

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOL 7, NO.9-169 NOVEMBER 2, 1970 103 TEN CENTS

*A Review Of
"A Play By
Aleksandr
Solzhenitsyn"*

On Eve Of Elections

UNEMPLOYMENT RAGES ACROSS THE NATION

- **Support Auto Workers! Defend Angela Davis! End Martial Law in Canada! ! Avenge Death of Young Lord!**
- **Down With Two Parties of War, Inflation, Repression and Unemployment! Vote SWP! Build a Labor Party Now!**



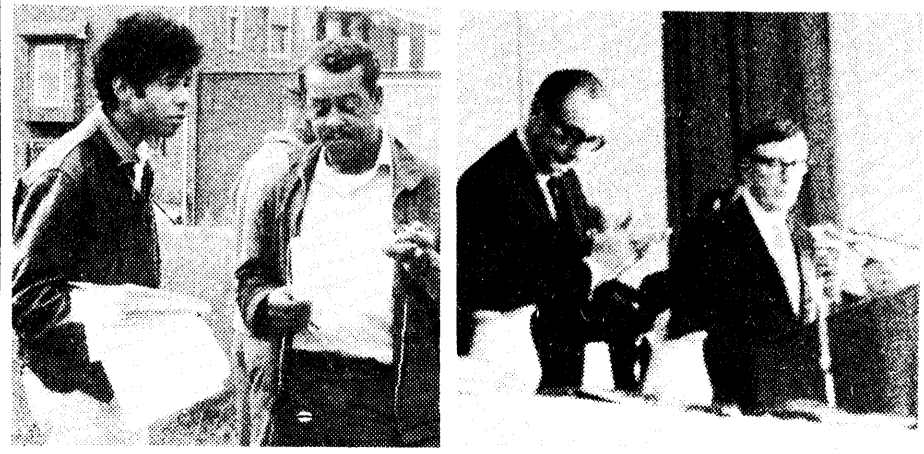
**4 PAGES
ON AUTO
STRIKE**

**UNEMPLOYMENT HITS 20%
IN WEST COAST AREAS**

-see page 9



In Canada under martial law, anyone can be jailed without charges. In Montreal (above) a government raid on suspect's home.



*Montreal-
On The Spot Report*

*Nixon Opens Up With
Attack On US Seamen*

What The Editors Think...

In the aftermath of the shooting of Quebec Labor Minister Laporte the bourgeoisie and its paid agents have, if it is possible to speak in such terms, reached new heights of hypocrisy and official deception.

Over and over again the press and mass media have hammered home the same theme from every angle: the "violent left" is fast becoming the main danger. A favorite variation of this theme is that the terrorism of the left is of course bound to unleash repression and thus now is the time to speak out against it.

We refuse to join this chorus. We refuse to denounce terrorism on command from a murderous ruling class which is ready to use and has already used any and every method to safeguard its rule. We draw the exact opposite political conclusion from that which the bourgeoisie would like. The lesson of the events in Canada is that the building of a revolutionary leadership to put an end to the decaying capitalist system is more urgent than ever. As far as the capitalists are concerned, the weapons of repression are ready at hand, to be directed against the entire working class at the first opportunity.

Prime Minister Trudeau sheds crocodile tears over the actions of the Quebec Liberation Front. He has not found such words to denounce the crimes of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia or right here in the Western hemisphere, crimes before which the deeds of the FLQ appear almost insignificant.

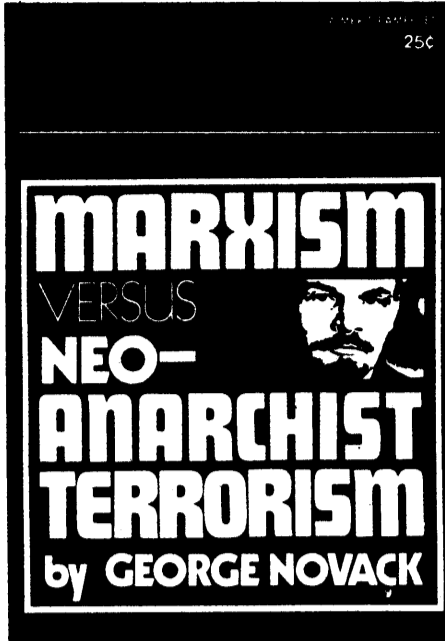
Trudeau's aim is to use these events to obscure the real crisis and the real culprits. It is the Canadian bourgeoisie and its U.S. masters who perpetrate the conditions of unemployment, poverty, and discrimination in Canada and especially in Quebec for the French-speaking majority. It is the capitalist system and the ruling class which is behind this crisis.

Nixon has added his condemnation of the Quebec separatists. His hands are literally soaked in the blood of millions of workers and peasants all over the world, and he lectures the oppressed on the means which are permissible to use in their struggle against their oppressors!

From Vietnam to Latin America to the Middle East to Africa the colonial victims of American imperialism number in the hundreds of millions. Nixon could not continue to rule except through the murder of Palestinians, Vietnamese and black South Africans, through imperialist war as well as the inhuman conditions of exploitation which even more than in the past continue to sentence the masses to misery and an early death.

But these men, "liberals" as well as conservatives, are not just spokesmen for this system. Because they seek to defend it at all costs they are inevitably enmeshed in the dirtiest details. That is the significance of the revelation of Kennedy's role, not only in the invasion of Cuba in 1961, but in the serious consideration given to the planned assassination of Castro. DeGaulle's recently published memoirs shed further light on Kennedy's plans for the brutal war in Indochina.

In his television "debate" with student leaders a few weeks ago, Agnew could not deny the allegations of CIA involvement in the overthrow of legally con-



stituted governments all over the world.

The imperialists' foreign policy finds its domestic expression. When Angela Davis was captured, Nixon immediately congratulated the FBI for its work and proclaimed that it proved that those responsible for terrorist acts will be caught. Nixon openly expressed the government's backing for the vicious frameup of Angela Davis.

The campaign for the virtual extermination of the Black Panther Party is clearly encouraged in Washington. The ruling class uses frameup methods and police violence to strike at those who rebel against oppression. Its only aim in whipping up a campaign over the bombings and the kidnappings in Canada is to extend the repression, to lay the basis for dealing with the revolutionary movement and the working class itself. And this is true for every section of the ruling class.

Nixon fears the upsurge of the youth and the working class, the readiness to struggle demonstrated by both the auto workers and the students and minority youth. It is this upsurge of the class struggle which is itself the only answer to the bourgeoisie's campaign of fear and witchhunting hysteria.

Both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party have recently published denunciations of terrorism. These are quoted in an article in a recent *New York Times Magazine* section on "The Militants Who Play With Dynamite."

The simple repetition of Marxist truths about terrorism without the sharp fight against the real perpetrators of terror and violence in the world today turns these truths into reformist formulas, into the very opposite of revolutionary Marxism.

The political meaning of this kind of orthodoxy is fear of the class struggle, a tendency to get out of the line of fire as the crisis deepens.

We repeat: Not a single concession to the masters of violence and oppression! The revolutionary movement owes no apology to the class enemy. On the contrary we must redouble all our efforts to build the mass revolutionary party which will deal with the class enemy at the right time in the right way.

militants, and now the imposition of marshal law in Canada show what the capitalist class has in store.

This poses the urgency of the situation and the new requirements in the class struggle. We launched the Trotsky Memorial Fund Drive to raise \$10,000 by December 1 to develop the weekly *Bulletin* and its work to meet these responsibilities.

We have already received \$5,536.79 towards our goal. Now there must be an all out drive to get the remainder of the pledges and new contributions in by November 30. We must have the majority of this money in by the beginning of November.

We have sent out a letter to all our regular readers in this appeal. We urge everyone to contribute to this drive, to send in your contributions today and to get pledges and contributions from friends and fellow workers.

Step up the fight for the Fund Drive. Send your contributions and subscriptions now to: Labor Publications, Inc. 135 West 14th Street, Sixth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.

EDITORIAL

Beat Back Unemployment Vote Socialist Workers!

American workers have only one choice in this election. They must take up the fight to build a labor party to mobilize independently against the war, unemployment, and the wage cutting attacks of the bosses and the government.

While inflation rose again in September, unemployment is devastating entire industrial areas such as Los Angeles and Detroit. Along with the spectre of the unemployment lines of the 1930s comes the threat of wage cuts and payless paydays.

anti-labor

This is the real state of affairs and at the heart of it is the race by the capitalist class to drive back the living standards of American workers in order save their declining profits. The "law and order" that all the Democrats and Republicans are talking about is the club to beat back the powerful movement of the American working class for wages and against unemployment.

The racist witchhunt atmosphere which is being stirred up, the brutal attacks on Angela Davis, the Panthers, Young Lords and the students are the preparation for the kind of moves we have seen in Canada. The crisis which precipitated the events in Montreal were in fact the rising unemployment and the wage freeze imposed by Trudeau. Trudeau's main target was the labor movement.

The Democratic Party is cynically jumping on the inflation-unemployment bandwagon and is being aided by the labor bureaucracy. George Meany faced with a rank and file that is fed up with the anti-labor policies of both the Democrats and Republicans is now trying to patch things up for the Democratic Party he earlier said was disintegrating. The UAW bureaucracy are trying to drum up support for Democratic candidates which at best say they are "neutral" on the question of the auto strike.

cp

The Communist Party is providing the political cement for this coalition between labor and the capitalist parties. While running its own candidates it has made clear that the main issue is to defeat Nixon-Agnew and the ultra-rightists.

The editorial in the October 22 issue of the *Daily World* says: "The overriding issue in the coming elections is the attempt, headed by Nixon and Agnew, to replace democratic institutions by police-state institutions.... It is urgent to concentrate all democratic efforts behind the most determined pro-peace, pro-labor, pro-liberation candidates, instead." The "defeat of reaction," the defeat of candidates like James Buckley in New York, means for the CP voting for "pro-labor" Democrats like Ottinger or even "pro-peace" Republicans like Goodell.

danger

Buckley is a danger but he represents the danger of the entire capitalist class. While Buckley openly calls for the destruction of the trade union movement, the policies of both the Democrats and Republicans mean the same. That is why the CP's favorite in New York, Ottinger, centers his TV commercials around the claim that while Buckley has been talking about law and order he has been fighting for its implementation in Congress.

The class lines must be drawn. The ONLY road for American workers is through their independent fight to mobilize the tremendous power of the economic struggles politically in the fight for a labor party. This means fighting for a program to advance the wage offensive, for full employment through the fight for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, to fight against repression and the war.

alternative

American workers can take the first step toward this party on November 3rd by voting for a socialist alternative, by voting for the only alternative in this election—the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

THE BULLETIN, Weekly Organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St. New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$3.00; Foreign—1 year: \$4.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.

Support Trotsky Memorial Fund!

BY THE EDITOR

With this issue we mark the first anniversary of the weekly *Bulletin*. In the first issue of the *Bulletin* we said:

"The weekly *Bulletin* appears at a time when the workers throughout the world are on the offensive against capitalism which is seeking to drive them back and make them pay for a decaying system."

We said that 1970 would open a new decade of revolutionary struggle. 1970 has indeed been marked by tremendous struggles from the fight of the Vietnamese workers and peasants to the heroic struggle of the Palestinians to the struggles last spring of the students and workers against the war, to the militant auto strike.

At the same time the murder of the Kent State students, the witchhunt against the Panthers, Angela Davis and other

Farinas Committee Maps Class Defense Campaign

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee was organized at a meeting in New York on October 23. This committee has been formed in order to lead the fight against the attempted frameup which Farinas faces on charges of violation of the Selective Service Act.

The original sponsors of the committee include Rowland Watts of the Workers Defense League; Henry diSuvero, a noted civil liberties attorney; Stanley Hill, the President of SSEU-371 of District Council 37 of the AFSCME; Steve Zeluck, President of Local 280 of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT); James Haughton of the Harlem Unemployment Center; Lucy St. John, Editor of the Bulletin; the International Socialists; the Guardian; the Spartacist League; the Vanguard Newsletter; and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Farinas' lawyer is Sanford Katz. The American Civil Liberties Union has also expressed interest in the case and is considering handling the appeal if one is necessary.

The charges against Farinas are an open political attack on his right to oppose the war. The charges stem from an incident in which he attempted to

distribute leaflets explaining his opposition to the war to fellow draftees at the Whitehall Induction Center. The charges of disruption of the Selective Service System and refusal to report and submit for induction stem from this incident. Farinas caused no disruption and never refused to submit. On the contrary, he was ready to go into the army and take full advantage of his right to oppose the war among his fellow GIs. Precisely because of his principled opposition to the war and the imperialist system, he now faces a possible five years imprisonment and \$10,000 fine on each of five counts on which he is charged.

MOTION

The defense committee was formed on the following motion:

"The charges against Juan Farinas are an attack on democratic rights and part of a political attack by the government against workers, youth and minority peoples. They must be fought by mobilizing the widest possible support from the labor, student and socialist movements and from black, Puerto Rican and Chicano militants."

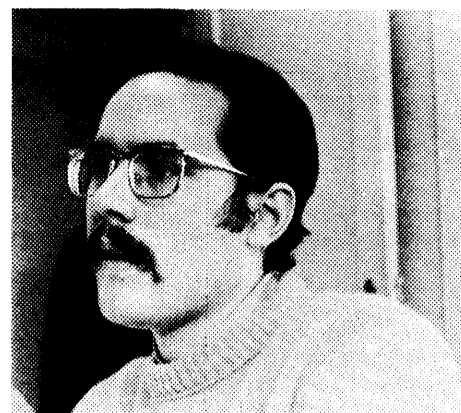
The Committee has a very big job ahead of it, with only six weeks remaining before the date set for trial. We must begin with an understanding not only of the seriousness of the attack but also with the tremendous potential of a political counterattack on our part. The fight

against these charges raises the fight against the war and the entire racist and openly anti-working class policy of the Nixon-Agnew Administration. In addition, Farinas' position as a trade unionist and a Spanish-speaking worker raises the necessity and the increased potential for deepening the fight against the war within the unions and amongst Puerto Rican and Chicano workers and youth.

LABOR

Along these lines the Defense Committee has already outlined plans to greatly expand the list of the sponsors and in particular to gather 100 or more sponsors from among leading trade unionists as well as union officials. This goal is not only realistic, but would also represent the broadest support from the labor movement in this kind of fight since the James Kutcher case of the 1950s. At that time the government tried to take away the job and veteran's benefits of a legless World War II veteran on the grounds of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. This attempt was defeated with the help of support from the labor movement.

In addition, another meeting is being planned to involve Puerto Rican and other organizations of Spanish-speaking workers and youth in the defense case. Literature on the case will be put out in Spanish and support will be sought among the Spanish-speaking youth who are told they must fight in behalf of American im-



Juan Pedro Farinas

perialism while Puerto Rico is denied its independence.

NATIONWIDE

Since Farinas is an employee of Columbia University, a special effort will be made to gain the support of large numbers of workers and students at Columbia, with the formation of a defense committee on the campus.

These are just some of the immediate plans of the Juan Farinas Defense Committee. Money as well as support is urgently needed now on a nationwide basis. Readers are urged to send contributions as well as agreeing to sponsor the Committee. They should be sent to the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14 St., 6th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011

Drapeau Wins Montreal Elections With Witchhunt Campaign

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL, Oct. 27—The overwhelming win by Mayor Jean Drapeau and his Civic Party in Sunday's municipal elections is just another in the series of blows being dealt to the working class by the capitalists.

Drapeau's victory is part of the overall capitalist strategy starting with the War Measures Act, in order to smash all working class opposition.

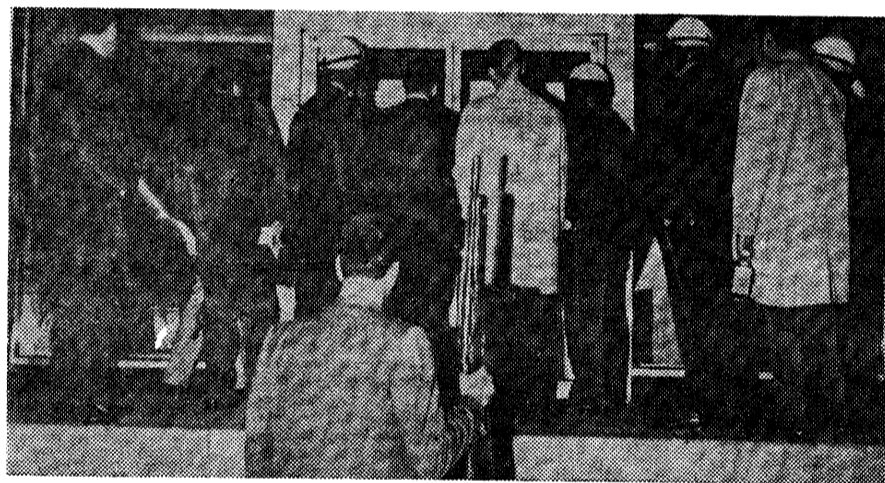
Drapeau and his cronies have used the FLQ kidnappings and subsequent murder in order to whip up fear and reactionary sentiments among the middle class and

backward layers of the working class. Earlier in the week, several days prior to the elections, Federal Regional Development Minister Jean Marchand, accused the Front d'Action Populaire, the municipal opposition party based in the working class, of being an FLQ front. This statement was an open attack on FRAP, an attack aimed directly at destroying the political opposition of the working class.

FRAP

FRAP is based on citizen's groups called Comite d'Action Politique (CAP) in the various districts of Montreal. These groups grew out of the efforts of one of the large unions in Quebec, Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN) to start citizen action groups in various parts of Montreal. Soon, these groups began meeting together and sometime at the beginning of this year they decided to contest the upcoming Montreal municipal elections. FRAP bases itself on the working class, calling for working class control of the city government.

Drapeau quickly picked up where Marchand had left off. The entire Drapeau campaign consisted of using the scare



In Montreal, a raid by government forces (above) in search of terrorists. Labor leaders and socialists have been jailed.

tactic to its fullest potential. Time and again Drapeau equated FRAP with the FLQ, and of course got big headlines in the bourgeois press.

The Drapeau Administration has been one of the most corrupt municipal administrations in the country and an administration working directly in the interests of the landlords and the big capitalists, an administration that gave no attention whatsoever to the most basic needs of the working class. All this was drowned in a sea of slanders, and lies directed at

stopping all opposition to this kind of government.

The victory of Drapeau now is in direct line with the smashing of the political opposition of the working class through the War Measures Act. The capitalist class cannot tolerate even the slightest working class opposition to its policies. That is why it launched such a furious hysterical campaign against FRAP, first through Marchand, a representative of the federal English Canadian bourgeoisie, and then through Drapeau, a representative of the local French Canadian bourgeoisie.

CLASSES

The solidarity of these two sections of the Canadian capitalist class in the face of the challenge of the working class again illustrates that it is not a question of contending nations in Canada, but a question of contending classes. French and English Canadian capitalists will stand together in their attacks on the working class. The working class too must stand unified if they ever are to defeat these attacks and go on to destroy the capitalist system.

Even through the Drapeau landslide, significant signs of opposition remain. In the areas where FRAP ran, although succeeding in electing no one, they did get 15% of the vote, which was better than they had expected. Also of great significance is the fact that Manon Leger, the candidate of the LSO-LJS, the Quebec section of the Pabloite United Secretariat, received 3,000 votes for Mayor.

STRONG

This significant showing for a socialist candidate indicates a strong base of support for socialist policies in Quebec and Canada. The fight now is to unite the working class, to end martial law, beat back the attacks of the capitalists, and build a socialist leadership capable of destroying Drapeau, Borrasseau, Trudeau and the capitalist class they represent.



Troops are stationed throughout Quebec; Above, a soldier at Parliament Hill.

Young Lords Hold Church After Roldan's Murder

BY JOSE REYES

NEW YORK—The First Methodist Church on 111th Street and Lexington Avenue is, as of this writing, still in the hands of members and supporters of the Young Lords Party. The Young Lords' demand that Commissioner McGrath, head of the Department of Correction, allow a committee of clergymen to investigate the prisons, has not been met.

The church was seized on October 18, after Julio Roldan, a member of the Young Lords, was murdered in the Tombs (Men's House of Detention).

Roldan and Bobby Lemus, both YLP members, were arrested on October 14 for "attempted arson" of the building at 75 E. 110th Street, where they both lived. They had come down to the street when people from the neighborhood started throwing piles of uncollected garbage into the streets and burning it. Police surrounded the area and Roldan and Lemus were grabbed from behind and charged with arson.

Prison authorities said that Julio, found dead in his cell in the Tombs on the 15th, hung himself with his belt. But he was beaten in jail, and the neck wounds from which he died could not have been self-inflicted. It is no coincidence that Roldan's death came only weeks after a revolutionary wave swept through the jails, with thousands of young prisoners rebelling against inhuman and unjust prison conditions. Above all, it is unthinkable that Julio Roldan, who was one of the main organizers for the October 30 Young Lords' demonstration at the UN against U.S. colonialism and imperialism, would commit suicide.

MURDERED

Julio Roldan was murdered on October 15, and on the 18th the Young Lords, armed with rifles seized the church and demanded that it be made a center for legal counseling, funded by the church and calling for an investigation of prison conditions.

The murder of Julio Roldan is part of the same governmental repression as the witchhunt of Angela Davis and the vicious nationwide attacks on the Panthers. It is part of the same attack which has produced the indictment of 25 Kent State students, blaming them for the murder of four students by the National Guard and the frameup political trial which faces Juan Farinas.

The situation in Canada, where martial law is in power, where all civil liberties are suspended and labor leaders and radicals are thrown into prison without trial, shows what the ruling class internationally is trying to do to all militants who oppose their system of exploitation.

The ruling class, from Nixon and Agnew down to Lindsay and McGrath, fear and hate the power of the working class and the upsurge that is sweeping from the prisons to the auto plants. Above all they fear working class youth. The hundreds of thousands of youth like Julio Roldan who hate this system and the oppression and misery it stands for strike terror into their hearts. This is why Roldan and thousands of unnamed others are murdered by the police and in the jails.

REVOLUTIONARY

A revolutionary youth movement must be built, uniting all youth—workers, unemployed, students—in struggle to overthrow the capitalist system. Youth must take the lead in the fight for a mass revolutionary party which has a strategy for the destruction of capitalism, to lead the working class on the road to power and to establish socialism. This means the fight for a labor party as a way of breaking the masses of workers away from the two capitalist parties and posing a revolutionary struggle for power.

Leaders Sell Out Philadelphia Teachers

BY A PFT MEMBER

PHILADELPHIA—On Tuesday, October 20, 11,000 teachers were called back to work by the leadership of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers after three days of militant strike action.

As the strike progressed there was a growing feeling among the ranks that they could win and beat back the attempts of the school board, the city and the state to destroy the union. Faced with court injunctions against the strike and a \$75,000 a day fine, the Sullivan-Ryan leadership of the PFT beat a hasty retreat, despite the great willingness of the union membership to continue the fight. In calling off the strike, the leadership announced that a contract settlement had been reached. In other words a deal had been cooked up between Sullivan, the school board and the courts.

DEAL

This deal provides for a \$19 million wage package in the first year of the contract and \$38 million in the second. All pay increases in the first year would be paid in November 1971 and the actual amount that each teacher would get would be decided on at a later date. In addition, the deal calls for high school teach-

ers to work an additional 20 minutes a day and junior high school teachers an additional 15. All other issues, including teacher accountability and additional non-instructional duties for teachers are to be left to future negotiations and fact finding. In exchange for accepting this rotten deal, the courts rescinded the \$75,000 a day fine.

BETRAYAL

There is no question that this settlement, together with the back to work order, constitutes the most vicious sell-out of the PFT membership ever and is a complete betrayal of every teacher who manned the picket lines. The wage package will provide a salary increase much below what teachers need in this period. The proposed November 1971 payment date, which leaves the contract at the mercy of the state legislature, leaves open the question of whether teachers will ever see this money at all. The acceptance of a longer work day, a re-

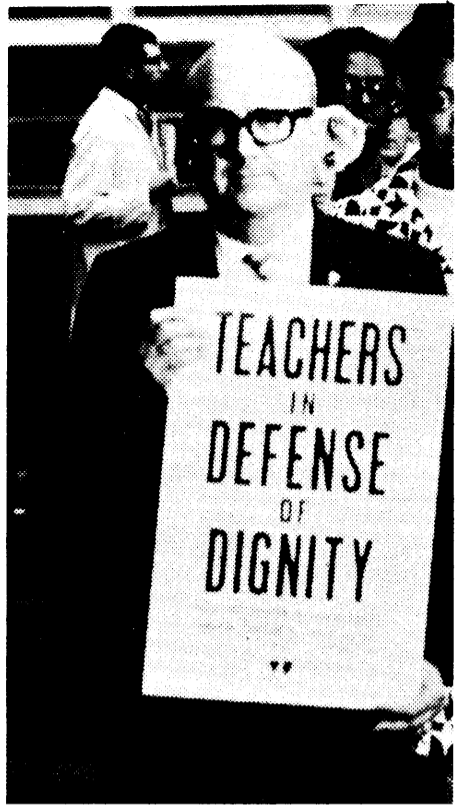
treat unmatched in recent labor history, will only pave the way for future attempts to lengthen the work day even more.

In addition, by throwing the key questions of teacher accountability and non-instructional duties into arbitration and fact finding, the leadership is openly conceding to the introduction of these measures, which will set back teaching conditions 20 years. Sullivan's willingness to compromise on the question of teacher accountability will open the door to harassment and witchhunting of teachers. If left unchallenged this will ultimately lead to the destruction of the union.

REPUDIATE

This sellout cannot be allowed to stand. The PFT ranks must repudiate Sullivan's rotten betrayal. The Committee for New Leadership is currently campaigning for a solid NO vote at the coming membership meeting and for a motion to continue the strike around the following program:

- \$8,500 starting pay now with a cost of living clause!
- 20 and 20!
- No accountability!
- No non-instructional duties for teachers!



Sullivan-Ryan leadership engineered the sellout of teachers after militant strike.

New Haven Rubber Worker Speaks Out On Contract

The following is an interview with a member of URCL Rubber Workers' Local 338 who works at the Seamless Rubber Company in New Haven. The local's contract expires on November 12.

Q: How long have you been working at Seamless?

A: Over five years.

Q: Your last contract was won three years ago. What did it contain?

A: We didn't strike and we only got a ten cent an hour raise per year for the three years of the contract. We also demanded a cost of living escalator clause but we did not get it.

Q: With the way inflation has been chewing up wages you are making less now in real wages than in 1967. Do you think the workers will accept a similar contract this time?

A: I don't think so. Rumor has it that the company offered a 25 cent an hour wage increase to be stretched over three years. It is also rumored that the union asked for 75 cents over three years. But with that the company walked out of the meeting, after that we took a strike vote. It turned out about 391 to 37 in favor of authorizing a strike. Now the union will go back for another meeting with the company.

Q: That is more than ten to one in favor of striking. This shows the real determination by the rank and file to fight for their demands. Has there been any concrete program of demands put forward by the union leadership yet?

A: No, that's just it. We don't know anything. The only people that know anything are those at the negotiating table. They won't tell us anything.

Q: Has there been any preparation at all by the union leadership for a strike that may be only two weeks away?

A: No, not that I know of. Just like the strike, we voted without knowing what we were voting for. But the company is getting ready for a strike. They've already stopped ordering supplies for the period after November 9.

Q: What are some of the demands you would like to see raised by the union?

A: I think we ought to get a dollar an hour immediately. Some guys now, when they just start, only make about \$2.34 an hour. What good would a quarter do them. That's no good, especially for piece work. Some of the piece workers can't even make \$3.00 an hour. A lot of the workers are angry over the rumored offers we've been getting. I'd like to see us get \$1.00 an hour raise now and a total of \$1.85 over the three years of the contract. We also need a cost of living escalator clause. The union asked for it last time but we did not get it. We need it now more than ever.

Q: What are the working conditions like in your plant?

A: Not too good. There is starch dust flying around, in my department, it gets all over you and inside you. The ventilation just isn't good enough and there hasn't been any real attempt by the union to change this.

Q: Have there been any attempts at speedup or automation that would cut jobs.

A: Yes, we're moving constantly, and need more breaks, also a while back, they brought a machine into my department that took away the jobs of 20 men. The men were transferred to other parts of the plant, but when they did this they took a bad wage cut. Some of them decided to just take a layoff. Now there are less jobs.

Q: Local 93 struck the Armstrong factory in West Haven for about four months. Did your local give any active support to your brothers at Armstrong.

A: No, our leaders never said anything to us about it.

Q: One of the things that was lacking in the Armstrong strike was active support

from the area labor movement. This can be critical, especially from the Armstrong experience—when their isolation helped to defeat them. Workers at Olin, GE and other factories in the area are faced with mass layoffs and lower wages. Olin has just recently laid off 750 workers.

Unity in the labor movement is desperately needed today to fight for wages and better working conditions, and against layoffs. Are your leaders doing anything to gain labor support for your strike?

A: Not that I know of. They might, but I haven't heard anything. It is a good idea. We're going to need all the help we can get.

East St. Louis Teachers Defy Strikebreaking Attempts

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS, MO.—East St. Louis Teachers' Union Local 1220 has been on strike for over a month despite court injunctions and attempts by the school board to hire scab teachers.

The militant teachers of Local 1220 have held out despite every attempt by the school board, the courts, and the city to break the strike and the union. As it stands now negotiations have been broken off. On Oct. 5 Associate Circuit Court Judge Bastien ordered the union and the Board into compulsory negotiations. But the teachers refused to give in and with no agreement, the order has been rescinded. The school board's new strategy is to attempt to open the schools by hiring scabs.

RECOGNITION

While repairmen, operating engineers and some Teamsters have refused to cross picket lines, Local 1220 has had to stand alone in this fight for union recognition. Illinois and St. Louis labor leaders have not given adequate support.

Aiding the Board are the black nationalist groups. Both the East St. Louis United Front and the NAACP have taken a "neutral" stand in the teachers' strike. The response of the nationalist United

Front was to attempt to set up separatist "Freedom Schools." Later they physically locked up teachers' union officials and school board members in order to get "negotiations."

By not supporting the teachers, the nationalists are essentially putting the blame on the teachers and letting the Board and the city off the hook.

VICTORY

The intransigence of the Board against the teachers is part of the attack on the entire working class, black and white, in this area. East St. Louis as well as Cairo, Illinois have long been areas of extreme economic depression. The crisis in the "East Side" has reached the point of chronic unemployment and the city government has recently executed massive layoffs. The government at the same time has sought to divide the workers along racial lines.

Labor must unite to support total victory for the teachers' Local 1220. The labor movement must make sure the schools do not open manned with scabs. The action of the Board and the city government is an attempt to break the unions and to cover their inability to provide decent schools.

SACRAMENTO FIREMEN FACE STRIKEBREAKING

BY MICHAEL DUNN

SACRAMENTO—Hundreds of striking Sacramento firemen gave a "no" last week to demands by the City of Sacramento and Superior Court Judge William M. Gallagher to return to work.

The firemen, members of Fire Fighters Local 552 AFL-CIO are demanding \$960 a month and 11 paid holidays, the same number that other city employees receive.

The firemen are presently paid \$900 a month and receive no paid holidays. The city and Governor Reagan have responded with outright rejection of the demands and contempt for the firemen.

Eighteen firemen have been fired by the city, 22 demoted and all who struck have been reduced one level on the pay scale for one year, the city has said. In addition, Governor Reagan has ordered fire fighters from the state Forestry Service to scab on striking city firemen. The firemen had claimed that although fire fighters are unable to strike under state law, the city had refused to bargain in good faith which was also required under the law.

Superior Court Judge William M. Gallagher, however, ruled that the city was bargaining in good faith. "Firefighters' grievances against their employers may well have merit," said Gallagher. "However, as employees of the government of this city, they should have expected to resolve their differences in a lawfully approved manner."

This is the answer then from the government. Firemen can bargain with the city but have no recourse under the law to back up their demands.

Ken Larson, international representative for the local said that the pickets would be withdrawn and strike headquarters closed because of the judge's order, but he doubted any men would return to work until after the next meeting—if then.

Firemen must not let the judge's order stand, they must fight to mobilize financial and strike support from all trade unions in the Sacramento area. If the government is successful in breaking the strike, it will open the way for whole attacks on government workers.

A WEEKEND OF EDUCATION AND RECREATION AT

CONFERENCE GROUNDS

near

Monterey

NOV. 14-15

MARXISM & AMERICAN PRAGMATISM

LECTURER: TIM WOHLFORTH

MEALS • ROOMS • HEATED POOL • FILMS • DISCUSSIONS • SPORTS • DANCING

contact -

SF: 626-7019 LA: 542-7076 SAN DIEGO: 298-4068



BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

In the week preceding the October 24 UAW Special Convention, the Workers League mobilized a team to campaign among rank and file auto workers in the Michigan area for a fight to stop the sellout being prepared by the Woodcock bureaucracy. This was part of a national campaign to reach UAW members, particularly the GM strikers, with a leaflet headed "Auto Workers—Stop the Sell-out!"

The leaflet posed an all out fight for \$1.25 an hour first year wage increase. Thirty thousand copies of the leaflet were distributed to auto workers across the country—in New York, New Jersey, Michigan, Baltimore, Wilmington, Del., St. Louis, Janesville, Wisconsin and in California.

Operating out of Detroit, the special Workers League team distributed 15,000 leaflets to GM strikers in Detroit, Warren, Flint and Pontiac, as well as to other UAW members at Dodge Main in Hamtramck, and Ford, River Rouge. Along with the leaflet, the Workers League augmented by student supporters at Wayne State and Oakland University sold nearly 1,100 copies of the Bulletin, mostly to auto workers, and got more than 50 special subscriptions from auto workers.

The leaflet was received everywhere by the rank and file with serious attention. The number of leaflets thrown on the ground by the workers could probably be numbered on the fingers of two hands. Most of the workers carefully folded up the leaflet and put it away for future reference. Many of them asked for extra copies. Many workers, receiving the leaflet on their way into the local union office to collect their weekly benefit check, came out of the office with a dime in their hand ready to buy the Bulletin.

FLINT

On the second day of the campaign, the crew arrived in Flint, site of the historic 1937 sit-down strikes that brought the General Motors colossus to its knees and put the UAW and the CIO on the map. Perhaps one half of Flint is employed by General Motors, the huge Chevrolet, Fisher Body and Buick installations dominating the scene. The first stop in Flint was outside the offices of the twin locals, Chevrolet Local 659 and Fishers #2, Local 598. A young white worker in his mid-twenties motioned us over to his car as he prepared to leave the union parking lot, rolled down the car window, anxious to see the leaflet.

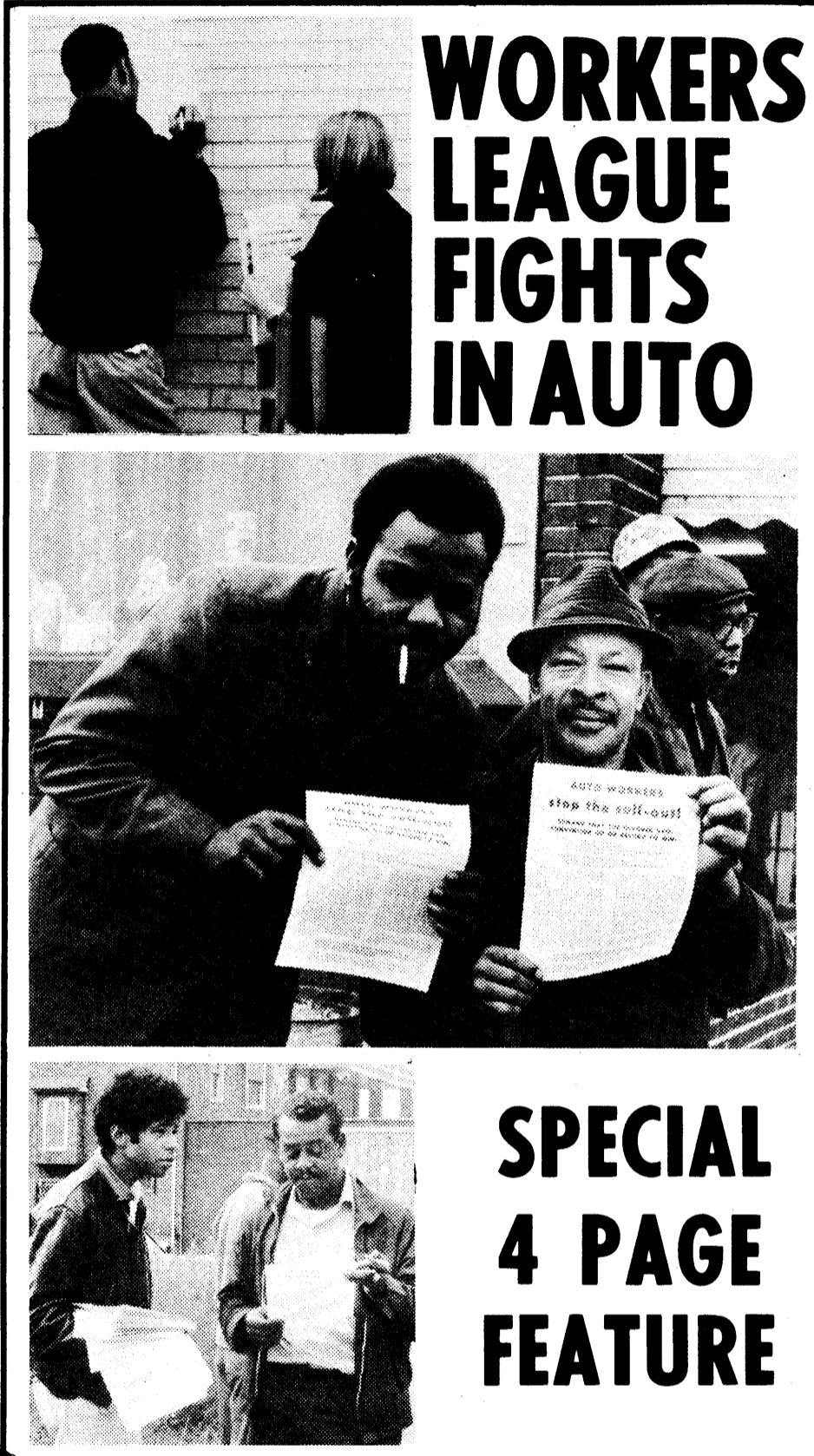
Immediately on seeing the bold head, "Stop the Sellout," he said emphatically, "Right". He went on to explain that the workers in Chevrolet and Fisher Body in Flint had really been through the mill after a four and a half month strike at Fisher Body over speedup last winter, which shut down the Chevrolet plant as well. After four and a half months last year they now face another long strike and once again the threat of a sellout. He said that the agreement ending last winter's strike was not only a sellout on speed-up, but resulted in many workers being permanently laid off. Many other workers with as much as five years seniority on a particular job classification were forced to transfer to a totally new job with less money, despite the level of skill they had developed on

their old job. He was very interested in the formation of a national caucus to fight against another sellout this year.

HARASS

After a while a group of officials came out of the local office and attempted to stop the distribution of the leaflet. Led by a young defender of the bureaucracy named "Bob" and backed by a

saying that by trying to stop the crew from distributing leaflets he was backing another sellout. "Now, when I start distributing a leaflet for black demands, are you going to make a 'nigger' out of me and tell me I can't do that?" he said. Growing more and more uneasy by the minute, Bob replied, "You know me better than that, George". By the time the encounter was over, Bob looked like he



WORKERS LEAGUE FIGHTS IN AUTO

SPECIAL 4 PAGE FEATURE

few right-wingers, an argument rapidly developed. But Bob was stopped in his tracks by a young black worker, a picket captain, who vehemently insisted that not only did we have a perfect right to distribute on the sidewalk adjoining the parking lot, but that we were absolutely correct about the sellout facing the workers. "You know we were sold out last year," he told Bob, who was starting to squirm,

was sorry he had even tried to stop the distribution.

At just about every local union office the workers' response to the leaflet was paper was overwhelmingly friendly. But inevitably, the bureaucrats would appear, sometimes with their goon squads, sometimes by themselves, and attempt to harass, threaten and intimidate us. Like "Bob," they usually sported "Hart-

Levin" buttons, supporting the campaign of Democratic Party "friend of labor" Senator Hart of Michigan. After a while, whenever we saw a Hart-Levin button we knew there might be trouble.

At Pontiac we were surrounded by a group of primarily white, southern minor officials and right-wing workers. Led by the top local union leaders, they said that if we did not want to get beat up, we had better leave. One of these men, obviously from the south, who spoke to us later, said that he had a "job" at the office, signing the card of the strikers for strike benefits. He explained that a lot of the hostility was because of our headline defending Angela Davis, and argued that it was the black youth that were responsible for recent race riots in Pontiac high schools. "Don't get me wrong," he said, "some of my best buddies on the job are colored."

He also told us that although he was a member of a half dozen unions, he was not a member of the "domestics" union, because, actually, he has a business on the side as an employer of "domestics." Ironically, this man could completely support Woodcock and the bureaucracy at the same time as he in all honesty told us that the UAW had lost out in every contract they had signed since 1955.

CONNECT

The attempts by the bureaucracy to intimidate us arose not out of their strength but rather out of their tremendous fear that we would connect up with the ranks, especially the younger workers who hate the bureaucracy. These confrontations showed that above all what is needed to fight the bureaucracy is the organization for the workers' interests, economically and politically.

The conditions for the organization of a caucus and for the growth of the Workers League among auto workers are rapidly developing, not only as a result of the auto strike, but as a result of the steady politicalization now beginning to affect the working class in response to the conflict over Vietnam, racism, unemployment and inflation, and every other issue that hits the workers under capitalism. This accounts for the great interest in the Bulletin and socialist ideas, from auto workers we met of all races and ages, both men and women.

CHANGE

This change was reflected in many remarks and conversations such as those of the militant black workers at the Fisher Body local in Flint who had defended us and agreed that underneath the struggle against the sellout was the need to fight the system of capitalism. Another worker at the Flint Buick local reflected the same politicalization when he said, "Sure, I'll buy that paper. So long as it's not any of that capitalist crap."

We found that all of the radicals that either sell their papers to the auto workers or are involved in the UAW, refuse to wage a struggle against the bureaucracy, either through open support for Woodcock, like the Communist Party, or by their total denunciation of the UAW, like Progressive Labor and many of the black nationalists.

Of all the forces who say they are against the sellout of the bureaucracy the Workers League alone showed that it was serious about conducting that fight by going to the rank and file. This process has only just begun. We intend to take forward this struggle for a national rank and file caucus in the UAW, involving fresh forces among the students and working class youth with us in this effort.

Woodcock Continues Sellout Policy At Convention

BY DAN FRIED

DETROIT—The October 24 UAW Special Convention held here in Cobo Hall was called to levy special assessments and double dues payments for all union members not on strike, as a means of buttressing the dwindling General Motors Strike Fund.

Over the protests of small but vocal oppositions, the convention voted to assess each non-striking member \$20.00 per month for the duration of the strike and double the present \$7.00 to \$8.00 monthly dues until the strike fund is replenished.

The International leadership consciously limited their request for new income to this sum of approximately \$27.00 rather than fight to get the \$19.00 per week required to sustain the strike indefinitely. The \$27.00 a month per member is merely a token effort which will allow for only two more weeks of benefits at a time when the leadership admits, the strike is only now after seven weeks, beginning to hurt

GM. Instead of running out on November 15, the benefits are now scheduled to run out on November 30.

By conscious design, the International leadership headed by UAW President Leonard Woodcock was able to limit discussion only to the point of the assessments and to restrict even this discussion to less than one hour. More than two hours was spent on a speech by Woodcock, procedural explanations and empty ritual which had nothing to do with winning the strike against GM. The convention began at 1:00 pm and ended at 4:00 pm. As one delegate put it after the convention when asked what he thought, "Cut and dried,

what can you do. The newsboys outside had the story out even before the thing was over."

WOODCOCK

President Woodcock made a lengthy presentation on the background and status of the present negotiations with GM, yet there was no time set aside to discuss this report.

Woodcock's report revealed the same search for compromise that has dominated the bureaucracy's conduct of the negotiations and his attempt to get the GM ranks to accept a sellout offer. Despite a few feeble attempts to appeal to the militancy of the ranks and generate enthusiasm, the approach toward the strike that Woodcock presented was summed up in his statement: "We are NOT out to teach General Motors a lesson. We are NOT out to inflict on General Motors a defeat."

Truer words were never spoken. Far

from inflicting a defeat on GM, Woodcock spelled out the plan for a "horsetrading" compromise that he has been pursuing at the bargaining table. In reference to restoring the cost of living escalator without a cap he said: "We are saying—if we can be guaranteed the purchasing power of what we bargain in years 2 and 3 by proper cost of living protection, then obviously, we can be more realistic, more sensible, more positive, more restrained—use whatever word you want—because we too want to get back, for the sake of our country, to economic sanity."

Woodcock was not only speaking to the UAW delegates, but to GM and the Nixon Administration which is being urged more and more by the "business community" to intervene more directly in the strike. Woodcock was telling them that in addition to the retreat he has already made on wage increases for the first year, he is now prepared to make even further re-

Woodcock Continues Sellout Policy At Oct. 24

treats for the sake of "our country" on wage increases in the second and third year of the contract. And, as if to put frosting on GM's cake, Mr. Woodcock did not so much as mention the union's demand for company paid dental insurance which GM adamantly opposes.

SELLOUT

Woodcock is aiming to get support for this sellout on wages by winning the 30 and out demand (which is estimated will cost GM between four and ten cents an hour) in a crude attempt to put the older workers against the younger men who see even the present wage demands as woefully inadequate.

Woodcock is also attempting to use the signing of local settlements in order to forestall attempts by disgruntled militants to carry over local disputes over speedup and safety grievances into a rebellion against the national contract. After stating that GM was "dragging its feet" on local negotiations, he indicated that much more pressure would be put on the local leaders who would be asked "to redouble their efforts to seek local settlements."

Behind the efforts to seek a sellout compromise with GM, is the long shadow of the Nixon Administration—the threat of White House or Congressional intervention against the strike. This is now being urged more strongly by sections of the ruling class who realize that they must inflict a defeat on the auto workers in order to halt the wage offensive of all American workers. They fear that a long strike which ends in victory for the auto workers on wages, will simply feed the militancy in such unions as the Steelworkers who want to do their own catching up on wages.

EXPENSE

Rather than preparing for a fight against any kind of government intervention, Woodcock seeks a compromise with GM at the workers' expense. The only reason that

GM has so far refused to give anything at all to Woodcock is because they believe that by holding out until the end of the year or later, they can demoralize the ranks and enable the government to move more openly to bring about a "non-inflationary" settlement.

Rather than insisting on a discussion of the contract negotiations then and there, rather than making a floor fight over this point, all of the dissident delegates and opposition groups including the United National Caucus, attempted to make their points under the discussion on assessments. A number of the delegates, reflecting the pressure of the GM workers who want a real fight, opposed the assessment figure because it was too low. A delegate from Local 412 representing Chrysler salaried employees said that the assessment did not go far enough, that it was intolerable to deplete the strike fund, because it would hamper all the other sections of the union. He proposed that for the duration of the strike, workers making \$2 to \$3 per hour pay \$30 per month; \$3 to \$4 per hour, \$40; \$4 to \$5, \$50; \$5 to \$6, \$60; \$6 to \$7, \$70; and \$7 to \$8 per hour, \$80 per month. This proposal was greeted with cheers and applause from a good number of delegates.

DISCUSSION

A delegate from Local 306 who spoke in favor of the assessment used his opportunity at the mike to talk about the problems of decentralization and subcontracting which face the workers at supply plants. He demanded that the GM contract contain a clause to eliminate the practice of subcontracting work under inferior, substandard wages and conditions. He went on to the question of overtime, saying: "Overtime must be made optional. Work has to be spread. When they tell us that it's necessary to schedule overtime, I say that it should be optional and paid at the rate of double

time."

Pete Kelly, Vice President of GM Tech Center Local 160 and Chairman of the United National Caucus spoke against the assessment proposal, saying that "it does not go near far enough." He called for an assessment large enough to sustain the current benefits, to sustain the strike no matter how long it takes, in order to defeat GM. He also took the opportunity to comment on the contract negotiations:

"President Woodcock said that the retreat on the cost of living escalator in the 1967 contract was all our mistake. I don't accept that. It's not my mistake, because we fought very hard to get the

Ford workers to reject the limit on the escalator... I say this, that the \$.61 that you're talking about is only 'catch-up' money. That's what it is. The cost of living is soaring. We must catch up with the cost of living. That's what this strike is all about. Getting back something that we already had."

As the discussion proceeded with two or three more speakers, more and more delegates made clear that they wanted to speak. Yet Woodcock entertained a motion to call the question and close off debate. In a union that prides itself on being the most "democratic," the UAW leadership did everything possible to limit and restrict discussion, just as it has consistently



Pete Kelly, chairman of the United National Caucus, spoke for a big assessment to sustain the strike, but did not pose wage fight.

Interview: President Of UAW Local

The following is an interview by a Bulletin reporter with Ellison "Al" Stockton, President of UAW Local 239 in Baltimore, Maryland. Stockton talks about the current struggle of the UAW as well as the 1967 settlement.

Q: What do you see as the central issues in the auto contract fight?

A: The money is the big issue of the strike right now. The second issue, and this ties right in with wages, is the "cap" on the cost of living escalator. This shouldn't be an issue as far as the auto companies are concerned, since it's been taken off at Caterpillar (NOTE: As of October 2, the full cost of living escalator was reinstated at Caterpillar Earthmoving). The third issue of the "top three" is the thirty and out retirement with a minimum of \$500 per month.

There is a lot more involved in these negotiations, such as increased vacations, increased holidays, and so on. For example, the company has only offered us one-third of a holiday per year over the course of the next three years. This is one holiday for the next three years. They've offered us nothing in the area of increased vacations and nothing on vacation bonus. All these are still issues on the table.

They want us to pick up half of the increased cost of medical coverage starting Oct. 1, 1971 and retroactive to Oct. 1970. The 29 cents/hour-30 cents/hour they're talking about upstairs right now, the increased cost of medical care would wipe out this—call it paltry-wage increase automatically.

So the big issue up there right now is the wages, taking the cap off the cost of living, the fringe benefits—holidays, vacations—and the company paying the full cost of the medical care.

Q: How do you interpret GM's offer?

A: Well, reading their offer from what they had in the full page newspaper ads, reading their offer on the seven page, what we call "Love-letter," that they sent to our total membership, their offer is paltry in comparison to what they could actually afford. GM has a net worth of 10.42 billion dollars. A company that makes over \$6,600 a year profit off of each man that works for them—that's a lot of profit per man—surely could afford to pay more than they offered to pay. They've saved \$1,000 off each GM worker over the last three years, which puts about \$400,000,000 back into

their coffers. That's how the cap on the cost of living they hung us with in 1967 worked out.

Q: The United Action Caucus in Fremont, California, Local 1364, is calling for the settlement won by the Chicago Teamsters—a \$1.65 increase over three years. What do you think of this demand?

A: Well, I'm not familiar with what their wage scale was, but I would assume that the Teamsters would have had a higher wage scale. I know they're higher than the auto workers. The auto workers have fallen. Right now the auto workers are at the 49.5 percentile of all industrial workers in this country. That's in average wages; we're below the half-way mark. I know the Teamsters are way up there someplace.

This local union has gone on record, through my office, demanding that Wood-

cock and all the top negotiators place back on the table all the issues that were originally on the bargaining table before he made a proposal to reduce them. This means the full wage demand of \$1.25 an hour. It's our understanding through communications we've had with our national officers, that they had a feeling that the strike could be avoided by making a big movement on their part in reducing our demands. And the big movement that was made of cutting our wage demands in half was just laughed at by the corporation. My personal opinion was that the demand for the full wages should never have been reduced. There's no justification for it, because the workers in my plant, for example, are actually making below a decent living wage. The average earning for my guys last year was between \$6,800 and \$7,200. The U.S. government says that for a family of four a moderate living is \$10,700—so you see we're way behind it. That other \$2,000 would have meant a lot to get my guys up to a decent standard of living. So I'm not in agreement

with them reducing it, especially since the company has rebuffed our offer to reduce it. I think the whole thing should be put back on the table again, to get us up to the Teamsters. \$1.25/hour would get us up close to the Teamsters.

Q: How do you see the importance of the 30 and out demand?

A: I see it as important to the younger guys more so than to the older guys. We actually don't have many people in our plant today that have thirty years of seniority. But what that means for the younger guys is increased job opportunities and better jobs in the plant. In discussing this with the people in the plant, it would appear to us that younger guys, when they reach the thirty years of service would take more advantage of going out of the plant with 30 years of service than the oldtimers who are in the plant now. There are some of our guys in there now with over 30 years of service we don't think will be leaving the plant. It's the younger generation that would be leaving the plant with this. The breakthrough has to be made someplace for industrial work where guys can get out with thirty years of service, and this might as well be the place where it's going to be made.

Q: What about the cap that was put on the escalator? What's your opinion on that?

A: That was one of the biggest sellouts that was ever perpetrated on the auto workers in 1967. There were a whole lot of us—and when I say us, I mean leadership and non-leadership UAW—who didn't like the idea of a cap on the cost of living in 1967, and our dislike is shown in that it has cost us \$1,000 lost in wages in three years.

That was not the only issue in 1967 where we took a backwards step. Another was that prior to the 1967 contract, a man who went on a sick leave of absence had a right to stay out for 52 weeks and draw weekly benefits from the plant. At six months time, if he was still disabled, he could have filed for, and if he was entitled, draw Social Security disability benefits. And he could do this along with his sick benefits for the remaining six months. In 1967 they put a clause in the contract that said you had to file for Social Security, and if you received it, your sick benefit was reduced by the amount of Social Security which you re-



Strikers from UAW Local 239, Baltimore, picket against GM.

Convention

attempted to stop the distribution of the Workers League leaflet calling for \$1.25 an hour at locals all over the U.S.

CAUCUS

The UAW bureaucrats who control the union fear the rank and file and will do everything possible to stop the independent organization of a rank and file caucus which challenges their rule.

Despite their correct criticisms of the contract negotiations, the United National Caucus failed to mount any campaign to reach the rank and file in the plants around the key question of wages or to warn about the Woodcock sellout. They restricted their intervention at the convention to the distribution of a leaflet which tacks on the demand for \$1.25 an hour as an afterthought. At the convention, Pete Kelly implied that \$0.61 an hour the first year was inadequate but did not pose the fight for a real wage gain.

The decision by the United National Caucus not to make a fight to place the contract as a special point on the agenda allowed Woodcock to get off the hook. However, it was necessary instead to clearly expose Woodcock's fear of a discussion.

Instead of limiting themselves to making a few correct points, with the perspective of picking up some new supporters after a sellout contract is signed, it was necessary to bring the rank and file, especially the younger workers into an all out fight to stop the sellout.

The United National Caucus should have used its leadership position in Local 160 whose membership is among the most militant of the strikers (see story in this issue) to mobilize the ranks in a demonstration at the convention, bringing in as many rank and filers as possible from other locals. This would have been a real beginning in the fight to stop Woodcock's sellout and build a real national rank and file caucus.



Auto Workers Block Gates At GM Tech Center, 23 Arrests



Militant pickets demonstrate against salaried employees as they attempt to enter the GM Tech Center in Detroit.

BY MADELYN SMITH

DETROIT, October 23—Three thousand pickets from Local 160 demonstrated their desire for an all out fight for a decent contract by blocking off the 19 entrances to the 20,000 salaried employees

at the GM Technical Center in Warren, Michigan.

After four hours 16,000 of the delayed employees were allowed to enter two gates—ten cars at a time with intermittent picketing. Warren police were sta-

tioned at all gates decked out in riot gear directing traffic for hours and at intervals arresting pickets. A total of 23 strikers were arrested.

The picket captain explained that "the men are reaching the boiling point." One picket commented: "Thirty years ago we would have never let them enter; now we should keep them in there."

Sentiment was strong here to close down the Tech Center and all GM plants. It was in this local that militants raised the demand for \$1.25 an hour the first year. This demand along with the demonstration reflects the desire of the strikers to fight for higher wages.

This demonstration of militancy followed the overwhelming rejection by Local 160's 5,500 members of UAW International's request to allow over 300 union workers engaged in "pollution and smog" control to return to work. In attempting to justify their agreement with GM, UAW top negotiator Irving Bluestone said that the union had to project a good "public image," that the public is the "third shadow" in the dispute between the UAW and GM.

1239 Supports \$1.25/Hour Demand

ceived. Now this wasn't fair to a worker who had fought for his full weekly sick benefit.

I'd say that the cap on the cost of living was only one of the items which actually took a step backwards in 1967.

Q: What are conditions like in the plant? How about automation or speed-up?

A: At the present time, we still have in excess of 378 cases on the bargaining table, 78 cases in speed-up condition. After every model change—and this goes back to when I first went into the plant in 1952—the company always tries to eliminate "X" amount of manpower by increasing the workload of the people on the assembly line. Now on the South Side, which is the old Fisher Body plant, each year it was necessary for the people in the plant to take one to two strike votes per year in order to improve the working conditions in the plant, as far as standards are concerned.

But speed-up is General Motors' first name. That's why a good portion of our national agreement is devoted to words that say that General Motors is not supposed to do this is a waste of time. The only thing that they understand is strikes.

Q: What do you think about the company security clauses in the contract? That is paragraph 8 which is management's rights, and paragraph 117 which is no strike.

A: On management's rights paragraph 8, originally that's all we had. And then there are the other 224 paragraphs where we have taken away what management has considered their rights and we actually consider as the rights of the worker, where we have taken away from management control of these areas and handed back to the worker. I don't believe that any employer should have the right the management exercises under paragraph 8—the sole right to hire and fire, the sole right to transfer—they can upgrade or downgrade. The relief the worker gets is through a grievance procedure, which is time consuming, taking as much as nine months to a year. Paragraph 8 has a lot of evils in it, but those are the highlights.

Paragraph 117, the no strike, only says that we have no right to strike on any issue that is unpirable. We have the right to strike on any conditions in the plant; for example, working conditions, health, safety, and overwork conditions. These are strikeable issues. So para-

graph 117 doesn't prohibit us from striking during the course of the contract. As I mentioned earlier, in the Fisher body plant, each year there was at least one strike vote taken, and sometimes as much as two or three in the course of the year, because of health, safety and overwork conditions. The other right to strike that isn't covered in 117 is the right to strike on new jobs also. If they place a new job in the plant, and we disagree with the rates that the company puts on it, we have a right to strike on that.

Q: Has there been a problem with unemployment and layoffs?

A: I have approximately 1,200 people on layoff now. They reduced the line speed from 55 to 45 back in April. That

AUTO WORKERS stop the sell-out!

DEMAND THAT THE OCTOBER 24th CONVENTION GO ON RECORD TO WIN!

- \$1.25 an hour wage increase first year.
- \$1.45 an hour minimum in new money.
- FULL cost of living escalator, standard, no deals on fringe benefits.
- No one back until ALL local issues are settled.

MAKE THESE DEMANDS NON-NEGOTIABLE! LET GM AND WOODCOCK KNOW THAT THERE WILL BE NO DEALS AT THE AUTO WORKERS EXPENSE!

Instead of an all out fight against GM's sellout offer, President Woodcock and the other top UAW officials have been preparing a sell-out. Their policy has been nothing but retreat after retreat. At one time before the strike, Woodcock stated that the union would demand a 15% yearly wage increase. By the time the negotiations had gotten rolling he had backtracked far below that figure to his current demand of 30.5 cents in new money the first year. Now he pleads even further concessions on wages in "exchange" for some form of 30 and out in a blatant attempt to split older and younger workers. It is time to stop the backtracking. We need a united struggle of all sections of the union! Don't allow the older workers to be played off against the younger workers while the Big Three comes out the winners! Woodcock has been quoted as saying that he has "nothing but the kindest feelings right now" about GM. But the workers want a real battle to win what they need, not "kind feelings."

The United Action Caucus in Fremont, California has raised the demand for a minimum of \$1.55 an hour over three years. In Detroit the \$1.25 an Hour Now Committee demonstrated in support of \$1.25 an hour the first year. Now this fight must be carried forward into the convention and a national rank and file caucus must be organized! The ranks of the UAW have the power to tell GM that they've had ENOUGH, to serve notice on the Big Three and Mr. Nixon that if their demands are not met the union will shut down not only all of GM but the entire automobile industry. The UAW has the power to say that if there are any implications of government intervention, they will answer Nixon with a call to bring out the entire U.S. labor movement in a general strike to their defense. Build a labor party as a real alternative to the two boss parties!

All UAW members who want to work for the organization of a national caucus to fight for this program or would like further information call:

DETROIT: 266-6679 NEW YORK: 224-9632 PHILADELPHIA: 714-5971 BALTIMORE: 326-0777 ST. LOUIS: 643-7001 WICHITA: 620-257-7258 BAY AREA: 624-7018 LOS ANGELES: 641-5245

Issued by the Workers League. For free 5 issue introductory sub to the BULLETIN, World's Organ of the Workers League, write Bulletin, 125 W. 44 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011

30,000 copies of this leaflet were distributed nationally in auto.

is one side of the unemployment problem. The other side of the unemployment problem is that during the model change layoffs where the truck line was down for six weeks—and this is the direct result of the company over-producing for the months ahead of that—the passenger line was down for two weeks. Some of my people had to wait as long as four to six weeks to receive their unemployment checks at the Office of Employment Security because of the inefficiency of aupton.

Q: Would a shorter work week solve this? Something like 30 for 40?

A: A short work week would cause the company to put on three shifts of operation in order to maintain their production. This would create more employment, definitely. A shorter work week would be part of the answer to unemployment.

Q: What do you think of the UAW strategy of striking one company at a time?

A: The real pressure, and it's taken me a long time to get around to thinking this way, would have to be on General Motors because Ford is producing their cars as well as Chrysler. If all three competitors were out there wouldn't be any incentive for the other two to settle because they wouldn't be getting ahead. Every time a guy walks into a dealer to buy a Chevrolet and there isn't one there to buy and he goes and buys a Ford then this is a potentially permanent customer that General Motors has lost. Especially now with the mini car—and Ford is selling the mini cars, while GM's mini cars aren't being built. I actually believe that there is more incentive here for GM and its stockholders to make for a settlement to try to catch up to Ford.

Q: What do you think of the Nixon Administration?

A: First time we've had a layoff since 1961 under the Nixon Administration. That pretty well answers that real fast. From 1961 to 1970 full employment up to 7,000 people. The Nixon Administration is just like the Eisenhower Administration—more layoffs. In 1961 I might say, we were down to 24 jobs per hour.

Q: What do you think about Agnew's statement that there is no recession?

A: I think that Agnew is living in a little cloud world of his own. Maybe Agnew's remarks that there is no recession, maybe he actually believes that we're in a depression, which we're on the brink of.

Q: Bearing in mind Labor Secretary Hodgson's statement that a strike against GM is a "very imposing threat to the Nation's economy," what do you think is the possibility of government intervention in the strike?

A: They are going to strictly stay out of it. I believe that the Administration will stay out of it. Actually now, GM isn't the world. GM has 400,000 plus

employees, and it isn't the total work force of this country. I don't know the exact figure of industrial and non-industrial workers, but the 400,000 is only a drop in the bucket.

Q: If such an intervention did occur, what do you think the union should do about it?

A: (Chairman of Education) The situation doesn't apply. Congress is in recess until November 16. Only Congress can call for such an intervention.

A: (Stockton) As my Chairman of Education has pointed out, Congress has recessed until Nov. 16, so there's little chance that would happen. Even if it did, the worker still has his right to work or not to work. I firmly believe in this, and I don't know if any person could force these guys in my plant to go back to work if they didn't want to. At my ratification meeting I would say so.

Q: What do you think of Woodcock?

A: I like Leonard much better as president of the UAW. He has always—and I've known the man for 18 years now—spoken with his heart and let the lawyers worry about what he said after he spoke.

Q: What did you think of Walter Reuther?

A: He was a man with a lot of visions, but I believe that he took the problems of the whole world on his shoulders instead of devoting his full attentions to the auto workers. I believe that Leonard Woodcock will devote more of his attention to the problems of the auto workers and less of his attention to the problems of the whole world.

Q: What do you think about the war?

A: The war in Vietnam? I'm strongly opposed to the war in Vietnam.

Q: Do you think the union can do anything to stop the war?

A: No.
Q: The UAW is supporting the Democratic candidates here in Maryland. Do you think the Democrats will be able to halt inflation and end this war?
A: Democrats are in control of Congress now.

Q: Some Democrats and Republicans are talking about wage-price controls to end inflation. What do you think of this?

A: It's too late to put a wage control on. If they want to put a price control on and let us catch up, then I think this would go a long ways towards ending inflation. But not with a stop put on wages; not until we catch up.

Fremont Hacks Fence In UAW Ranks



Fremont UAW bureaucracy is trying desperately to contain the militancy of workers, shown above on first night of strike.

BY A UAW LOCAL 1364 MEMBER

FREMONT—As we enter our second month of strike against the biggest and most arrogant corporation in the world, the strike remains solid, morale remains high despite the UAW bureaucracy's chicanery and their collaboration with GM management, police, and attempts to turn our strike hall into a Democratic Party campaign headquarters. There still remains the semblance of the security squad at the entrance of our union property, which functions more now as a welcoming committee.

On the last day that we worked, many of our members were jubilantly congratulating each other over the prospects of a big fight with GM and as they shook hands they would wish each other "Merry Christmas and Happy New Year" as an expression of their determination to stay out until they bring this arrogant corporation to its knees.

There is evidence that our membership has settled down into this long strike much more comfortably than GM would like to see. Roy Morter, GM personnel director, has issued a blistering denunciation of welfare and food stamp programs. Morter says these programs are "overly generous to striking GM employees." He has undertaken personally to visit all these welfare agencies in the Santa Clara and Alameda County area in an effort to get them to stop giving aid. Morter has every reason to be concerned. GM's well laid plans on just how long it would take to starve into submission and wear down the militancy of the auto workers is a little behind schedule.

MORALE

The workers show no signs of weakening. I personally have sought out my co-workers whom I know to have large families as an indicator of the health

of our strike. If this is any indication then GM is in trouble.

As a typical example, one of my co-workers has six children and gave me a breakdown of the aid he receives. He is given food stamps, welfare check as well as aid to children, and has his rent paid by the county welfare agency. In addition he receives strike benefits each week of \$40 and supplements this with eight hours of work each week for which he is paid in cash. All total, this amounts to \$5 less than what he brought home from GM. With a triumphant laugh he declared that he is making "just as good a living on strike as when he was busting his back on a GM assembly line" and is prepared "to vote no on every contract offer for at least another year."

The morale of the UAW bureaucracy, in contrast, is one of worrying and being afraid of just how they can turn off this strike without damaging their control over the union apparatus.

ALARM

The militant and angry expression by the membership on the eve of our strike which erupted into violence has captured the imagination of all political tendencies on the left who have distributed their leaflets and offered their services and advice to the auto workers. This tends

to alarm our "leadership" and their reaction is fairly evident.

The leadership of our local, following the orders of Regional Director Paul Schrade, has established a virtual dictatorship over our local by abolishing all membership meetings. Schrade has issued directives for our local leadership to clamp a tight lid on all union activities and prevent outside groups from linking up with our striking members in a show of support.

All offers of support, such as food, money, services and advice are being discouraged or must be channeled through our strike chairman, Tony Lopaz. Lopaz tells the groups that "we really don't need your support" and that "our union is plagued with problems of outside revolutionary student type agitators who are attempting to capitalize on the GM strike for their own devious political aims, under the guise of helping the strike." Shop Committee Chairman John Herrera has just recently issued another press statement charging Progressive Labor with using the UAW's name to collect food for the strikers and then not turning it over (which PL is refuting). He called on the public not to donate anything to PL or any group unless they have the proper credentials from our union in his continuing effort to insulate the membership from further political exposure on the left.

NEWTON

It must be reported that the visit of Huey P. Newton of the Black Panther Party and their offer of support was the last straw that broke the camel's back as far as the UAW bureaucracy is concerned.

Newton toured our local strike hall with a group of black supporters and photographers. He was introduced to everyone who wanted to shake his hand, to the obvious embarrassment and nervousness of our local officers who were reluctant to shake his hand. Newton, after viewing our strike kitchen, proclaimed that the BPP supports the auto strike and would take over our strike kitchen the next day and feed all the strikers.

The next day the BPP returned as promised, took over our strike kitchen and prepared an excellent dinner, serving 600 auto workers who all seemed to be quite pleased, to the nervous displeasure of our local leadership.

Paul Schrade has decided that feeding the striking auto workers has become a political weapon in the wrong hands and has ordered our strike kitchen to be closed down to only coffee and donuts, which will be supplied by the union. Again this must be viewed as isolating

the auto workers from outside influence in preparation for the betrayal.

Their activities are not merely confined to food. Herrera and Lopaz have been observed belligerently waving their arms in the air in a threatening manner in various attempts to scare-off leafleters at the entrance to our union parking lot, telling them to "get the hell out of here we don't want your support." One of these leafleters was a striking farm worker from Salinas, expressing solidarity with the auto strike. Lopaz told him, "I don't care who you are, just get the hell away from here. We don't want your help." I had to personally intervene to tell him to stand right there and continue to hand out his leaflets and tell Lopaz to go to hell himself, in one of many sharp confrontations.

Local GM management continues to daily send over plant security guards in company cars to photograph these leafleters in what I can only suppose is to be used for employment blacklist purposes and to build up their political security file so as to prevent their future employment.

FENCE

At a secretly held Local 1364 Executive Board meeting October 16, 1970 (these meetings are all secret now) the Board voted 8 to 4 to grant local management permission to start construction on top of the 6 foot fence that surrounds the plant, extending this fence to 12 feet, topped with barbed wire. It also agreed to replacing all administration windows with bullet proof glass. The real kicker to all this friendly collaboration is that these phoney pie-cards agreed to allow a crew of our maintenance workers, out of our bargaining unit, to return to work in order to perform this work without prior approval from the membership. Not only did Herrera and all top officers line up their support behind International Representative J. Santos, but, as the vote was recorded, Herrera picked up the phone and called Los Angeles to report the result to Schrade, who is the real culprit behind pushing this through for the Fremont GM management.

The United Action Caucus has its work cut out in exposing these scoundrels and fighting to re-establish membership meetings once again in our local so the membership can take control over their strike away from these sellout artists. Schrade has been invited by the Antiwar Coalition to speak on October 31st. The United Action Caucus will be marching on October 31st under banners calling for a labor party and the defeat of all Schrades from the labor movement.

50c

BLACK NATIONALISM & MARXIST THEORY

Now Available!

Order From

Labor Publications

Sixth Floor
135 West 14 St.,
New York,
N.Y. 10011

by Tim Wohlforth

Bulletin Pamphlet Series 1

FREE SPECIAL OFFER TO ALL AUTO WORKERS

5 Issue Subscription To The BULLETIN

NAME..... STREET ADDRESS.....

CITY.....STATE.....ZIP.....

UNION.....

Send to: BULLETIN, 6th Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y., 10011.

Unemployment Hits 20% At West Coast Locations

BY IVAN MISCHA

SANTA ANA—Unemployment on the West Coast is continuing to rise as reverberations of the giant layoffs in aerospace begin to bear heavily on related industries. This trend is expected to continue into 1971, indicating increased dissatisfaction among workers may be expected.

At a time when we are seeing such things as 700 people showing up to apply for 4 low-paying meter maid jobs in the San Fernando Valley, officials here have announced that the trend in unemployment can be expected to continue into 1971, rising to a high of 7.5% unemployment in places such as Orange County. Unemployment is already as high as 9% in Oregon, with certain localities on the West Coast with highs of 20%. A major contributing factor will be an expected 78,000 more layoffs in aerospace in the coming year as part of the Nixon Administration's drive to make the working class pay for the ravages of inflation.

In the wake of the aerospace layoffs, other basic industry in California is being forced to put their workers in the ranks of the unemployed. Harvey Aluminum in Long Beach, reports an industrial metals salesman, has cut production back to little more than 10% of full capacity.

At the same time as more and more workers are finding their incomes cut back to the paltry sums that the state doles out, the nation's economists have reported that the spiraling trend in inflation that the cut-backs are supposed to cure has not slowed, but indeed, has increased. In addition to the cuts in their real wages, the unemployed, as well as the entire working class, must also cope

with new rises in consumer prices. Hit especially hard are Southern California workers who have to face a rise of 1.4% in prices in September, as compared to 0.4% nationally.

In addition to all this, a group of "the nation's leading businessmen" have recently expressed their opinion that the war on inflation was far from won, indicating that what was really needed was a direct attack on the wages of the working class in addition to the sufferings they must already bear. One of these businessmen, the Chairman of Westinghouse Electric Corp., said, on Oct. 17, "Wage increases are going up faster than productivity. We are still going to have 'wage-cost-push inflation' and pressures on our profits."

At a time when the Republican Administration is waging war on the working class, and national businessmen are pushing for increasing the intensity of that war, the Democratic Party, which the working class has traditionally believed, or rather been told by their labor bureaucrats, is their friend—is to be found in bed with their opposition. The Democratic Party, controlling a majority of Congress, has given the President the power to institute wage controls over the working class.

There is only one answer to the crush of inflation and unemployment on the working class, and that is for trade unionists everywhere to take up the struggle for an independent party of labor. Only a labor party can defend the interests of the working class against the attacks being made on it by the Nixon Administration, the businessmen that Nixon represents, and his Democratic Party allies.

PCI Sabotages Revolutionary Struggle in Italy



Workers demonstrate in Reggio Calabria.

BY A FOREIGN
CORRESPONDENT

"It's true that we were not ready this time, and it was a defeat for us. We recognize this fact." This declaration comes from a member of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), Pio La Torre, responsible for affairs in Southern Italy, in relation to the events in Reggio Calabria which have shaken Southern Italy since last July.

Before the voting on the question of regions in Italy the political parties on the right promised Reggio that it would become the capital of the region of Calabria. Reggio is predominated by parties on the right, but after the elections, another city of Calabria, Catanzaro, was chosen as the capital by the centrist government of Italy as a result of a struggle for power among Mafia elements which influence the Christian Democrats, the major party of the government. This decision was the beginning of a series of battles caused by profound and objective conditions of poverty.

Ever since the regions began to become a necessity for the reformists in confronting the inertia of the bourgeois centrist government all the political forces fought for their own interests. The conservative right, the fascists, the church, the big landowners were and are against every change in the status quo. The liberal capitalists, the moderate right, the social democrats, the socialist party,

and the communists with their policy of the "national way to socialism" were in favor of regions. The capitalists and their parties were confident that they would be able to control the political and social life of the country through local governments. The parties on the left approached the instituting of the regions hoping to control two or three regions and to install socialist governments there.

EXPLOITATION

The explosion in Reggio Calabria was so dramatic not because of the cheap propaganda advanced by the Mafia, the landowners, and right-wing parties exalting patriotic feelings for Reggio, but because of the miserable conditions of life, and the extreme exploitation.

Calabria is a region with 80,000 unemployed out of a population of 650,000, with 80% illiterate, and it occupies the lowest position in per capita income. The majority of unskilled workers in Northern Italy and the majority of Italian immigrant workers in Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium are Calabrians.

The various governments of the center-left in Rome have tried to solve the problem of emigration and poverty by offering big facilitations to the capitalists to invest in and develop the southern zone of Italy. The huge profits without taxes, the century-old influence of the Mafia, the lack of any serious planning by the government for economic development, have created more misery and chaos. To run the factories in the south skilled labor is recruited from the north. The local workers are allowed only to build the factories, not to work in them. Industry barely affects the local economy. Because of very low wages the investors reap tremendous profits and are capable of striking blows at the organized workers of the North.

STALINISTS

The above confession of Pio La Torre demonstrated the bankruptcy of the PCI. There have been a chain of revolts in recent years in the South, especially the revolt of agricultural workers at Avola (Sicily), and at Battipaglia where the entire population supported the workers of the town's only factory in their takeover of the city hall, radio stations, police station, and army barracks. The PCI at Battipaglia, with three workers killed by the police and the working class in full control of the city, demanded that the workers give up their arms to the police, abandon their positions, respect "constituted authority," and return to "normalcy."

Prison Rebellion Spreads To NY Childrens Center

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Callagy Hall on 12th Street and First Avenue in Manhattan has been called "the Tombs of the Children's Centers." Like the New York prisons, Callagy Hall has also been swept by a rebellion during the past couple of weeks.

On several evenings the workers at the center were barricaded into a portion of one of the floors. Aided by youth from the neighborhood, the girls of ages six to sixteen, took over the center. The building is now occupied by police from the 9th precinct.

EXPLODE

What makes Callagy Hall explode is the same outrage and disgust with dungeon-like living conditions as made the prisons explode.

In July a psychiatrist took an unauthorized tour of Callagy Hall and reported in the SSEU-371 Unionist: "This is a hellhole! An honest-to-god hellhole! I would say it's worse than custodial care. This is an impossible situation for any young female to be in...The overcrowding is awful. It's supposed to have a capacity of around 120; they have over 200 now. I saw cots jammed together in a small auditorium. And there was this one unbelievable dressing area, about six by ten for twenty-two girls. And it was filthy. It's filthy all over, including the linen area."

The problem is not only one of overcrowding over 200 girls into a rotting building. The problem is also one of understaffing.

On a recent trip to Callagy Hall, we spoke to one of the workers. She told us of situations where two counselors have had to take care of 80 children in the reception area. The sleeping areas (where the children in reception are wait-

ing for room) have a normal ratio of 8 to 10 children to 2 counselors, we were told. These children are ages six to sixteen and are for the most part abused or neglected children. She said that all of staff is unanimous in its feeling that the rotting structure of Callagy Hall should be torn down and better quarters be found.

At a recent Delegate's Assembly of the SSEU-371, the leadership gave a report on the current rebellion at Callagy Hall, placing the blame on the children and not on the City.

A spokesman from the Committee for New Leadership got up and said that the rebellion must be looked at in the same light as the prison revolts. The children at Callagy Hall are rebelling against the medieval conditions they are trapped in and it is up to the union to take up this fight against the City. The same requirements of the capitalist system that force the city to cut jobs through reorganization lead them to understaff Callagy Hall and keep a building open that should have been closed down long ago.

It is up to the SSEU-371 to put up a fight to have Callagy Hall closed down and the children moved to roomier, more modern quarters, for more staffing; for extra, specially trained staff to handle the problem children.

SWP Candidate At PennState

BY ED BERGONZI

Approximately fifty students attended a meeting of the Penn State Workers League Club and listened to a presentation by the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania, Mr. Robin Maisel. The title of his presentation was "How to Make a Revolution in the United States."

Before Mr. Maisel spoke a Workers League spokesman emphasized that a socialist alternative on election day is vital if the working class is to begin to break politically from the Democrats and Republicans and move toward the construction of a labor party. The Workers League at Penn State is actively campaigning for the SWP candidates in Pennsylvania: Robin Maisel for Senator, Pearl Chestor for Governor.

BEHIND THE NIXON 'SMUTSCREEN': MORE REPRESSION

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Nixon, hitting the campaign trail last week dressed in shining armor and on top of a white horse, proclaimed that the Republicans would save the morals of the nation by wiping out smut.

Attacking the findings of the Johnson appointed Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, Nixon added "smut" to the law and order campaign. While Nixon may be right that pornography comes out of a sick society, this sickness is the disease of his class and the decaying capitalist system.

But it is not "obscenity" which Nixon and Agnew are really concerned about. First of all, this question, together with crime and violence, is being used by Nixon as well as all the Democrats and Republicans to avoid the central questions of inflation, unemployment, and the war, and to whip up an atmosphere of hysteria against the students, minorities and militants in the working class movement.

PURPOSE

More important, however, is Nixon's real purpose in his attack on the Commission, and that is to push censorship and control of the press. In his remarks last Saturday in Maryland, Nixon said that "There will be no relaxation in the national effort to control and eliminate smut from our national life. . . smut should not be simply contained at its present level; it should be outlawed in every state of the union."

What Nixon is seeking to outlaw is political opposition to his regime. This is what lies behind what has been called Nixon's "smutscreen." This is why in all his speeches, charges of obscenity have been directed against the protests of the youth and student activists. For Nixon, "smut" is synonymous with attacks on the capitalist system.

It should be clear that the laws and in fact the morality that Nixon and the capi-

talist class talk about serve one purpose and one purpose only—to protect the property and the power of this class. In order to do this the government will suppress all democratic rights and will use all its legal instruments to do so. This is the warning of the recent events in Canada, as well as the attacks on militants at home.

THE WORKERS LEAGUE PRESENTS:
**TROTSKY
MEMORIAL
LECTURE**
LECTURER:
TIM WOHLFORTH

Stony Brook
Tues. Nov. 10th 7:30 pm
236 Stony Brook Union

New Haven
Fri. Nov. 20 8:00pm
Street Hall 263 Yale U.
Corner Chapel & High
Contribution \$1.50

NMU Needs Program To Fight Nixon's Attacks



Joseph Curran, President of the NMU, is greeted by Nixon at the White House on Labor Day (above). Now Nixon, the shipping bosses and the Curran bureaucracy have a deal to cut wages and jobs in the shipping industry.

BY TOM GORDON

On October 21, Nixon, flanked by industry and trade union representatives, signed the Maritime Act of 1970 into law. Signing of the Maritime Act of 1970 by President Nixon is the start of a vicious attack on all the gains won by maritime workers.

The utter bankruptcy of Joseph Curran and Paul Hall's campaign for this bill is proven by the fact that on top of the 12,000 seamen's jobs lost this year, another 12,000 will be lost by 1974. Seamen must reject the sellout policies of Curran, Hall and the other piecards and take this over into a positive fight for contract reopeners centered around protecting jobs, manning scales, and wage rates.

The provisions of the Maritime Law make it clear why the rank and file must take up a struggle against it. Besides massive cuts in manning requirements, the law also provides a new standard for paying wage subsidies.

The wage rates subsidized by the government will no longer be those won by the unions in collective bargaining, but will be set in relation to shoreside wages for "comparable" work. This means that the government will be able to shop around until it finds low enough wages, juggle job categories to make the work "comparable" to higher-paid shipboard work, and then refuse to pay the higher seamen's wages. The Nixon Administration has already started refusing to pay operating differential subsidies for some crewmen on two Pacific Far Eastern Lines ships, although full manning scales were negotiated between the SIU and the line.

WAGE CUTS

Shipping companies which cut their wages costs below the government limit will be allowed to pocket the difference. The purpose of this is stated by United States deputy maritime administrator Robert Blackwell: "Operators will be encouraged to hold their wage-payments to within the index. The system will reward operators who succeed while penalizing those who let their wage costs exceed the index margin. This method, we believe, will result in more efficient operation." In other words, more work

out of fewer men and for less pay. The government is taking on the job of forcing the shipping companies to make sharper attacks on the wage and manning scales than each company acting alone would be able to do.

In addition to these wage and manning cuts on cargo and bulk ships, the plan does absolutely nothing to recover the 6,000 jobs lost due to the past year's passenger ship layoffs.

In addition to phasing out operating subsidies, which all the American lines on the North Atlantic run have given up anyway, the plan provides for setting up a taxfree construction fund to help build more new ships which will put more seamen on the beach.

The mass of the three billion dollars to be laid out in the new Maritime Plan will go for constructing 300 new automated tanker, bulk, and container ships. Subsidies will be paid to shipyards instead of to the individual companies, encouraging the mass production of standardized ships. Several new ships just built hint at the manning scales we can expect. The LASH ship Acadia Forest carries 31 men on a 36,000 ton ship. The four Falcon Company tankers displacing 34,000 tons each carry 23 men each. These manning scales compare to those of up to 48 on smaller breakbulk ships now afloat, and will contribute mightily to the growing unemployment in maritime.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Forty percent of the men now shipping will be forced out of the industry in the next four years, even if thirty ships a year are built. At best, according to the Senate Commerce Committee figures, 39,100 men will be sailing in 1980; at worst, 22,000. It will take until 1974 for the plan to take effect and the high scrapping rate of old ships (over one million tons a year for the USA) will continue to reduce the number of jobs.

All of these provisions fit cleanly into

the industry-government declaration of a trade war in which the percentage of U.S. cargo carried on American bottoms is supposed to increase from the present five or six percent to 30 or even 50 percent.

Meanwhile Japan, England, and Germany have launched new fleets of cargo and bulk ships and are intent on fighting it out for the biggest share of world trade. Already the rate war on the North Atlantic run has spread to the East Coast-Mediterranean run, and can only mean that the nation whose companies can best squeeze pay and manning scales down to the bone will win and be able to exploit their labor all the more. Even now, seafaring employment is at its all time low "in modern times" according to the *Journal of Commerce*. But according to the released figures, based on increasing the size of the American merchant fleet, only two-thirds of these men will be required to move five or ten times as much cargo by 1980! Similar increases in productivity are planned for dockers.

The whole problem of foreign flag American-owned ships has been settled to the owners' satisfaction. They are to be given twenty years, during which time they of course can renegotiate the Maritime Act, to get rid of foreign flag ships. Meantime all of these American ships now operating with foreign crews at foreign wages will be allowed to continue for the twenty years.

The 1970 Maritime Act then is a big switch from the 1936 Maritime Act which reflected government attempts to head off the militancy of seamen and longshoremen resulting from the 1934 maritime strike. The switching of funds from wage and company-oriented subsidies to subsidies for construction reflects the need to turn out as many container ships as soon as possible, unlike the 1936 Maritime Act which saw no new major developments in maritime technology.

While the 1936 Act placed great emphasis on keeping the then-current manning scales and circumventing the ranks through government hiring halls, government training ships, and the like designed to turn out more sailors, the present act relies on the trade union bureaucrats to simply get as many men out of the industry as quickly as possible. The government is counting heavily on these piecards to continue their betrayals.

But the bosses and the Nixon Administration are taking no chances. The final phases of the passing of the bill have been the sign for a virtual witchhunt directed against the maritime unions.

On October 15, just before the Maritime Act was signed by Nixon, the bosses' association, the Propeller Club, opened its annual national convention in Portland, Oregon. Speaker after speaker hammered home the need for "peace in the industry." According to the *Journal of Commerce*, "Mrs. Bentley (Chairman of the Maritime Commission) called upon labor to accept the fact that there must be crew reductions if American ships are to be more competitive... The need for labor harmony and cooperation if the industry is to fulfill the promise of the new government program has been the theme most heard at the convention." Specifically Mrs. Bentley attacked the International Longshoremen's Association for stripping and restuffing containers on the piers, and for strikes.

On October 10, at the annual convention

of the American Association of Port Authorities in Houston, George Altwater, Houston deputy port director, told these government bosses that to protect their five billion dollar investment in new port facilities, port authorities must begin intervening in shipper-trade union disputes. He stated that the industry "could not afford" another strike like the 1968 ILA East and Gulf Coast ports strike. He emphasized the danger of a coordinated ILA/International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union strike when both their contracts expire in eleven months, and stressed the need for "strike free agreements," with possibly early negotiations with the union chiefs in order to head off any rank and file militancy.

The poisonous policy of going along with every job cut and wage cut followed by Joe Curran and Paul Hall alike, is now bearing its rotten fruit. These leaders have disarmed the unions in the face of this attack. The same Helen Bentley who launched two attacks against maritime labor in the past weeks, has been hailed by Curran on the pages of the *NMU Pilot* as the new administrator needed to bring prosperity to seamen. Mel Barisic, NMU Vice President, restated official NMU policy again in the *July Pilot*: "We must develop new ratings, new working rules, new work schedules. Drastic measures will be needed but NMU has never hesitated to take drastic action when the situation demands it. Our object is to stop the disruption and the negative trends that are threatening the jobs of our members."

But the Propeller Club has already dealt a slap in the face to such policies. Curran and his agents in the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee are always stressing that they are "realistic" in manning and pay scale cuts. Curran this spring trumpeted cuts on the SS United States as the only way to save the ship from layup. But listen to George Gmelch, Vice President of Pacific Far East Lines, addressing the Propeller Club:

"...at the last minute certain collective bargaining organizations (the NMU) came rushing in and offered to reduce the wage scale and the manning if the ship could be saved. What was the answer? Too late.

"It's not too late yet to save the majority of American-flag cargo vessels, the tankers, and the bulk carriers. But it is getting very late indeed."

What the owners are asking for is wage and manning cuts written right into the contract, and binding on the union, not bargained over later: "The unions have not been very realistic in their approach to this problem" of manning and preventing strikes, Mr. Gmelch concluded.

There you have it in a nutshell. Curran's entire legislative program has gone down the drain as far as protecting seamen is concerned, and only the gravy for the shippers is left. The passenger ships will not be brought out of layup, ever. The foreign flag ships will be continued at their present level for twenty years, the economic life of the ships anyway. The offering of seamen's jobs and wages has brought one answer, "It is not enough, we want more," from the shippers.

Paul Hall of the SIU has equal blame to bear in this disaster and has undercut even the NMU by offering lower manning scales to companies to help them win MSTs charters. His "victory" in getting subsidies spread to coastal, inland waters, and all foreign-run ships is being bought with tremendous speedup, more unemployment, and a sharpened attack on the most fundamental rights of the members.

FIGHT

The ranks can afford no compromise in their struggle against the employers and their agents in Congress and the labor bureaucracy. They must take up the fight now to reopen the NMU contract now, around these demands:

- Full manning scales on all ships, four watches on all ships, and two fully paid crews!
- An increase in wages to bring average NMU earnings up to wages earned by NMU Local 333, tugboats!
- Nationalization of the maritime industry under workers' control and without compensation!

The NMU ranks are willing to fight. NMU piecards had to retreat when the ranks refused to be ordered into attending a Goldberg for governor rally in New York. Masses of workers can be mobilized against the Maritime Act of 1970, and against Curran and the others responsible for it, if only a fight is taken up within the union.

subscribe now to the

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

SIX MONTHS FOR \$1.00

ONE YEAR FOR \$3.00

NAME..... STREET ADDRESS.....

CITY.....STATE.....ZIP.....

UNION or SCHOOL.....

Send to: BULLETIN, 6th Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y., 10011. Make checks payable to Labor Publications, Inc.

A Play By Soviet Dissident Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

REVIEWED BY
CYNTHIA BLAKE

A Play by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, performed by the Minnesota Theatre Company at the Tyrone Guthrie Theatre, Minneapolis. Directed by Michael Langham.

On October 5, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was awarded the 1970 Nobel Prize for Literature. On October 13, the Minnesota Theatre Company presented the world premier of his only play.



Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

The only published edition of Solzhenitsyn's play is the translation published by Farrar, Straus and Giroux under the title *The Love Girl and the Innocent*. The Minnesota Theatre Company felt this title was misleading and the original Russian idea impossible to translate. They perform the drama under the title *A Play by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn*, and I have followed their lead by referring to it only as "The Play".

Solzhenitsyn is the most widely-known member of the literary opposition in the Soviet Union. He earned his political and literary reputation with the publication of *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* in 1962. The play just premiered was in rehearsal at the same time, but the Cuban missile crisis caused a radical reversal of Khrushchev's anti-Stalinist campaign, and Solzhenitsyn's bitter dramatic revelations were forbidden. His later novels, *Second Circle* and *Cancer Ward*, continue his denunciation, based on years of personal experience in Stalinist prison camps. They have never been published in the Soviet Union. Solzhenitsyn is under continual attack by the Kremlin and it is assumed that he will not be allowed to re-enter his homeland if he travels to Stockholm to receive the award. The Kremlin bases its attack on the supposedly "anti-Communist" slant of his writings.

MOSCOW TRIALS

But it is immediately obvious, even to the most politically naive observer, that Solzhenitsyn's play—like his other works—is not anti-communist. Reviewers have been careful to point this out, though they are often vague about just what his target is. The vagueness is not Solzhenitsyn's—his target is clearly the Stalinist bureaucracy and, by implication, the Moscow Trials and their betrayal of the October Revolution.

The play, in the tradition of realism, is set in a Stalinist labor camp in 1945. The dramatic thrust stage of the Tyrone Guthrie Theatre is ideally suited to represent such a bleak setting, and Director Michael Langham wisely allows his huge, excellent cast to create the mood with nothing but the barest of props and scenery.

The mood is tense, oppressive, overwhelming. The play is more than three hours long, and pounds home again and again the utter inhumanity of a bureau-

cracy whose only aim is self-perpetuation. Each person reacts in his own way to this brutality, and their composite performance creates a multi-faceted view of mankind under extreme physical and mental duress.

CHARACTERS

Each of the more than forty characters has his own compelling story. These are not super-heroes. Nor are they figures in a morality play, created only to represent a particular vice or virtue. Solzhenitsyn has created very real people.

Most of the prisoners are "Politicals" arrested for minor criticisms of the regime and sentenced to eight, ten, fifteen years in the camps. These are men and women who cherish the ideals of the October Revolution, even though few of them understand its politics. And they are bewildered and enraged when they confront the bureaucracy's barefaced betrayals of those ideals. One prisoner cries out in anguish at a new injustice: "These are not communists who run this camp!"

Other prisoners are professional criminals, or "Pros"—the thieves and black marketeers, the extortionists. They are the prisoner elite, allowed, even encouraged by the bureaucrats to take for themselves the most food, the best clothing, the best jobs, (when they worked at all). The Pros are useful indeed to the bureaucracy, for they are willing informers. And it seems that they are able to do what the bureaucracy, in all its strength, cannot—they can strip the prisoners of their last remaining pride and dignity. But this is an illusion, for in the end, the Politicals overcome the Pros and rob them of their power; at least in this prison at this time.

There is little political discussion in the political prison. Politics, as Marx and Lenin emphasized, can develop only when people are adequately fed, clothed and sheltered. And there is no surplus at this camp. To be the Bread Slicer is to have great power. And what goods do arrive (15 boots for a thousand prisoners) are quickly divided between the Pros and the petty bureaucrats.

And yet it becomes clear that those

Tristana: Merciless Insight Into The Decaying Aristocracy

REVIEWED BY LOU BELKIN

In March, 1937 during the Spanish Civil War, members of the anarcho-syndicalist CNT party were brutally murdered by Stalinist GPU agents in Toledo Province. Prior to the murders, the anarchists had entered the bourgeois government along with the Socialists, the liberal-clerics and the Stalinists.

This was the only course open for these CNT "radicals" who, negating the role of the state, refused, as Trotsky put it, to differentiate between the capitalist and socialist state, and sought to the masses outside of the struggle for state power.

Luis Bunuel's *Tristana*, filmed in Toledo, traces the story and relationship between a young, beautiful girl and her guardian, Don Lope, an anarchist and lecher, who prefers not to work but simply subsists off his aristocratic lineage. Bunuel spares nothing in dissecting the degeneration of virginal innocence in a period just after the civil war, the period of Franco reaction.

CONTRADICTORY

Don Lope himself, with humane feelings for the workers and the oppressed, reassures the viewers that all is not well. "Even Christ was a socialist and a mortal at that," he lets out, much to the dismay of an overbearing cleric. Lope scorns government, inhumanity, greed, capitalist exploitation, but alas, not the pleasures of the flesh. For him there is nothing at all contradictory in conquering women who want to be conquered and deploring the excesses of the police

Scene from
Solzhenitsyn's
play about life in
Stalinist labor camp.



with even a small political understanding are, indeed, "armed" and better able to survive. Those who cannot understand at all what was happening to them cannot fight it. They fall under the pressure, or they survive as best they can: Lyuba by using her body to gain food and shelter; Khomich by bribery and by being a better bureaucrat than the bureaucrats; the Doctor by long-forgotten evil deeds and outside "connections."

REFLECTION

A bit of understanding helps Nikolay Yakhimchuk, the foundryman who volunteers nothing that would help the bureaucrats; Nemov, the naive hero who begins to find his integrity with the foundry workers; Granya, the Young Guard who left her battlefield post to murder her unfaithful husband. They know that the prison is not isolated. They know that they are held in a prison within a prison—that the bureaucrats they fear are afraid of bigger bureaucrats, and of the prisoners too. They know that their sufferings—their hunger, their murderous quota systems—are just a distorted and

magnified reflection of the problems of all workers in their country.

The truth they cannot see, because their creator did not see it, is that this anonymous prison within the prison of Stalinism is within yet another prison—that of the capitalist world. Because he has not confronted the material basis for the development of Stalinism, Solzhenitsyn is helpless to explain why this prison exists at all, and thus he cannot find us a way out, a reason to hope and fight. One critic uses this to tell us that this play is "... about a system that hasn't worked yet and has no basis for change."

DEVELOPMENT

As the Oppositionists struggle for the answers, they will have to turn to the theory and traditions of the Left Opposition of the 20s, and the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky. Only through this struggle will writers and artists like Solzhenitsyn be able to enrich their work, and will finally carry forward the artistic development interrupted by Stalinist tyranny.



period of reaction.

Lope, the anarchist, and the church are far less overtly dealt with than in former Bunuel films. Yet with his gift for telling a story and for so supremely depicting space and time simply and realistically, we are taken back to 1938-39. Bunuel's color palette is, compared to the Hollywood tricksters, a sensuously beautiful yet foreboding powder blue and mauve. The decline of innocence, the perversion of the petty bourgeois anarchist, the greed of the Spanish bourgeoisie and fascists are merged with a battered and servile working class, servant class and peasantry.

SATIRE

For Bunuel his microcosm must suffice. Beneath the surface, there is yet the anarchist's smugness. For Bunuel himself sides with Lope who cannot see any way out.

Fernando Rey as Lope, Lola Gaos as Tristana's maid, are convincing, real people who represent real social forces. Rey himself, along with Bunuel's taste for the fantastic, really steals the picture. Bunuel's regular cameraman, Juan Aguano, from the El Greco-like establishing shot of Toledo, brilliantly subordinates color and technique to the director's social requirements. Anything by this Spanish master must be seen by socialists and class conscious workers. Only Bunuel keeps alive the cinema tradition of social satire represented by Vigo, Eisenstein and Renoir.

INSIGHT

Bunuel is fascinated by perversion, by human ugliness and beauty, and with him there are only extremes. His characters run the gamut from deaf mute voyeurs, clerical lechers and parasites, and finally, to the deformed Tristana. After much suffering, she leaves Lope for a younger man, develops cancer and spends the final film moments an amputee and emotional sadist. Bunuel alternates between reality and dream. What is crucial is his merciless insight into the decaying aristocracy and petty bourgeoisie in the

Angela Davis On Hunger Strike--Cops Shoot Panthers

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The vicious attack on Angela Davis has been stepped up. Last week she was placed in solitary confinement in the Women's House of Detention in New York. Her cell is completely searched every eight hours and she is under a 24 hour guard. Last Saturday she began a hunger strike to protest not only her treatment but the inhuman conditions that all the prisoners face.

It is clear that the government will stop at nothing to crush Angela Davis and the struggles of all black militants. The frame-up, the manhunt, and arrest of Davis are part of a nationwide campaign by the capitalist class to crush all opposition to its rule and to stop the offensive of the working class.

Gov. Rockefeller swiftly and in secrecy signed Davis' extradition papers to California and sent them off to Reagan. Davis was denied a hearing over the extradition. She has made it clear she will not consent to go to California for trial. Her lawyers have applied for a writ of habeas corpus and a hearing is set for November 5.

DETROIT

While Davis was placed in solitary confinement, the same gestapo tactics were being used in a new attack on the Black Panthers. Last Sunday cops in Detroit beat up two youths who were just selling the Black Panther paper on the street. When the youth received the support of the crowd, the cops fired their guns. One cop killed in the incident. The provocation and attack by the police is now being used to frame 15 youth for first degree murder and "conspiracy." The youth were ar-

rested after a nine hour seige in which the cops surrounded the headquarters of the National Committee to Combat Fascism.

Can there be any doubt about exactly who is perpetrating the "conspiracy?" The nationwide hunt and persecution of Angela Davis, the planned attacks on Panthers in every major city point the finger at the Nixon Administration and the entire capitalist class. The attacks in Detroit follow by only a month raids on the Panthers in New Orleans and Toledo, Ohio.

AUTO

It is no accident that the recent attack on the Panthers takes place in Detroit and in the midst of the auto strike. This shows the real character of this war against black militants. The unemployed youth in the ghetto together with their brothers in the UAW have taken up the fight and are very much in the forefront of the struggle against the attempts to drive back the working class and its living standards.

This is the movement that the employers and the government fear. The attacks on the Panthers are stepped up now precisely because the minority youth are more and more seeing their struggle as a struggle against capitalism and as part of the

struggle of the working class.

The attacks on Angela Davis and the Panthers are attacks on the working class as a whole and strike a blow against the

labor movement. The trade unions must take up their defense, must demand that the extradition order for Angela Davis be rescinded and that the Panthers be freed.

Con Ed Ranks Demand Fight For Wages In Upcoming Contract

BY A UTILITY WORKER

NEW YORK—The events at the October 7 special meeting of the Utility Workers Local 1-2, showed the extent to which the leadership will go in order to prevent any discussion of the upcoming contract by the rank and file.

To begin with the meeting was billed as a special meeting on the contract. The majority of those who showed up, were under the impression that this meeting was called for making proposals and voting on them.

As it turned out, the business manager, J. Beamish, got up and read a list of 18 demands, not one was spelled out in terms of money. The leadership's excuse was that if the Con Edison management knew the terms of proposals, they would hold out to the last minute.

Not one of these vague proposals was put up for a vote. It was suggested that the membership submit in writing what they felt were the most important demands. However, it was obvious at the meeting what was the most important demand—the question of wages. This was constantly being shouted from the floor.

During the time allotted for questions from the floor, several rank and filers attempted to bring up proposals. These speakers would receive loud applause from the membership, only to have the mike cut off by the bureaucrat on stage. The bureaucrat explained that the speakers from the floor were not elected officials and had no business trying to suggest proposals for the contract. This received overwhelming boos from the majority of the ranks. After several attempts to present proposals failed, the ranks began pouring out of the meeting hall disgusted.

The bureaucracy with the aid of some Buckley supporters were able at the meeting to turn it into chaos by open red-baiting and name calling against any militant who spoke up.

The inability of the Security Party,

the present opposition in Local 1-2, to effectively fight against the open harassment by the local bureaucrats, is due to the fact that the leadership of the Security Party has yet to prepare the ranks for an all out fight against the sellout policies of Beamish.

This was made clear at the regular membership meeting on Oct. 22, when Jim Geohagan, head of the Security Party, agreed to a truce with the Beamish bureaucracy. However, this truce lasted about ten minutes. It all began again when the Secretary-Treasurer of the union, descended from the stage and began bombarding the leadership of the Security Party on a proposal they had made for voting machines for all union elections and contract ratifications. He attempted to discredit the opposition leadership as irresponsible for suggesting something which "they had not thoroughly researched."

A floor fight broke out. In spite of all the rank and file objections the union By-Law Committee said that voting machines were not in the best interest of the union, and that if Jim Geohagan wanted to fight this further, he should consult his lawyers. Geohagan answered by saying that he was left with no other alternative but to consult his lawyers.

The struggle in Local 1-2 goes beyond voting machines, with its center on the upcoming contract.

The ranks must begin with the following basic demands: \$1.65 an hour in wage increase, full cost of living escalator clause, a two year contract, union control over changes due to decentralization, wage differential, no loss of seniority, job titles and promotions, retirement after 20 years and a pension of \$500 a month with cost of living escalator.

This is the program the Security Party must take up if it is going to really oppose the leadership and fight for the ranks.

Tories Send In Troops Against British Workers

BY MELODY FARROW

On October 24th the Tory government called out the troops to break the month old local government strike of sewer and sanitation workers under the pretext of a "health hazard."

As the Buckingham Palace guards moved the garbage, the workers' cowardly and treacherous leader, John Cousins, showed where he really stood by stating: "We did not raise objections to the use of troops because of the danger of health in the East End."

This is no sudden move on the part of the British government. For weeks, the capitalist press has been urging the use of troops and has firmly backed up the government's proposed anti-union laws by saying that "we must start beating strikes." The Council workers have waged a militant and determined struggle in face of these threats despite the vacillations of their leaders.

The Tory government has declared war on the working class. They are determined to defeat the Council workers in order to intimidate and drive back the wage offensive of the entire British working class. The miners are demanding a minimum wage of 20 pounds (\$48.00) and if they do strike this would be the first national mine strike since 1926. The crisis of capitalism now demands a full scale attack on the unions and all the gains workers have made in decades of struggle.

DICTATORSHIPS

The English workers now face the same troops that were sent to oppress the Irish workers and youth. The warning that the British Trotskyists, the Socialist Labour League, made that these troops would be used against British workers is now a reality. Nor was the imposition of martial law in Canada an exception, but the future for every worker under capitalism. Everywhere the capitalist class is building up its repressive tools while using the capitulation of the union leaders to defeat the working class. As Canada made clear, they are preparing for dictatorships to carry out this task.

But it must not be forgotten that they act out of fear of the working class and in defense of a historically doomed system. The stage is now set for a general strike in Britain which can bring down the Tory government.

LAWS

The troops in Britain follow only two weeks after the Tories introduced a vicious set of anti-union laws called the "Industrial Relations Bill." The main proposals of this bill are the following:

- 1) A national industrial relations court which will have the power to fine workers guilty of "unfair industrial action".
- 2) Collective bargaining agreements will be legally binding.
- 3) Secret ballots will be imposed in "serious" disputes.
- 4) Outlawing of the union shop and jurisdictional disputes between unions.
- 5) Sixty day cooling off periods.
- 6) A registrar of trade unions which can deregister unions who do not comply with the above.

In addition to these measures, which if not fought, would essentially incorporate the unions into the state and eventually eliminate them, the Tories have created a tremendous unemployment level to create a scab labor force to further weaken the unions. They are now consciously provoking strikes in which they hope to defeat and demoralize the workers, using the essential services of the union leaders.

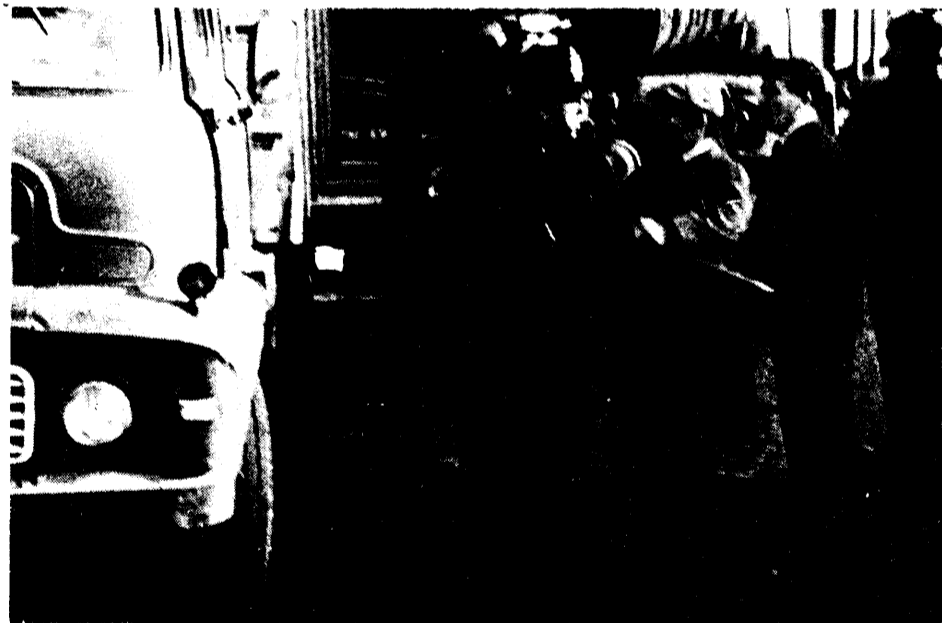
The employers and the government are firmly united in this attack. Recently important business and banking figures have assumed big responsibilities in the government.

The Tories' use of troops must now be met by a political offensive by the British workers. There must be a sharp break with the old methods of struggle, for purely economic demands. Workers are no longer fighting an individual employer but the government itself. The Council strike and every strike is a political strike which must unite the fight for wages and an end to speedup and unemployment with a fight to force the Tory government to resign and replace it with a workers' government. Defense of the Council workers is now a test for the entire trade union movement.

LEADERSHIP

It is at this time that the building of revolutionary leadership within the unions, which will wage a major struggle against the labor betrayers, becomes the primary task. It was the capitulation of the leaders in the dock strike, the glass workers strike and the GKN Sankey strike, where workers were forced back on the employers' terms, that paved the road for the Tory offensive. The capitalists fear nothing from such leaders.

The opposition of the labor bureaucracy to the anti-union laws has not been an opposition to the Tories but a



The Tories use troops to break sanitationmen's strike in London.

policy of pressure to change the Tories' minds. They are not in principle opposed to the idea of curbing the workers, but only wish that the Tories would let them do it themselves. This is what Victor Feather, head of the Trades Union Congress (Similar to the AFL-CIO) meant when he called the laws "unnecessary, irrelevant and unworkable." At the TUC General Council meeting on October 15, not one concrete proposal for action was put forward to fight the bill. The fruits of the politics of pressure are now clear in the Council strike. Those who blindfold the workers as to the real nature of their enemy and set the stage for defeat must be fought relentlessly in the unions. This means not only the right wing labor leaders, but their Stalinist allies as well.

FOREFRONT

The Socialist Labour League is the only organization in England which has not retreated before the Tories and has fought to politically prepare the workers for

the fight ahead. It warned that the anti-union bill was only the first stage in the establishment of a Bonapartist dictatorship in England. They have been in the forefront of the struggle to push forward the fight for wages, for the shorter work week and for the right to a job. They campaigned for workers to take up the call for a one day strike against the bill and unemployment.

The SLL states unequivocally that "the working class will defend its rights in action, with socialist policies, under revolutionary leadership." It was precisely because it was determined to be prepared for a May-June in Britain, that it built the first daily Trotskyist paper in the world. At a meeting on October 18, 700 trade unionists, young workers, and students celebrated the publication of Workers Press six days a week instead of five days a week. The importance of this expansion of the paper is to be able to arouse and warn the workers of the dangers ahead and give them a weapon through which they can fight.