties of big business.

While he detested Roosevelt and had exposed him in numerous public speeches as a bitter enemy of the CIO, Lewis would not mobilize workers politically against Roosevelt by calling for the building of a labor party. In 1940, it was known that he did consider issuing such a call. But finally, Lewis did nothing more than endorse the candidacy of the Republican presidential nominee, Wendell Wilkie.

This bankrupt endorsement of a candidate who shared the imperialist program of Roosevelt and the same determination to destroy the CIO left the working class without any political means of defeating the government offensive.

With the coming of the New Year, 1943, Lewis was still openly opposed to defying the government's wage freeze and production drive.

ACTION

Then the miners went into action. Eighty years before, in the midst of the Civil War, unorganized miners had banded together and struck.

Despite this historical precedent, both Roosevelt and Lewis were totally unprepared for the insurgent movement that spread through the mining regions in January, 1943.

It began without warning on December 30, 1942. Anthracite miners in Western Pennsylvania walked off their jobs, spontaneously raising the demand for a \$2 per day wage increase. The Little Steel formula allowed only a fraction of that demand.

The strike spread like wildfire. Within the first week of January, 18,000 anthracite miners were out, and signs of support were visible in coal towns throughout the country.

On January 9, union leaders and bosses sent a joint telegram to UMW District 1 stating that "the proper thing to do and the logical American thing to do is for all the men to return to work at once, producing coal for the country's needs and that all matters in dispute to be taken up in an orderly and direct democratic way for consideration and adjustment."

This telegram had no effect whatsoever on the miners. The strike continued.

On January 11, a Senate Committee headed by future president Harry S. Truman demanded the end to the wildcat and claimed that army camps were running short on coal.

Lewis was stunned by this defiance of his leadership by rank and file miners. Despite all his orders, he could not get the miners back to work. UMW leaders in Hazleton, Pa., notified him that 20,000 more miners were ready to go out for \$2 per day.

The UMW denounced the mass walkout as an "outlaw strike" and added:

"This illegal strike is beyond doubt the most outstanding attempt of mine workers to slow up their own progress and defeat their own economic gains that has taken place within the UMW in many years."

Miners were embittered by these statements. How could Lewis talk about gains when they were being driven into slow starvation by the war-time inflation?

The mood of the miners grew angrier with each public denunciation. Immediately following the back-to-work threat by the WLB, 8000 more miners in Wilkesbarre, Pa., joined the strike.

Roosevelt entered the war against the miners, dropping the "friend of labor" mask and baring his fangs. He demanded that the miners "return at once to their job of producing vitally needed coal for their country."

He warned that within 48 hours "your government will take the necessary steps to protect the security of the country against the strike, which is doing serious injury to the war effort."

It was not Roosevelt's threats, but the news that the UMW leadership was planning to incorporate the \$2 per day demand into the upcoming contract talks that led the miners to return—very slowly—to work. The strike ended on January 29.

On the very next day, the Roosevelt government, which had in the previous days issued the most rabid denunciations of the miners' demands for a living wage, granted the request of the western Pennsylvania soft coal operators for a 23¢ per ton increase.

A wave of rage passed through the coal towns of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Appalachia. Lewis feared that unless he acted, the official UMW leadership would lose all authority with the ranks. On March 5, Lewis announced that the UMW would demand a \$2 per day wage increase for bituminous and anthracite coal miners when the national contract expired on April 1.

On March 10, Lewis appeared before Appalachian soft-coal operators at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York City and presented the demands of the UMW.

After denouncing the War Labor Board, Lewis presented the major demands. Among the seven were: (1) retention of the existing 35 hour, five day week; (2) amendment of present hours provision by establishing portal-to-portal practices for starting and quitting time for underground workers; (3) basic wage increase of \$2 per day.

Even in formulating his demands, however, Lewis was careful not to challenge the Little Steel formula head on. His demand for a \$2 per day increase was linked to the "portal-to-portal" demand.

The coal operators rejected the UMW demands, confident that they had the full backing of the government in any showdown with the miners.

On March 26, Lewis was called before the Truman Senate War Investigations Committee to justify the wage demand. At this memorable session, Lewis exposed the venomous hatred of the coal miners felt by Democratic and Republican senators alike.

Truman, who would as president issue more Taft-Hartley injunctions than any man after him, opened the questioning by asking Lewis to explain the "absenteeism" of coal miners.

ABSENTEEISM

After explaining the physical impact of mining on each worker, Lewis fixed his stare on Truman and stated: "As for absenteeism, I have been told that absenteeism is higher in Congress than in industry."

The committee then turned to the issue of wages and the "fight against inflation." (Gerald Ford is not the first big business politician to dredge up this slogan.)

Senator Burton asked Lewis: "If we restrain industry and finance, are you willing to work on holding down wages?"

Lewis replied with an expression of disdain on his face: "My dear Senator, whenever you have restrained industry and finance, just call me on the telephone and let me know."

Though a confrontation was clearly inevitable, Lewis still did not commit himself to defying the "no-strike" pledge. Just two days before the contract deadline, Lewis announced that he would accept a 30 day

"truce" to help negotiations get off the ground.

But negotiations got nowhere. The bosses had the government behind them and had no intention of granting a wage increase when they knew that Roosevelt was itching to rebust the UMW.

The coal operators were heartened when on April 8, Roosevelt gave his "hold the line" speech which placed wages under the strictest controls in history. The War Labor Board, with which Lewis refused to negotiate, announced that it was assuming jurisdiction over the UMW demands on April 22.

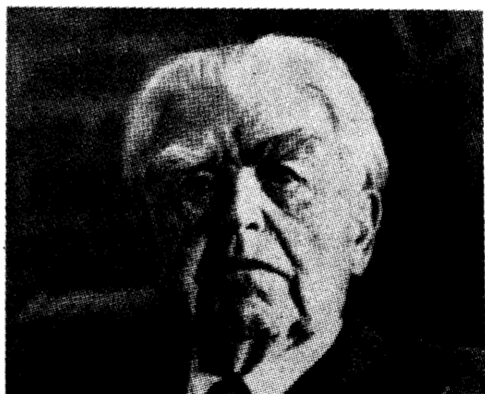
Whatever doubts Lewis had about defying the "no-strike" pledge were resolved by the miners. When WLB chairman Will Davis stated on April 24 that wage settlements would have to be decided within the framework of the Little Steel formula, the miners' rebellion broke out once again.

Miners in West Virginia and Alabama immediately walked out, one full week before the April 30 deadline. By April 28, 41,000 miners were out. Lewis's hand was forced. On April 30, he announced that miners "will not trespass on the properties of the coal operators in the absence of a contract."

The first authorized strike since the start of US involvement in World War Two was



John L. Lewis (right) campaigning with FDR in 1936 before Lewis broke from Roosevelt.



Lewis in his later years.

on. It was also the biggest industrial strike in the history of the country. More than 530,000 coal miners declared that they would stay out until they won their wage increase.

Roosevelt was stunned by the solidarity and organization of the miners. He warned that he would use "all the powers vested in me as President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy" if the strike was not ended by May 1.

On that date, every soft coal mine in the country was shut. Saul Alinsky, the noted biographer of Lewis, recalled the situation:

"On Saturday morning, May 1, 10 a.m. came and went with the miners immovably on strike. It had happened! Nearly a half-million American coal miners were defying their government and their national commander-in-chief in the midst of war. It was insurrection bordering on revolution. As the nation held its breath, Roosevelt seized the coal mines and ordered Solid Fuels Administrator for War, Harold L. Ickes, to take over and direct operation of all coal mines closed by strike, which meant practically all of them."

The seizure of the mines was carried out with the full support of the coal barons. They were optimistic that the miners could be forced back to work if only an American flag were run up a flagpole strategically placed at the entrance of the pit.

But Roosevelt's outbursts only served to make the miners even more determined. An officer of UMW District 6 in Bellaire, Ohio, said that Roosevelt's attacks "in my opinion, do more to antagonize the miners of America than any other one thing. These boys are getting mad. They're not going to let anybody kick them around."

Just a few hours before Roosevelt was going on nationwide radio to denounce the miners, Lewis announced a 15 day "truce." However, Roosevelt was in such an uncontrollable rage over his inability to influence the miners that he went ahead with his previously planned denunciation.

The situation remained tense throughout the month of May. An additional extension of the strike deadline, rescheduled for May 31, did not lead to a settlement.

Ferocious attacks on Lewis and the miners were kept up in the press. The newspapers were filled with exclusive stories pretending to show how American soldiers were unanimously opposed to the strike.

The mood in the working class was absolutely the opposite of what the capitalist newspapers claimed.

The opposition to the strike was confined to the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists who had become the leading drill sergeants for the capitalist class inside the factories the moment Hitler invaded the Soviet Union.

But among the ranks, the miners had powerful backing. In Detroit, 1000 delegates representing 350,000 UAW members defied the leadership of Reuther and Thomas (backed by the Stalinists) to pass a resolution supporting the miners' wage

demand and strike.

Furthermore, the action by the miners was having its effect on broader sections of the working class. A wave of wildcats broke out in May: 30,000 auto workers shut down Chrysler and Dodge plants in Detroit; 50,000 rubber workers went on strike in Akron.

On June 1, the miners began their second nationwide strike, ignoring Roosevelt's declaration that they "are employees of the government and have no right to strike."

Next to Roosevelt, the most vicious response to the strike came from the Stalinists. The National Committee of the Communist Party issued a resolution demanding that the miners go back to work and called on Roosevelt to take whatever measures he considered necessary to break the strike. Demanding an end to the "insurrection against the war," the CP declared that "There is not the slightest doubt that Lewis is working and has worked over the past two years at least, as an integral part of the pro-Nazi Fifth Column..."

In the entire organized labor movement, there was only one voice that was constantly raised in defense of the miners strike—it was that of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party whose leaders had already been sentenced to prison for "subversion" against the imperialist war.

The WLB, on Roosevelt's instructions, ruled against the verbal agreement between the operators and the UMW. The next day, June 19, the miners were on strike again. Roosevelt was beside himself. He ordered Congress "to set up machinery" to draft and court martial striking miners.

For four days after Roosevelt issued his ultimatum the miners remained on strike. Then Lewis called another truce and set a new strike date for June 20.

The coal operators were now bargaining with the UMW and came to an oral agreement to pay \$1.30 per day in travel pay. However, the government pressed ahead with its attack. The Democratic-controlled Congress overwhelmingly passed the Smith-Connelly War Labor Disputes Bill which sought to eliminate the right to strike. Roosevelt vetoed this bill because he considered it too weak.

Lewis, now believing that he could sew up an agreement with the operators and himself worried that coal stocks were running

low, called another truce to last until October 31. This time, he had even more difficulty getting the miners back.

The UMW negotiated a pact with the Illinois Operators Association granting a \$2 per day increase. Lewis appealed to the miners to await a ruling by the WLB, but strikes hit Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Illinois.

But the WLB rejected the Illinois pact on October 26. Within five days, 530,000 miners were out for the fourth nationwide strike within six months.

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The miners had smashed the Little Steel formula and the Roosevelt wage freeze. This victory strengthened the entire working class, and led to the powerful offensive that broke out with the end of the war. The miners had written a heroic and inspiring page in the history of the working class. But the purpose of looking back on this history is not to glorify it. Particularly as miners stand on the eve of another great struggle, it is necessary to learn the lessons of earlier battles.

The victory of 1943 was a step forward for the American working class. It gave workers confidence in their strength and ability to fight the government.

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The vicious union-busting drive of Roosevelt, the attempt to make the American working class mere cannon fodder for imperialism, showed the utter necessity of a political break by the unions with the capitalist parties. The 1943 miners strike demonstrated the need for building a political alternative of the working class to the Democrats and Republicans, a labor party.

The failure to introduce these political tasks into the struggle gave the miners strike—in spite of great support within the factories—an episodic character. This was the deliberate policy of Lewis, who, for all his flamboyant militancy, was utterly opposed to mobilizing the working class politically against the capitalist system. He never viewed the miners strike as anything more than an attempt to pressure the government to meet certain limited trade union demands.

But the real question that had to be raised in 1943 was that of power. Who was to run the country: the working class or the war-profiteering capitalists? In order to raise that question before the working class, it would have been necessary to fight for the building of a labor party.

By refusing to go beyond trade union militancy and by maintaining the alliance between the UMW and the Democratic Party, the Lewis bureaucracy prepared serious setbacks for the miners within a few years of the 1943 victory.

When the economic crisis hit the coal industry in the early 1950s, Lewis had absolutely no policies to propose to the miners. Accepting the capitalist system, Lewis saw no way to defend jobs and living standards that had been built up by the UMW in the preceding 20 years. He then collaborated with the operators in destorying more than 65 percent of the jobs in the coal industry.

The bureaucracy which he built up became absolutely criminal as it sought to force miners to accept these attacks. The Boyle regime emerged out of the refusal of Lewis to fight politically against the attacks of the capitalist state.

This opposition to the political struggle is carried over today in the Miller leadership, which seeks at all costs to avoid a fight with the government even as a strike draws near. Miller is neck deep in government schemes to "save" the capitalist economy.

Lewis was a lion compared to Miller. But if Lewis's policies were inadequate in 1943, how absolutely treacherous those of Miller are when the future of the working class is at stake.

The struggle that faces miners today—the defense of their jobs, living standards, democratic rights—requires an utterly new leadership within the UMW. This must be a revolutionary leadership fighting for the political mobilization of the working class against Ford and Rockefeller through the construction of a labor party.

The fight for this leadership is being taken up by the Workers League and its industrial section, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

Louise Day Hicks: The Ugly Face Of Reaction

BY BILL VANN

BOSTON, Mass.— "There will be forces who will attempt to invade us, and like the colonists on Dorchester Heights, we shall weigh every attack carefully, separating friend from foe, good from evil."

That was Louise Day Hicks in 1964 speaking to a banquet of the South Boston Citizens Association after being named woman of the year by that organization.

South Boston has indeed fallen under an invasion, though perhaps not the sort which Mrs. Hicks had in mind. Following the racist attacks on black students, South Boston has been under a state of police siege. Racist trash from the KKK, the Nazis, and Wallace's American Independent Party have all come to Southie to exploit the busing issue.

Now all of Boston faces the threat of military occupation by troops of the 82nd Airborne. This invasion is not aimed at Southie alone, but at the basic rights of every worker, black and white.

The government from Ford on down has sought consciously to create conditions for racial incidents in order to divide the working class, and to test out the police and military for provocation and massive repression.

These are the desperate measures of a capitalist class faced with an enormous economic crisis and confronting millions of workers brought into struggle to defend their jobs and living standards.

PREPARATION

The direct preparations for the present situation in Boston go back more than 10 years. No one was more intimately involved than Louise Day Hicks and the institution with which her name is closely identified, the Boston School Committee.

Louise Day Hicks started her political career with only one apparent asset—her father had been a prominent Democratic party judge. In 1961, while sharing a partnership with her brother in a law firm specializing in land and property transfers, she launched her first candidacy for the Boston School Committee.

Campaigning as a liberal, her platform was based on a promise to take "politics out of the school committee." In her three successive terms on the committee and throughout her expanding career as a member of Congress and then the Boston City Council, Hicks did everything in her power to make a mockery of this original promise.

The Boston School Committee had long been a very political institution. Controlling the most important city services and overseeing the biggest payroll, the committee's elections became the starting point for many political careers. Under Hicks, however, the politics of the committee became based on racism and the most reactionary demagoguery.

Hicks's first term on the school committee was unevent-

ful. At the beginning of her second term, however, parents in the predominantly black neighborhood of Roxbury began meeting to discuss the increasingly intolerable conditions in the area's schools.

Of the 35 schools with an enrollment of more than 60 percent black students, 27 had been built before 1914 and 23 had been recommended for immediate abandonment.

Within many of the schools, overcrowding was so severe that classes were held in cellars and auditoriums. The decay of the buildings themselves was so great as to physically endanger the students. Textbooks were often unavailable and discipline was liberally dispensed with a bamboo cane.

When Hicks was approached by the Roxbury parents, she cautiously welcomed their "advice and support" in developing "compensatory educational programs" for black children. But this inevitably raised the question of segregation of Boston's public schools.

At that point, as far as Hicks was concerned, the time for discussion was at an end. In Boston, one-third of the students are black. Eighty percent of the schools were either less than 15 percent black or more than two-thirds black. Hicks intended to keep it that way.

What followed was the longest and one of the most vicious attempts in the recent period to deny minority workers the right to send their children to integrated schools.

In the spring of 1965, a state-appointed investigative committee, composed of Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston; corporate executives; representatives of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO; and educational experts found the school committee to be practicing segregation and recommended immediate steps to achieve racial balance.

AGITATORS

Within two hours of receiving the report, Mrs. Hicks declared it to be "the pompous pronouncements of the uninformed" and its authors she described as, "outside agitators, undemocratic and un-American." Within a few months, the state legislature passed the report's recommendations into law, backed up with the threat of a loss of state funds.

Hicks's committee vetoed proposals to bring Boston public schools into compliance with the law and \$6,300,000 in state aid was lost.

The first proposal from the committee itself to bring about "integration" in the schools was introduced by Hicks' fellow committeeman, Joseph Lee. Lee, a 60-year old political economist from an old family of Beacon Hill aristocrats, openly espoused the most virulent racism at the meetings.

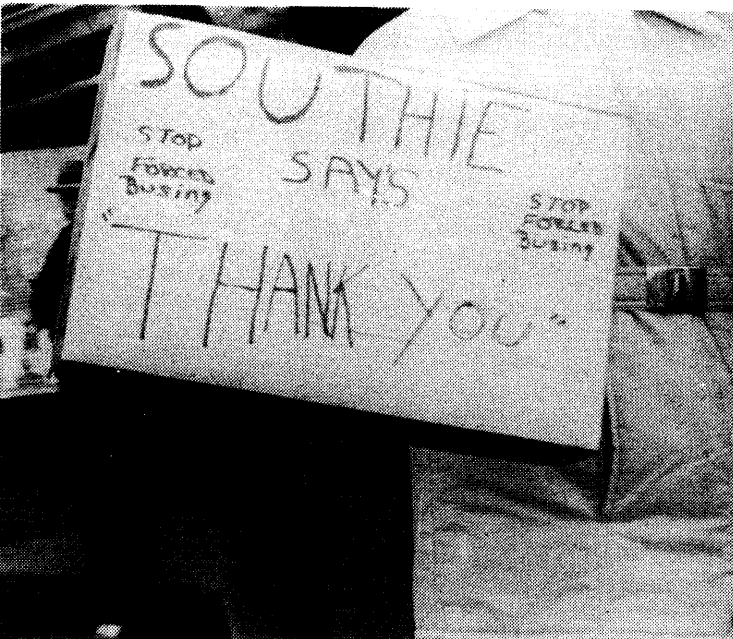
Professor Lee entitled his proposal: "A Plan to End the Monopoly of Unlight-colored Pupils in Many Boston Schools." This "plan" consisted of three points:

a. "Notify at least 11,958 Chinese and Negro pupils not to come back to Boston schools this autumn.

b. "Close the 23 schools where



Louise Day Hicks: Democrat, racist.



Sign displayed during right-wing demonstration against busing in Boston.

the small number of white children, matched by an equal number of 'nonwhite' children, leaves less than 14 pupils altogether in each grade.

c. "Send the 12,570 'nonwhite' pupils who make the student bodies of 45 Boston schools more than 50 percent nonwhite out to the suburbs."

The committee voted without dissent to forward the professor's racist scheme onto the state commissioner as a "possible means of compliance." The committee followed through with this course of action by "racially balancing" two predominately Chinese schools. The method was simple and direct. They reclassified oriental pupils from "nonwhite" to white.

STRATEGY

The school committee continued this same basic strategy for nearly 10 years: Decisions were taken to correct racial imbalance, only to be repealed within days after withheld funds were released. At one school, black children were actually bused in by the committee, only to be kept in separate class-

rooms from the white pupils.

At others, where Roxbury parents had raised funds to provide for busing, the students found the doors locked in their faces. All the while, both white and black schools became seriously overcrowded, as students were assigned to schools on the basis of race.

Throughout this period, Hicks operated independently of the committee to build up the anti-busing movement in the neighborhoods. In 1965, she was instrumental in organizing "mothers for Neighborhood Schools."

Hicks spoke everywhere, defending "our wonderful schools" and "dedicated teachers," while at the same time spreading racial fears of crime and the destruction of the neighborhoods.

Intermingled with this racist poison was a demagogic appeal to the workers of South Boston, in defense of "the little people" against the intrusion of the "Yankee" bankers and the Harvard professors.

Shortly before busing began this fall, Mrs. Hicks issued a provocative statement citing crime figures from Roxbury as a

reason to halt busing. Mrs. Hicks's figures later proved to be her own invention.

What is the reality behind this cold and calculated attempt to whip up racial hysteria? While Hicks served on the school committee, not a single school was built, despite the fact that \$29 million was budgeted by the city council. Although new schools have since been built, the pre-1914 buildings are still in use.

Boston students fall far below the national norm in both reading and arithmetic. The dropout rate is now 20 percent in the high schools like Hyde Park and South Boston.

This is the record. Behind the racist demagoguery and the attempt to deprive minority students of their rights is the decay of public education for black and white youth.

The lesson for workers in South Boston, in Roxbury, and Dorchester is that Hicks and politicians like her use racism to divert the fight away from the defense of decent schools, housing, and jobs.

RESPONSIBLE

Hicks and the Republicans are responsible for the conditions and the slashing of funds for basic social programs.

The rallies Mrs. Hicks speaks at are now increasingly dotted with campaign posters of the American Independent Party. The Nazis and the KKK have both come to South Boston to attempt to exploit the racial divisions which Hicks helped to sow. It is Hicks and her party, the Democrats, that have paved the way for these fascist forces.

Only a break from the Democrats and the Republicans and the construction of an independent party of labor will enable the working class to defend all its basic rights and living conditions.

In the struggle to unite in a common fight against the government, the working class will settle accounts with Hicks and all the racist and fascist scum behind her.

The Saxbe Aliens Scare Campaign

BY A REPORTER

The Ford administration has launched a vicious campaign to convince American workers that unemployment, crime, and the decay of social services are all the fault of immigrant workers.

Attorney General William Saxbe has demanded an extra \$50 million for the Immigration and Naturalization Service in order to deport at least one million workers during the next year.

Speaking in Brownsville, near the Texas-Mexico border, Saxbe said that there are as many as 12 million workers, mostly Mexican, in the country without proper papers.

He said that these workers are creating a "severe national crisis" because they hold jobs, drain public services like schools and welfare, and disrupt the economy by sending money out of the country.

He cited Los Angeles Police Department figures showing

that 36 percent of felony arrests involved "illegal aliens" to back up his demand for immediate action.

Then he went on to say that there is "no prejudice of any kind" involved in the drive, because: "We oppose the entry of all illegal immigration, regardless of their race or country of origin."

For decades, the government has given its tacit approval to the corporations and agribusinesses who made superprofits off the most brutal slave labor exploitation of "illegal" workers. They have been denied union rights, cheated because they could not speak or read English and have been forced to live in the worst slums.

Today, as the recession deepens and the companies no longer need these workers, they want to use the immigrant worker to divert attention from the real reason for unemployment, and whip up racism to prevent a united struggle against mass layoffs.

The corporations' aim is to divide the working class precisely to impose on American workers the same slave conditions that immigrant workers suffered under.

WITCH-HUNT

Saxbe's witch-hunt is aimed at obscuring the fact that unemployment will hit every section of the working class regardless of race because the crisis is rooted in the uncontrolled inflation and in the bankruptcy of the profit system.

It is all the more criminal because union leaders like Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers Union are supporting deportation.

There must be a fight in the unions to defend the rights of immigrant workers, and give them full union protection. Saxbe's reactionary propaganda must be answered by a campaign for a Congress of Labor to defend the right of all workers to a job.



National Guardsmen firing on Kent State students in May, 1970.

ILWU Wants Pay Reopener

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—West Coast longshoremen have demanded the reopening of their contract to get higher wages to keep up with inflation.

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union President Harry Bridges sent a letter to the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) on October 21 requesting new negotiations.

Bridges acted after the Longshore, Clerks, and Walking Boss caucus met in San Francisco October 7-12.

ILWU dockers are scheduled to receive a cost of living raise of 12¢ an hour on January 1, 1975, under the present contract. The cap on the cost of living clause limits the raise to 12¢, even though the increase in the price index would indicate a raise of 30¢. The present contract expires July 1, 1975.

The union proposes to begin negotiations over a cost of living raise for January 1, and on eliminating the cap on the cost of living clause.

However, an ILWU spokesman indicated the union would be willing to accept continuation of the cap on the cost of living clause, providing the ceiling was raised.

WAGES

At the same time, the union proposes that additional wage increases be negotiated to go into affect July 1, 1975, and January 1, 1976, and if agreement is reached, "wages are removed from any union demands for a new contract and therefore removed as a strike issue."

According to the ILWU newspaper The Dispatcher: "Caucus delegates emphasized repeatedly during debate that the move was prompted by fear that the Ford administration might attempt to reimpose wage controls and thus catch the ILWU in a bind at the time its contract talks for the Pacific Coast were to reopen."

One longshoreman said: "I don't trust anything Bridges does. If the only reason they're negotiating now is because they're afraid of wage controls later, then that's good."

"But if they get us a few pennies, you can bet the PMA will take it back in the guarantee or somewhere else."

Who's Behind The 4 Kent Killings?

BY LIZ BJORN

CLEVELAND, Ohio—The trial has begun of the eight National Guardsmen who are charged with killing four students and wounding 13 others at Kent State University in May, 1970.

Five of the Guardsmen are charged with violating the civil rights of the students under a felony section which can bring a maximum sentence of life imprisonment. The other three are charged under a misdemeanor section which carries no imprisonment penalty.

On Tuesday, October 29, the

jury visited the scene of the Kent State campus, located between Cleveland, Akron, and Youngstown, and attended by many working class youth from these industrial areas.

The testimony of photographers, who were at the scene in 1970 and took over 2000 pictures on the relative positions of the Guardsmen and the students completely refutes the main defense argument that the students rushed the Guardsmen.

Six investigations were held before any indictments were handed down. The parents of the slain and injured students have repeatedly charged that a Watergate-type coverup has been going on in the Justice Department.

One Grand Jury report handed down no indictments, but filed a

report placing the blame on students and faculty. Attorney General John Mitchell, now on trial himself for his part in the Watergate coverup, vetoed the seating of a new Grand Jury. But the persistent demands by parents for the punishment of those responsible finally led to the present indictments.

PARENTS

In addition, the parents have filed a civil suit for damages against leading officials, including former Ohio Governor James Rhodes. Rhodes, who is running for office again, requested that the court "seal" the deposition testimony until after the November election so that the voters would not be "unduly influenced" by his role in the coverup.

The Guard had been called up in the spring of 1970 to deal with the violent truckers' strike in Ohio. They were reassigned to Kent State when demonstrations broke out against Nixon's bombing of Cambodia.

They were armed with M-1 30-caliber rifles and there is every indication that the orders for the shooting came from the highest levels of the federal government.

The prosecution has made it clear that it does not intend to press its case hard. In his opening statement to the jury, Robert Murphy of the Justice Department said: "Don't expect the government's case to be loaded with surprises or theatrics, because there won't be any."

NYC Hospitals Go Bankrupt

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, NY—Hospital workers in both private and city hospitals must prepare for a battle to defend jobs, wages, and the very right of the working class to medical care.

The United Hospital Fund has announced that 17 out of New York's 55 voluntary (private) hospitals are "technically insolvent" and are running their emergency services and clinics at a deficit this year of \$65 million.

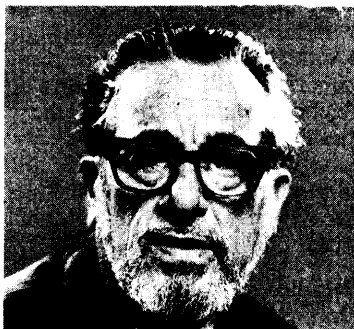
Joseph Terenzio, president of the UHF threatened that St. Luke's and Mt. Sinai Hospitals would either phase out the emergency rooms or limit admissions to those who can prove they can pay.

In other words, no matter how sick you are, if you cannot afford the exorbitant fees charged by the hospitals, they will kick you back out on the street.

REDUCE

In addition, only one week ago, the Health and Hospitals Corporation warned that it would "drastically" reduce services if they did not get an extra \$10 million this year.

The Mt. Sinai director, David Pomrinse declared that unless the Health and Hospitals Corporation gave them an additional \$937,000 for their services



Leon Davis

to Elmhurst, a city hospital, the Elmhurst emergency service would be terminated.

Dr. John S. Holloman, head of the Hospital Corporation said: "The way it's developing, we are going to be left with anything the voluntary hospitals can't make a profit on."

This crisis lies behind the bureaucratic attempt by Davis to silence and suspend delegate Nathan Gershon who attempted to present a motion of endorsement of the Workers Party at the October delegates meeting.

At the following meeting on October 31, the delegates overwhelmingly passed a motion that the suspension be stricken from the minutes, and Gershon's rights were restored.

Davis was forced to retreat on the suspension only because of the intense opposition from the delegates and the members Gershon represents.

Davis seeks to cut off any mili-

tant opposition within the ranks because he has no policy to defend jobs and medical care. Davis supports the Democrats, who are 100 percent behind Ford's "anti-inflation" budget slashing.

1199 members must fight for meetings in every hospital and demand that union policy be a citywide strike if any jobs or services are slashed.

The policy of the Ford government is that if hospitals are not profitable, they should be closed down. The only answer is a fight to build a labor party to socialize medicine and provide free medical care for everyone.

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Portugal

MILITARY RULE OR WORKERS' POWER?

“The only thing that April 25 meant to me was that I could go up to people I knew were fascists and call them fascists to their face. Otherwise, very little has changed. The big struggles still lie ahead.”

Thousands of workers in Portugal now agree with Alfonso, a lorry driver from Lisbon.

In the six months since the fall of fascism, they have witnessed the “friends of the people”—the Provisional Government and the Armed Forces Movement—breaking strike after strike and jailing workers.

The leader of the Communist Party, Alvaro Cunhal, and the leading social democrat, Mario Soares, both ministers in the government, now work as the direct agents of the reactionary capitalist class demanding workers abandon every struggle, be it for better wages and conditions, against unemployment, or a ruthless purge of the hundreds of fascists who remain in high office.

Cunhal spends most of his time campaigning for the Armed Forces Movement—the caste of

wealthy officers who are the power behind the military junta, which in turn holds all the puppet strings of the Provisional Government.

In his last public declaration, Cunhal said: “In the last six months, this movement has defended the liberties and our country. On the one hand, this movement has trust in our people and on the other hand, our people have trust in it.”

OCCUPATION

Examples of such mutual trust were the occupation of Lisbon airport by the army during a strike and the sacking of 200 workers who disobeyed military orders to go back to work; the forcible eviction of print workers at the Journal of Commerce who wanted to remove their director, a notorious fascist; and the jailing of 14 building workers in Porto in northern Portugal.

Cunhal and Soares are now the political pimps for this vicious anti-working class military command which is moving rapidly to the right. (The AFM officers say in the latest edition of their journal that they want Portugal to be like Peru—neither “capitalist nor communist.” In fact, Peru is a military dictatorship.

The AFM officers disguise their deep hatred and fear of the working class by a thin veneer of “democracy.” In their more conciliatory moments, they speak the language of the French bourgeois revolution of 1789 (liberty, equality, honesty, etc.) but at the slightest resistance to their orders, they revert to the familiar method of brute force.

The latest confrontation was at Santarem, a town 30 miles north of Lisbon. Municipal workers, from clerks to road sweepers, had occupied the council buildings demanding more money, better conditions and the “cleaning” of the high administration who were fascists. The local Stalinists were of course against the action—their members have even gone so far as to work side by side with the administrators of the Caetano regime in the interests of unity in the “new” Portugal.

On the second day, two officers visited the pickets—the army now plays the role of industrial relations officer—with the agreement of the union leadership.

A major, complete with leather baton, boots, spurs, and an aristocratic sneer, explained that he was of course sympathetic to the workers’ demands. The town should have been cleaned long ago. Unfortunately, the whole thing was illegal. The major was quite right. Under the law passed by Soares, Cunhal and the other ministers—similar to the Tory Industrial Relations Act—strikes can be declared illegal and employers have the legal right to lock out employees.

The workers stood firm. One old man, standing in rags next to the immaculate major, explained he earned \$15 a month because he was disabled. “When they took me in hospital they would not give me the right medicine. I complained and they beat me.” He pulled out a heavy brass knuckle-duster from his

Workers Press reporter Stephen Johns discusses the rapid movement by the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal to the right. A critical analysis is made of the counterrevolutionary role played by the Communist Party as they try to prop up the Provisional Government.

pocket. “They beat me with this,” he explained.

The Captain—a prominent figure in the Armed Forces Movement, intervened and put an end to the friendly chat. “If you don’t come out, we will get you out—we and the police. Is that understood?” The workers nodded.

In half an hour, the narrow streets of Santarem were filled with the grey army lorries. The soldiers crowded in the back joking nervously. One began chanting a left-wing slogan. “Watch-out,” said another, “here comes the lieutenant.” The unit fell into a respectful silence.

LIFT

The day ended with the workers volunteering to lift their occupation under military pressure. The major with the boots and spurs stood outside one of the buildings facing the town’s people. He gestured people aside with his baton as one fascist from the old administration brought keys to lock up the main doors.

In the barracks nearby, another officer was addressing a crowd of soldiers—explaining why the defense of Portuguese “democracy” meant strike-breaking. The soldiers—who earn about \$10 a month, listened impassively.

There will be more and larger Santarems in Portugal. The working class and the farm workers are facing a rapid deterioration in their living stan-

dards and mass unemployment. They will answer by strikes, occupations, marches, and barricades.

It is this crisis that preoccupies the deliberations of the provisional government and the council of state. The crisis undermines completely the attempt by the social democrats and Stalinists to erect a Popular Front on the basis of an expanding Portuguese economy.

MONEY

The ministers are attempting desperately to raise money from the international banks, but without success. Finance Minister, Dr. Jose de Silva, recently returned from the US and explained that his discussions with the bankers had been dominated by the “great economic crisis.” He explained that the trend in the capitalist nations towards isolationism and “austerity” had come at a bad time for Portugal. These factors, he said, only intensified the “special” difficulties the country faced caused by the “transfer” from fascism to “democracy.” (The diplomatic de Silva was referring to the flight from Portugal of foreign capital in the face of the upsurge of the working class.)

The gloom was deepened days later when the International Bank of Portugal collapsed. The government stepped rapidly into the breach. The Portuguese petty bourgeois heard the alarming news from a bank employees’ union leader that the situation at the International was typical of all the banks.

Cop Theft Ring Busted

BY A REPORTER MARTINEZ, Calif.—Sheriff's deputies in suburban Contra Costa County have added something to the normal routine in a lawman's life.

The deputies use their police cars and badges to burglarize. Eight deputies have been indicted during the last month on a total of 20 counts of burglary, grand theft, and receiving stolen goods. Another has been fired for refusing to answer questions. A tenth deputy has been granted immunity from prosecution in return for cooperating in naming his partners in crime.

At least 14 stores are alleged to have been looted by the deputies, including construction

sites, grocery stores, a lumber yard, a corporation yard, and a beauty salon. Even the fire department in the town of Crockett was raided and four truck tires taken.

The deputies' activities were uncovered when one of them, Martin Day, 35, of Concord, was himself burglarized by a local youth. When the youth was arrested by Concord city police in possession of construction power tools, the police noted from the serial numbers that the tools had already been reported stolen from a construction site several months before.

Day is an 11-year veteran and past president of the Contra Costa County Sheriff's Deputies Association. He has been granted immunity and is now the chief witness in the prosecution of the other eight men.

Day testified to over \$30,000 in thefts, including \$7300 which the deputies obtained by rolling a wealthy drunk they were escorting home.

On one evening, Day said, he, Nicholas Duerr, 29, and Edward Murphy, 32, went through a construction site and took power tools, construction materials, garbage disposals, bathroom fixtures, and electrical wiring. The deputies used this to construct a vacation cottage for themselves in Lassen County in the foothills of the Sierras.

Many of the thefts took place in Orinda, Moraga, and Lafayette, a cluster of well-to-do towns with a high burglary rate, and an astonishingly low rate of capture of the burglars.

DUMPED

In the last days before they were arrested, the deputies panicked and dumped many incriminating items into the bay, including the fire truck tires and an antique brass cash register they had taken from a beauty parlor.

The last time the Contra Costa sheriffs deputies were in the news was last month when they waded with clubs swinging into a crowd of youth at Pacifica High School in West Pittsburg to "keep order."

The deputies were so confident they would not be caught that they used the headquarters of the department to stash their loot. One of them, when questioned by another deputy who recognized some goods as stolen, replied that they had been recovered and were being kept in safekeeping for the rightful owner.

These hypocritical defenders of law and order are only doing on a smaller scale what Ford and Rockefeller do every single day, handing out millions to their friends, while they order workers to eat less.



Trade unionists spoke out on their working conditions and the fight to construct a labor party at the first Bay Area meeting of TUALP.

40 Unionists At Bay Area TUALP

BY MARTY MORAN OAKLAND, Calif—Over 40 trade unionists from Oakland, San Jose, and San Francisco made the first Bay Area meeting of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party a tremendous success.

A strong delegation of construction workers attended, including carpenters from San Jose who are taking part in the statewide strike of dry-wall construction. Other trades represented included teachers, postal workers, telephone workers, San Francisco city workers, and printing workers.

Tom Cagle, an auto worker at

the Fremont General Motors plant, gave the opening address. He said that Chrysler's announcement of an eight million dollar third quarter loss and General Motors' 94 percent decline in profit for the same period pointed the way to irreversible slump.

"We cannot defend ourselves for one minute without recognizing the political nature of that attack. The labor party is long overdue. It will be born out of massive titanic class struggles much like the CIO in the 1930s. The Workers League is the only party that leads a fight in the unions for a labor party

and a revolutionary leadership."

Matthew, a laborer from Oakland, spoke about attempts by contractors to break down jurisdictional lines and destroy craft rights in the building trades. He said that at his site he was forced to do carpenter's work, while a carpenter was made to do laborer's work. "This is what I think this meeting is all about," he said. "The big construction companies want to destroy the unions."

A series of classes on Marxism for trade unionists is now being planned and caucus meetings are set to launch a fight in the construction and the auto unions for the TUALP program.

JOBS...

(continued from page 1)

handouts. They are going to fight any attempt to push them back to the 1930s. This is what the trade union bureaucracy fears above all else.

What is required is a program of action to mobilize the working class against the unemployment and inflation and to launch the political fight to force Ford out.

Trade unionists must demand that the unions convene an emergency congress of labor to map out an offensive against layoffs. The working class must be

mobilized behind every section of workers, such as in auto, for strike action against layoffs and occupation of any plant scheduled to shut down.

POLICY

The trade unions must have their own policy to fight unemployment: 30 hour week for 40 hours pay to spread the jobs immediately. Nationalize all basic industries as well as the banks and food conglomerates under workers control, without compensation.

Force the labor leaders, like George Meany and Leonard

Woodcock, off Ford's Labor-Management Committee.

The labor movement today is organized and powerful. The congress of labor must build a labor party, independent of the Democrats and Republicans to fight for this program.

We have no confidence in the Woodcocks and Meany to carry through this fight. The fight for socialist policies means the building of revolutionary leadership in the unions. This is why we call on all workers to build the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in their locals to lead this fight.

Workers Party On TV

"The major issue in this election is the economic crisis. The announcement that unemployment has reached six percent comes at a time when prices are rising at a rate of 12 percent. The working class in this country has been pushed back at least 10 years already in its living conditions."

With these words, Terry Delgado, Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 12th CD demolished her opponents on television November 3.

Maxine Williams, candidate of the revisionist Socialist Workers Party, was barely distinguishable from Shirley Chisholm, Democratic incumbent, who tried to revive her worn out boasts about all the programs she instituted.

Williams only added to the re-



formist illusions created by the capitalists by claiming that inflation was solely due to "deficit war spending."

For all the reforms she pro-

posed, Williams never once mentioned a labor party or how her proposals would be implemented.

Reminding Chisholm that she said in Congress that Ford should have a "chance," Delgado said openly: "Tuesday's election is a fraud that will solve none of the problems facing working people."

"We have brought our campaign to workers across the country in order to agitate, organize, and educate a revolutionary leadership and to fight for the construction of a labor party. The only answer to unemployment is the nationalization of industries under workers control. The profit must be taken out of food and housing industry through socialist policies. This requires a workers government.

Workers League
public meeting

10

years of the Bulletin

Los Angeles, Calif.
LA Convention Ctr. Rm 208
Pico & Figueroa
Sat. Nov. 16 7:30 PM

Oakland, Calif.
Jenny Lynd Hall (ILGWU)
2267 Telegraph (& West Grand)
Friday, Nov. 8 7:30 PM

\$2.50; \$1.50 youth & unemployed



lucha obrera

DEFENDAMOS A LOS OBREROS INMIGRANTES

POR LUCIA RIVERA

La administración de Ford ha declarado guerra en contra de los trabajadores inmigrantes sin documentación adecuada. Saxbe, el Abogado General, ha hecho un llamado para que se deporten a un millón de trabajadores "ilegales," principalmente mexicanos.

Saxbe ha dicho que los trabajadores ilegales acaparan millones de trabajos, usurpan los beneficios sociales desde la educación hasta el bienestar social, sacándole los fondos a la economía de la nación que está en graves problemas, mandando vastas sumas de dinero a sus familiares burlándose de nuestro sistema legal de inmigración.

Además, ha recomendado a Ford que para este año presupuestal de unos 50 millones extra al Depto. de Naturalización. Ha pedido que la fuerza laboral de dicha agencia emplee a 2200 trabajadores más para poder darle solución inmediata al problema.

Lo cierto es que los llamados "trabajadores ilegales" son los peor pagados en el país. La mayoría de los trabajadores mexicanos que cruzan la frontera trabajan en la agricultura solamente por temporadas y no tienen ningún beneficio.

Estos trabajadores han abandonado sus familias en México para poder mandarles algún dinero para que puedan sobrevivir.

Las miserables condiciones que enfrentan en sus países son creadas por la intervención del capitalismo norteamericano y el gobierno de Echevarría en México.

El tratar de hacer responsable a estos trabajadores de los "problemas de la economía" es una distorsión de la realidad que todo trabajador conoce.

Los problemas en la economía que los capitalistas enfrentan, provienen de su producción anárquica por obtener ganancias que en estos momentos amenaza con destruir su sistema. Ellos conscientemente utilizan el racismo para dividir a la clase obrera, debilitar sus uniones y organizaciones.

Con el desempleo cerca de 6 por ciento, el gobierno está tratando de deshacerse de esta fuerza laboral y de emplear trabajadores diestros desempleados pagándoles salarios de hambre.

Lo que ellos están tratando de hacer con los trabajadores mexicanos es lo que planean hacer con todas las secciones de trabajadores minoritarios, al igual que contra toda la clase obrera en este país.

Esto es lo que el gobierno de Inglaterra ha tratado de hacer contra los trabajadores indios y africanos. Recientemente en Suiza el gobierno presentó un proyecto de ley para deportar a un millón de trabajadores italia-

nos. Dicho proyecto fue denegado ampliamente por los votos de los trabajadores. En Canadá los mismos ataques se preparan contra los trabajadores minoritarios.

La semana pasada cerca de 20 mil trabajadores de construcción demostraron en contra del desempleo y de las tácticas anti-unionistas del contratista del área Paparazzo, en el condado de Westchester. Los oficiales de la unión llamaron a los agentes de inmigración para que deportasen a cinco trabajadores el mes pasado.

Tommy McMahon, un trabajador de construcción, declaró al Bulletin: "El problema no son los trabajadores ilegales. Todo el mundo necesita un trabajo."

Las medidas que Saxbe está tratando de implementar, son las tácticas de un gobierno desesperado tratando de resolver su crisis económica atacando los derechos de la clase obrera. La clase obrera tiene que contestar estos ataques en forma unida.

La reciente campaña que la Liga Obrera ha llevado a cabo, corriendo a dos candidatas para el congreso, basándose en una lucha por un partido obrero con un programa socialista, la única respuesta a este sistema en decadencia.

Nosotros defendemos el derecho de todo trabajador de tener un trabajo decente. No importa la nacionalidad a la que pertenezca. Este derecho solo se puede defender a través de la movilización política independiente de la clase obrera construyendo su propio partido.

POR CESAR UCO

Un tremendo movimiento se está formando entre los mineros para declararse en huelga el 12 de noviembre independientemente de que un nuevo contrato se logre entre Miller y los dueños del carbón.

El martes pasado, Miller se reunió en privado con Ford. Se dice que Ford le prometió que intervendría en caso de huelga.

El derecho a la huelga debe de ser defendido por todo el movimiento obrero.

EXPLOTACION

Los mineros están entre los obreros más afectados por la inflación. Las nuevas estadísticas demuestran que mientras el obrero medio está ganando \$10 semanales más que hace un año, los mineros solo ganan \$8 más. Sin embargo, debido a la inflación, el salario real del obrero medio se ha reducido en \$5.

Al mismo tiempo, las grandes compañías mineras han visto sus ganancias duplicadas, triplicadas y en algunos casos hasta cuadruplicadas.

Por ejemplo, la Consolidation Coal ganó durante el último año \$209 millones, representando un aumento de 111 por ciento. La Island Greek Coal ganó \$160 millones, que es un aumento de 403 por ciento en un año.

El caso más extremo es la Pittsburg Company que ganó \$39 millones, un aumento de 868 por ciento!

Estas ganancias han sido posibles solo a través de la más grande explotación de la mano de obra.

Los brutales ataques contra los mineros, y en general contra todos los obreros, es la solución de los capitalistas y la administración Ford a la crisis económica.

En auto, la GM acaba de anunciar que para el 15 de noviembre despedirá a 6000 obreros. Y representantes de esta compañía han dejado en claro que esto es

12 DE NOV.: MINEROS A LA HUELGA



solo el principio.

Hace una semana, el New York Times anunció que la recesión ya no solo incluía a la industria del auto, de la construcción y Wall Street, sino que ahora se había expandido a la industria de bienes de consumo como textiles, televisores, semiconductores y muebles de madera.

CONTRATO

De las estadísticas mostradas está claro que el interés de los mineros está en ¿cuánto dinero vamos a ganar?

La posición de los dueños del carbón ha sido discutida con el gobierno. La administración Ford está empeñada en prevenir un buen contrato para la UMW porque sabe que llevaría a una tremenda ofensiva salarial de todo el movimiento laboral.

Ford está considerando hacer uso de la ley Taft-Hartley, haciendo ilegal la huelga por un período de 80 días a partir del 12 de noviembre.

Pero el mayor impedimento para movilizar a los mineros, y

con ellos a todo el movimiento laboral, es la burocracia sindical.

El presidente de la UMW, Miller, trata de desviar la atención de los obreros diciendo que hay progresos en los aspectos no-económicos.

Miller evita la lucha salarial porque sabe que es en este punto donde los intereses de los mineros—los obreros—y el gobierno y los dueños del carbón—los capitalistas—es irreconciliable!

Que Miller permanezca en el Comité de Administración para el Trabajo es un peligro para la clase obrera. Como el Business Week dijo, refiriéndose a las negociaciones:

"Las brillantes perspectivas son en parte un resultado de la designación de Miller al Comité de Administración del Trabajo. Obviamente, un esfuerzo de Ford para afectar las negociaciones trayendo a Miller a los círculos internos."

No hay nada que la clase obrera pueda esperar de la burocracia sindical fuera de una serie interminable de traiciones.

Es por esto que un nuevo liderazgo tiene que construirse entre las bases de las uniones, para defender nuestros niveles de vida y el derecho a la huelga.

Este liderazgo debe movilizar la fortaleza de la clase obrera en contra del gobierno construyendo un Partido Obrero con una política socialista.

LUCHA EJEMPLAR

Los mineros siempre estuvieron en la vanguardia del proletariado. En los años 30 fueron ellos los que dirigieron la lucha por organizar a la clase obrera.

En 1943 fueron los únicos que desafiaron al gobierno de Roosevelt declarándose en huelga.

Durante el año pasado, los mineros de Harlan hicieron historia cuando ganaron el derecho a tener una unión después de meses de huelga.

Estas lecciones deben de llevarse adelante ahora. Los mineros deben demandar:

- Cerrar las minas el 12 de noviembre.
- 25 por ciento de aumento con 100 por ciento de escalada en el costo de vida.
- Ningún trato ni restricción contra el derecho a la huelga.
- Miller debe renunciar al Comité de Administración del Trabajo.
- Alto a los crímenes en las minas. Nacionalización de la industria del carbón bajo control obrero y sin compensación a.
- Llamar a un Congreso de Trabajadores. Construyamos un Partido Obrero.



POR DIANNE ISSACS

"Tomará décadas para cambiar el sistema económico y social de Estados Unidos. Será el último lugar del mundo donde se produzca un cambio, ya que el capitalismo allí ha dado los máximos resultados."

Estas son las palabras de Fidel Castro, el "nacido marxista," héroe de revisionistas y stalinistas, a quien se entrevistara el 23 de octubre en un reporte especial de la CBS TV: "Castro, Cuba y los Estados Unidos."

Castro está tan ansioso de iniciar negociaciones con el capitalismo americano y de remover el bloqueo económico que comenzó su entrevista alabando a Ford por perdonar a Nixon diciendo:

"Es una buena fórmula para liquidar la materia," y que continuar el juicio "habría creado

...Kissinger no
odia a cuba...
FIDEL CASTRO

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Este es el enfoque del así





lucha obrera

DEFENDAMOS A LOS

OBREROS INMIGRANTES

POR LUCIA RIVERA

La administración de Ford ha declarado guerra en contra de los trabajadores inmigrantes sin documentación adecuada. Saxbe, el Abogado General, ha hecho un llamado para que se deporten a un millón de trabajadores "ilegales," principalmente mexicanos.

Saxbe ha dicho que los trabajadores ilegales acaparan millones de trabajos, usurpan los beneficios sociales desde la educación hasta el bienestar social, sacándole los fondos a la economía de la nación que está en graves problemas, mandando vastas sumas de dinero a sus familiares burlándose de nuestro sistema legal de inmigración.

Además, ha recomendado a Ford que para este año presupuestal de unos 50 millones extra al Depto. de Naturalización. Ha pedido que la fuerza laboral de dicha agencia emplee a 2200 trabajadores más para poder darle solución inmediata al problema.

Lo cierto es que los llamados "trabajadores ilegales" son los peor pagados en el país. La mayoría de los trabajadores mexicanos que cruzan la frontera trabajan en la agricultura solamente por temporadas y no tienen ningún beneficio.

Estos trabajadores han abandonado sus familias en México para poder mandarles algún dinero para que puedan sobrevivir.

Las miserables condiciones que enfrentan en sus países son creadas por la intervención del capitalismo norteamericano y el gobierno de Echevarría en México.

El tratar de hacer responsable a estos trabajadores de los "problemas de la economía" es una distorsión de la realidad que todo trabajador conoce.

Los problemas en la economía que los capitalistas enfrentan, provienen de su producción anárquica por obtener ganancias que en estos momentos amenaza con destruir su sistema. Ellos conscientemente utilizan el racismo para dividir a la clase obrera, debilitar sus uniones y organizaciones.

Con el desempleo cerca de 6 por ciento, el gobierno está tratando de deshacerse de esta fuerza laboral y de emplear trabajadores diestros desempleados pagándoles salarios de hambre.

Lo que ellos están tratando de hacer con los trabajadores mexicanos es lo que planean hacer con todas las secciones de trabajadores minoritarios, al igual que contra toda la clase obrera en este país.

Esto es lo que el gobierno de Inglaterra ha tratado de hacer contra los trabajadores indios y africanos. Recientemente en Suiza el gobierno presentó un proyecto de ley para deportar a un millón de trabajadores italia-

nos. Dicho proyecto fue denegado ampliamente por los votos de los trabajadores. En Canadá los mismos ataques se preparan contra los trabajadores minoritarios.

La semana pasada cerca de 20 mil trabajadores de construcción demostraron en contra del desempleo y de las tácticas antiunionistas del contratista del área Paparazzo, en el condado de Westchester. Los oficiales de la unión llamaron a los agentes de inmigración para que deportasen a cinco trabajadores el mes pasado.

Tommy McMahon, un trabajador de construcción, declaró al Bulletin: "El problema no son los trabajadores ilegales. Todo el mundo necesita un trabajo."

Las medidas que Saxbe está tratando de implementar, son las tácticas de un gobierno desesperado tratando de resolver su crisis económica atacando los derechos de la clase obrera. La clase obrera tiene que contestar estos ataques en forma unida.

La reciente campaña que la Liga Obrera ha llevado a cabo, corriendo a dos candidatas para el congreso, basándose en una lucha por un partido obrero con un programa socialista, la única respuesta a este sistema en decadencia.

Nosotros defendemos el derecho de todo trabajador de tener un trabajo decente. No importa la nacionalidad a la que pertenezca. Este derecho solo se puede defender a través de la movilización política independiente de la clase obrera construyendo su propio partido.

POR CESAR UCO
Un tremendo movimiento se está formando entre los mineros para declararse en huelga el 12 de noviembre independientemente de que un nuevo contrato se logre entre Miller y los dueños del carbón.

El martes pasado, Miller se reunió en privado con Ford. Se dice que Ford le prometió que intervendría en caso de huelga.

El derecho a la huelga debe de ser defendido por todo el movimiento obrero.

EXPLORACION

Los mineros están entre los obreros más afectados por la inflación. Las nuevas estadísticas demuestran que mientras el obrero medio está ganando \$10 semanales más que hace un año, los mineros solo ganan \$8 más. Sin embargo, debido a la inflación, el salario real del obrero medio se ha reducido en \$5.

Al mismo tiempo, las grandes compañías mineras han visto sus ganancias duplicadas, triplicadas y en algunos casos hasta cuadruplicadas.

Por ejemplo, la Consolidation Coal ganó durante el último año \$209 millones, representando un aumento de 111 por ciento. La Island Greek Coal ganó \$160 millones, que es un aumento de 403 por ciento en un año.

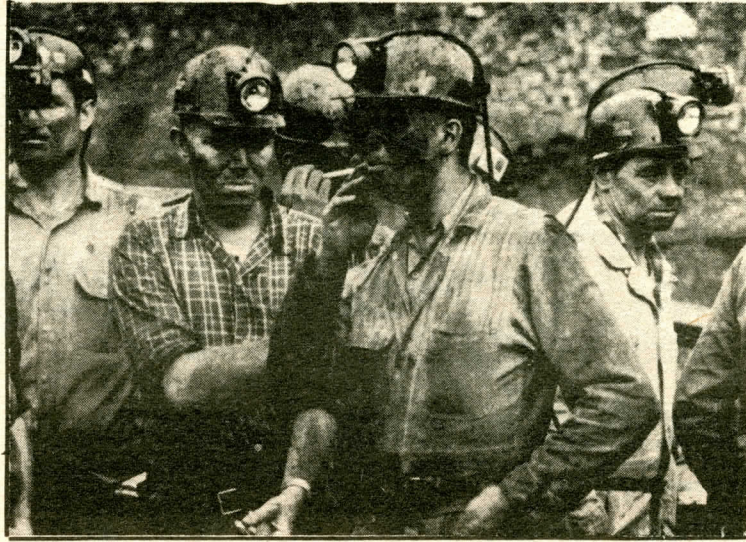
El caso más extremo es la Pittsburg Company que ganó \$39 millones, un aumento de 868 por ciento!

Estas ganancias han sido posibles solo a través de la más grande explotación de la mano de obra.

Los brutales ataques contra los mineros, y en general contra todos los obreros, es la solución de los capitalistas y la administración Ford a la crisis económica.

En auto, la GM acaba de anunciar que para el 15 de noviembre despedirá a 6000 obreros. Y representantes de esta compañía han dejado en claro que esto es

12 DE NOV.: MINEROS A LA HUELGA



solo el principio.

Hace una semana, el New York Times anunció que la recesión ya no solo incluía a la industria del auto, de la construcción y Wall Street, sino que ahora se había expandido a la industria de bienes de consumo como textiles, televisores, semiconductores y muebles de madera.

CONTRATO

De las estadísticas mostradas está claro que el interés de los mineros está en ¿cuánto dinero vamos a ganar?

La posición de los dueños del carbón ha sido discutida con el gobierno. La administración Ford está empeñada en prevenir un buen contrato para la UMW porque sabe que llevaría a una tremenda ofensiva salarial de todo el movimiento laboral.

Ford está considerando hacer uso de la ley Taft-Hartley, haciendo ilegal la huelga por un período de 80 días a partir del 12 de noviembre.

Pero el mayor impedimento para movilizar a los mineros, y

con ellos a todo el movimiento laboral, es la burocracia sindical.

El presidente de la UMW, Miller, trata de desviar la atención de los obreros diciendo que hay progresos en los aspectos no-económicos.

Miller evita la lucha salarial porque sabe que es en este punto donde los intereses de los mineros—los obreros—y el gobierno y los dueños del carbón—los capitalistas—es irreconciliable!

Que Miller permanezca en el Comité de Administración para el Trabajo es un peligro para la clase obrera. Como el Business Week dijo, refiriéndose a las negociaciones:

"Las brillantes perspectivas son en parte un resultado de la designación de Miller al Comité de Administración del Trabajo. Obviamente, un esfuerzo de Ford para afectar las negociaciones trayendo a Miller a los círculos internos."

No hay nada que la clase obrera pueda esperar de la burocracia sindical fuera de una serie interminable de traiciones.

Es por esto que un nuevo liderazgo tiene que construirse entre las bases de las uniones, para defender nuestros niveles de vida y el derecho a la huelga.

Este liderazgo debe movilizar la fortaleza de la clase obrera en contra del gobierno construyendo un Partido Obrero con una política socialista.

LUCHA EJEMPLAR

Los mineros siempre estuvieron en la vanguardia del proletariado. En los años 30 fueron ellos los que dirigieron la lucha por organizar a la clase obrera.

En 1943 fueron los únicos que desafiaron al gobierno de Roosevelt declarándose en huelga.

Durante el año pasado, los mineros de Harlan hicieron historia cuando ganaron el derecho a tener una unión después de meses de huelga.

Estas lecciones deben de llevarse adelante ahora. Los mineros deben demandar:

- Cerrar las minas el 12 de noviembre.
- 25 por ciento de aumento con 100 por ciento de escalada en el costo de vida.
- Ningún trato ni restricción contra el derecho a la huelga.
- Miller debe renunciar al Comité de Administración del Trabajo.
- Alto a los crímenes en las minas. Nacionalización de la industria del carbón bajo control obrero y sin compensación a.
- Llamar a un Congreso de Trabajadores. Construyamos un Partido Obrero.



POR DIANNE ISSACS

"Tomará décadas para cambiar el sistema económico y social de Estados Unidos. Será el último lugar del mundo donde se produzca un cambio, ya que el capitalismo allí ha dado los máximos resultados."

Estas son las palabras de Fidel Castro, el "nacido marxista," héroe de revisionistas y stalinistas, a quien se entrevistara el 23 de octubre en un reporte especial de la CBS TV: "Castro, Cuba y los Estados Unidos."

Castro está tan ansioso de iniciar negociaciones con el capitalismo americano y de remover el bloqueo económico que comenzo su entrevista alabando a Ford por perdonar a Nixon diciendo:

"Es una buena fórmula para liquidar la materia," y que continuar el juicio "habría creado

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