

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

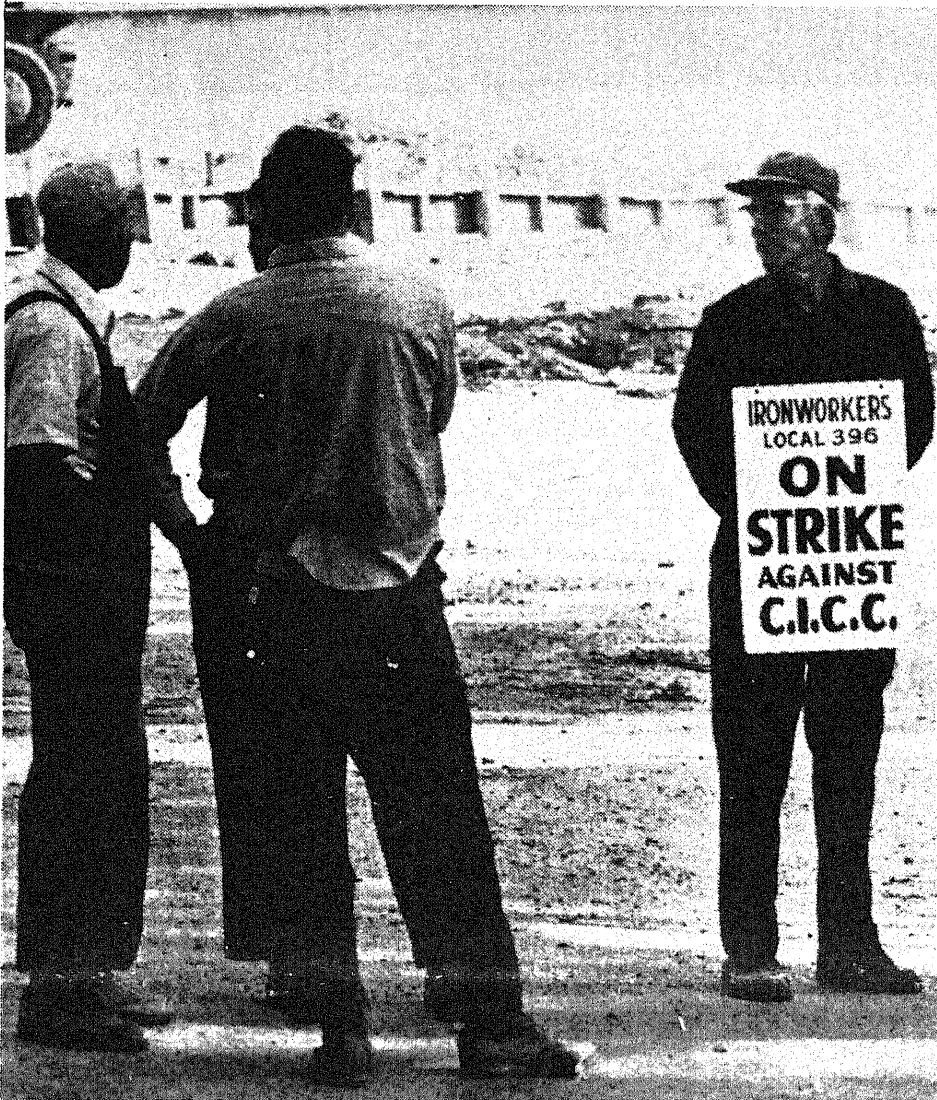
VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER FIFTY TWO 261

SEPTEMBER 18, 1972

103

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

TEN CENTS



Rank and file construction workers are resisting their union leaders in St. Louis who want them to scab on the strike of Ironworkers Local 396. See story on page 4.

UE, IAM Locals Demand Labor Party

BY DAVID NORTH

Calls for the construction of a labor party were heard on the floors of the two major union conventions held this week, that of the IAM in Los Angeles and UE in New York. (See article on page 3 for the IAM Convention.)

The second day of the UE proceedings was dominated by a two-and-a-half hour debate on the labor party issue, provoked by the opposition of a California delegate to a pro-McGovern resolution submitted by the UE General Executive Board.

Speaking in support of a resolution submitted by one of the locals which demanded the establishment of "a committee to build a labor party," the delegate urged the convention to deny support to either McGovern or Nixon.

"There is a big contradiction in the United States," he asserted, "in that we are the most advanced in technology and the most backward in politics."

The delegate stated that "the myth of non-class politics is assiduously preserved" when in reality the election of either party only decides "which billionaires should rule the roost."

Referring to the role of Harry Truman in whipping up the cold war and helping to create the split of the IUE from the UE, he said that the

(Continued On Page 18)

Bulletin Expansion Drive

With this issue we launch the fall \$50,000 Bulletin Expansion Drive. This is part of a two-stage drive to raise \$100,000 so that our printers can install a web offset press.

The press will make it possible for us to expand the Bulletin to 24 pages, including a regular weekly section in Spanish and increased trade union coverage; to develop the Young Socialist into a separate monthly newspaper; to publish the Bulletin in regional editions. At the same time, we will be laying the basis for developing the Bulletin into the first daily Trotskyist newspaper in the United States.

In order to meet this goal on time it will be necessary to receive \$4,000 a week from now until the drive closes on December 15. It is particularly impor-

(Continued On Page 18)

Open Letter To USWA: Fight For 30 Hour Week

The sixteenth Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America, opening in Las Vegas on September 18, is faced with the most serious problems in its entire history.

EDITORIAL

This is the most important convention since the founding convention in May 1942 which formally transformed the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC) into the USWA.

The struggle to organize basic steel in this country is written in the blood of nearly 100 years of battle, from the Homestead lockout of 1892, to the great steel strike of 1919, to the murder of the striking workers at the 1937 Memorial Day massacre in Chicago during the "Little Steel Strike," to the great steel strike of January 1946, and the 116 day strike in 1959.

Since the 1971 contract, in which the USWA leadership under I. W. Abel agreed to a productivity clause setting up joint union-management "productivity committees," all the gains that the union won over these years of struggle are threatened with extinction.

The employers in basic steel have taken this contract and the productivity clause as a green light for the most sweeping program of plant and mill closures, layoffs and speed-up.

For the rank and file members of the union this has meant:

•The closure of the "hot side" of the United States Steel mill in Duluth, Minnesota last February, which threw 1600 workers out of work permanently and threatens to end the jobs of another 1100 Duluth workers as well;

•The announcement only a few weeks ago that American Can Company would close nine of its plants and sell another three, throwing 5,000 workers out onto the streets;

•Plans by the major steel producers for the introduction of

(Continued On Page 8)

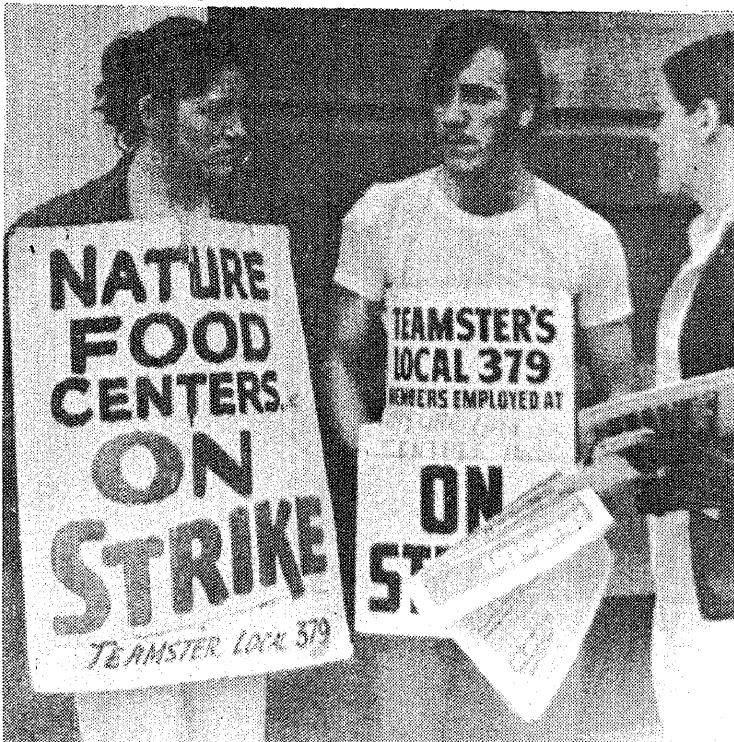
EXCLUSIVE FILM REVIEW

The Second Assassination Of Trotsky

by Roy Battersby

Page 14





Workers at the main warehouse of the Nature Food Center (above) have been on strike for over three weeks. They are demanding union recognition for Teamsters Local 379. Wages average under \$2.00 an hour with no job security, pension, health care or insurance benefits. Sanitationmen and Teamsters truck drivers are honoring picket line but the company is bringing in derelicts and winos to scab on the strike.

Ceylon CP Leads Coalition Attack On Longshore Jobs

BY ED SMITH

A vicious attack against the jobs, conditions, and labor organizations of the Ceylonese working class is now underway. It is being spearheaded by the Stalinist Communist Party of Ceylon and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) which until 1964 was affiliated to the Pabliste United Secretariat.

In the latest attack, longshore union leaders in the capital port of Colombo, who are members of the CP and LSSP, have agreed to port employers' demands to fire 4,000 dockworkers. Already union leaders belonging to the Communist Party have sent out a notice to their members asking for "voluntary retirements" with three months' severance pay.

There is no chance that these 4,000 longshoremen will get other work. Unemployment in Ceylon has already reached 14 percent. The economy is at depression levels. Many dockers will be forced to join the bands of destitutes who roam the country begging in order to survive.

It is important to realize that this betrayal involves the so-called "socialists" in the union leadership. The government of Ceylon is controlled by a popular front in which the CP and LSSP participate and have ministers in the cabinet.

ACTION

This government, which calls itself "socialist," has also threatened "stern action" against 6,500 bank workers who have refused to return from their strike for better conditions, pay, and promotions.

The government—including the Stalinists and revisionists—told the strikers they would lose their jobs if they did not return to work by Thursday last week. Under the emergency regulations under which the government is acting, the entire personal property of the strikers could be confiscated.

TROTSKYISTS

The Trotskyists in Ceylon have been leading the fight back against the actions of the government and the betrayals of the CP and the LSSP. They point out that these vicious attacks are only the opening wedge of even bigger attacks to come.

They have demanded that the "left" leaders leave the popular front government to fight for an

LSSP-CP government that will defend the working class, that dockers' jobs be protected through cutting the work week. It

is through this fight that a new leadership will be built in the unions to throw out the traitors who have sold out the workers.

Food Riots Sweep Cambodia As Capital Is Surrounded

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Senior officials in the Nixon Administration are expressing worry that the Cambodian puppet regime of President Lon Nol, buffeted by new victories for the country's liberation forces and internal unrest, will soon fall to a coup d'etat.

Last week in the Cambodian capital of Pnompenh, virtually the only area the Lon Nol regime controls, rice was unavailable for sale at any price. The United States has been forced to airlift 60 to 80 tons of rice daily following massive food riots in the capital.

SUPPLIES

Liberation forces have occupied all routes to the capital except one, cutting off rice supplies. Earlier last week the little rice available had tripled in price over the past month and was of such low quality that consumers called it "pigfeed."

When the Lon Nol regime issued a decree against rice hoarding, the Cambodian workers and soldiers decided to take its enforcement into their own hands. Unauthorized squads of soldiers broke into shops and distributed rice at low prices to people outside.

Within a day, the movement had grown out of control and stores throughout the city were completely sacked. At least one merchant was killed.

BESEIGED

The government sent out hundreds of MPs to clear the streets of soldiers, at least temporarily. But the besieged state of the capital, compounded by poor planning by the authorities, has introduced the spectre of starvation.

At the same time as the food riots were shaking the Cambodian puppets, liberation troops were giving them a heavy military defeat. Route One, Cambodia's link to Saigon, was defi-

nitively cut when liberation forces captured the district capital of Kampong Trabek.

Three Cambodian battalions guarding the town were pulled back, while a fourth in the area simply disappeared. Simultaneously, American B-52s were making strikes at liberation forces just outside Pnompenh, rattling windows inside the capital.

PUNISHMENT

The steadily worsening military situation for imperialism in Southeast Asia is also reflected in the draconian measures introduced by South Vietnam's President Thieu. Severe punishments have been introduced for deserting the army, petty crimes, and "subversion" (criticizing the government).

In his latest move, Thieu has announced that hamlet, village, and provincial officials will no longer be elected but staffed with his own henchmen appointed from Saigon. In a speech on the new reorganization, Thieu stated that he was particularly unhappy that villagers had elected many Communists to office, even under the present farcical elections.

These officials then helped the NLF against the Saigon puppets. These occurrences showed that South Vietnam was "not ready for too broad a democracy," Mr. Thieu stated.

The fig leaf of "democracy" introduced at the urging of his American sponsors is being discarded by Thieu as military disaster stares him in the face.

Angela Davis Praises Moscow Bureaucrats

BY ED SMITH

Angela Davis is utilizing her current triumphal tour of the Soviet Union to make it absolutely clear she stands 100 percent on the side of her hosts, the Stalinist bureaucracy, against the working class.

Fresh from a marathon round of lavish receptions, including a meeting with the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, Miss Davis told a meeting in the Uzbek republic in Central Asia:

"The possibility of seeing with my own eyes the practical realization of Lenin's ethnic policy will be of tremendous help in our own struggle of resolving the ethnic problem in the United States."

These remarks are a slap in the face to the national minorities like the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans who have been waging a bitter struggle against the Stalinist bureaucrats for their national rights. Stalin ordered the removal of these peoples from their territory during World War II.

BARBAROUS

Though the bureaucracy later admitted its "error" in the barbarous mass deportations, the Tatars and Volga Germans are still barred from returning to their homelands and their national rights are still suppressed. Courageous Soviet oppositionists like General Griorenko, who have taken up their cause in a real struggle for Lenin's "ethnic policy," have been flung into labor camps and mental hospitals.

Davis has also lent her weight to the bureaucracy's attempt to stifle the opposition to the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the troops of the Warsaw Pact forces. Referring to opponents of the recent frame-up trials which sent 46 persons to jail for up to six and one half years, Prague Radio noted in a recent broadcast:

"One of them, Jiri Pelikan, the former Director of Czechoslovak Television, wrote a long



Angela Davis

letter to Angela Davis, appealing to her to make a stand against the present policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak government, and against the policy of other socialist countries too. Her answer was a very straight "No."

The Daily World, organ of the Stalinist American Communist Party of which Angela Davis is a member, had already announced its support of the frame-up trials. In an article on August 23, headlined: "Czechoslovakia CP hails anniversary of 1968 aid," the Stalinist organ notes approvingly the gratitude of various Stalinist bureaucrats for the 1968 invasion that was designed to crush the growing movement against the bureaucracy.

The article notes that "a total of 46 persons have been convicted during the past several weeks for attempting to take up where the counterrevolutionary movement around Alexander Dubcek left off in 1969."

The 46 have been given long prison sentences for what the Daily World describes vaguely as "illegal acts." These "illegal acts" included handing out leaflets advising Czech citizens of their rights under the election laws.

Angela Davis' claim to "Marxism-Leninism" is a fraud. She has betrayed the claims she made during her California kidnapping trial of building a movement to "free all political prisoners, all the oppressed," to become an apologist for the Stalinist betrayers of the working class.

Workers League & Young Socialists invite you to WEEKEND OF EDUCATION & RECREATION

Lectures:

1. Pragmatism and the Development of the American Labor Movement—Tim Wohlforth
2. Pragmatism and the Marxist Theory of Knowledge—Tim Wohlforth
3. A Methodological Approach to Marx's Capital—Dennis O'Casey

\$17.00 covers everything including transportation

East Coast

Sept. 22-24

on a private lake in the Catskills near Port Jervis, N.Y.

West Coast

Nov. 4-5

in the Redwoods north of San Francisco.



IAM Ranks Voice Strong Opposition To McGovern

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

LOS ANGELES—The International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers opened their international conference here last week. The IAM leadership's resolution for endorsement of McGovern met big opposition as a delegate from San Diego placed a resolution on the floor against support to McGovern and Nixon. Two hundred delegates voted against endorsing McGovern.

Lodge 113 in Chicago submitted a resolution to the convention calling on the IAM to convene a congress of labor to begin the construction of a labor party as the only alternative to Nixon and McGovern.

The IAM is facing the greatest crisis ever confronting the union since its founding in 1888. Over 200,000 members have left the IAM in the last year and no let up in unemployment and drive for productivity is in sight.

"Month after month," President Floyd Smith reported, "and with few exceptions, our membership has been declining ever since 1968. At one point we were dropping between 5,000 to 10,000 members a month."

Since the IAM is highly concentrated in the aerospace industry,

where over 20 percent of its membership work, the massive layoffs and cutbacks have crippled the union through tremendous unemployment.

UNEMPLOYMENT

"Where I come from," one delegate told the Bulletin, "yes, the unemployment is bad. We've about the highest in the country. I'm from central New York, District 157, which covers Utica and Rome. In the whole area, unemployment runs at about seven percent but at my plant we're down 50 percent."

"Syracuse is worse. In one plant that makes radio receivers, they had 4,500 employees. Now they are down to only 160. District 157 had a good 10,000 members, now we're down to 7,000 with another 2,000 leaving as soon as their unem-

ployment benefits run out."

Even in the areas where the IAM has only been hit slightly with layoffs, unemployment is running at about 10 percent. In Tennessee, where the IAM has organized Federal workers in the Tennessee Valley Authority, recent layoffs have resulted in 25 percent of the union on the unemployment rolls.

In California, one of the worst hit by aerospace layoffs, McDonnell-Douglas has announced its intention of closing its Santa Monica plant and beginning layoffs in the other Los Angeles area production plants. This will result in close to 15,000 layoffs when the company is finished.

COMBAT

The plan that Smith has to combat this threat to the union is no plan at all. He relies solely on McGovern and the empty promises of full employment. The only thing that the Executive Board proposes that the union take action on is a raise in union dues and a restructuring of the already weak strike fund.

Opposition to Smith's bankrupt policy is beginning to break the seeming quiet of the convention. When President Smith was introduced on the first day, a sizeable section of the California delegation refused to rise.

Later, when the proposed raise in the dues was put before the convention and the Executive Council attempted to pass the increase as quickly as possible, the delegates responded by demanding that information on the local dues structure be distributed before the decision was made.

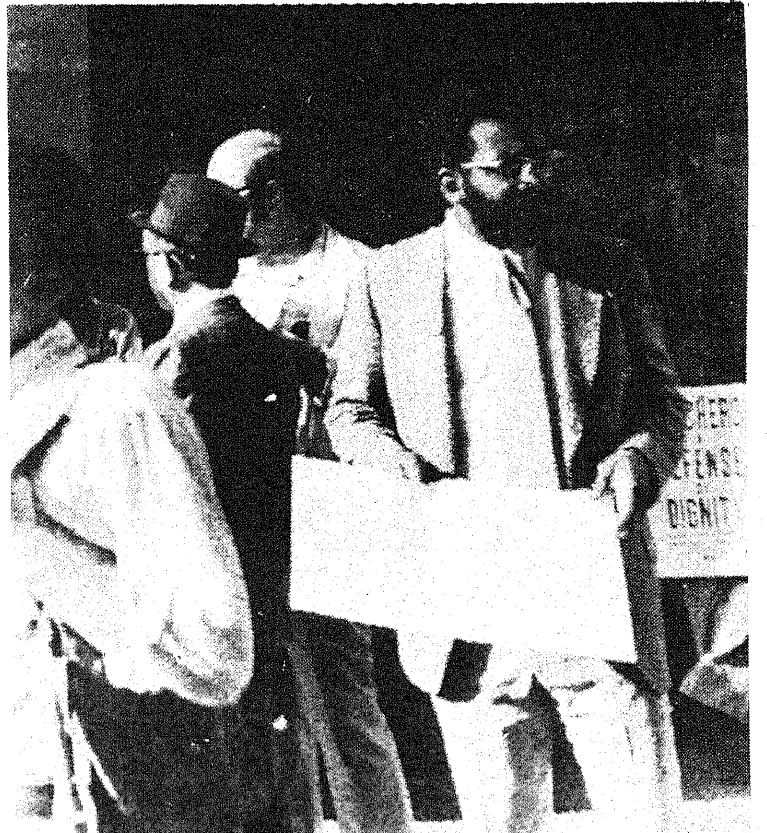
Nixon and McGovern were both invited to speak to the convention with only McGovern accepting. McGovern spoke the second day of the convention and promised to return the \$350 in wages stolen by the Pay Board. Even this was not enough to whip up an enthusiastic response from the delegates.

Despite all the promises of full employment, an end to tax loopholes and justice, the delegates were not forgetting McGovern's votes against the aerospace industry and that he openly said he has no intention of abolishing the Pay Board.

Smith, who had already announced his full personal support of McGovern, immediately suspended the rules of the convention so as to have a prepared resolution placed before the delegates directly after McGovern finished his speech.

The executive resolution in favor of endorsing McGovern was opposed by delegate Buffone from Lodge 1125 in San Diego. He placed an alternative resolution before the convention that had the support of four other lodges, representing a total of over 10,000 Machinists.

"McGovern's program is contrary to the IAM's," he said. "The records of both Nixon and McGovern are not worthy of an endorsement by our great union."



Philadelphia teachers picket high school in strike to defend their rights. School Board is trying to gain complete control over them.

Philly Teachers Strike Against 'Return To Past'

BY FRANK ELLIOTT

PHILADELPHIA—3,000 teachers, members of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) jammed the main ballroom of the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel last Tuesday and reaffirmed their decision to fight it out with the Philadelphia School Board.

The teachers are on strike against the School Board which is determined to destroy every gain that teachers have made over the last ten years.

Behind the slogan "no return to the past," chief negotiator John Ryan called for the unity of all sections of teachers and non-professional workers behind the strike. He stated that acceptance of the School Board's proposals would mean that teachers would be forced to perform any kind of duty like patrolling halls, subways and toilets and would be subject to all sorts of arbitrary transfers. In addition almost 500 jobs would be lost and class size would be increased from 35 to 44 students.

MASS

The determination of the teachers to defend their hard won gains has temporarily set the School Board back. Massive picket lines on the first day of the strike overthrew the Board's attempt to keep the schools open with scab teachers and supervisory personnel.

The School Board is encouraging, so far unsuccessfully, the establishment of so-called "community schools" to scab on the strike. But both teachers and students have boycotted them.

A particular reactionary role is being played by the Stalinist backed Progressive Caucus in the union, which not only supports these community schools but is actively manning them.

What is clear is that every politician in both the Democratic and Republican parties is standing behind the union-busting School Board and is calling on the union to crawl back to work on its

knees. The recent endorsement of George McGovern and the Democratic Party at the AFT convention is absolutely criminal.

The PFT must repudiate this endorsement and take up the fight for the construction of a labor party. Only a labor party can defend the trade unions in this period and provide for the education of the youth.

UFT Sellout Opens Way For Firings

BY ESTHER GALEN

NEW YORK—The United Federation of Teachers and the Board of Education agreed this week on a three year contract.

This contract opens the way for the City's attacks on the teachers union. Shanker abandoned demands for greater improvements in working conditions and smaller class sizes. Class sizes now stand at 32 students per class in elementary school, 33 in junior high, and 34 in high school.

The contract allows the layoffs of regular substitutes and per diem teachers, and agrees to attrition to reduce the number of teachers. This will mean larger class sizes, and open the door to thousands of teachers being laid off.

The Board's plans are clearly revealed by their statement: "Discipline—and even dismissal—because of a supervisor's pique or prejudice is part of the fortunes of life."

Although teachers had voted to defy the Pay Board and fight for a 30 percent salary increase, Shanker settled for an increase within the 5.5 percent wage

(Continued On Page 18)

Olympics Hysteria Serves As Smokescreen For Zionist War Plans

BY DAVID NORTH

The murderous bombing of two Arab countries by the Israeli air force and the bloodcurdling calls for a crackdown on Arab freedom fighters and all left-wing political tendencies expose the objectives of the imperialists and their Zionist agents who shed crocodile tears for the athletes killed in Munich last Tuesday.

All the leading imperialist butchers, from Richard Nixon to King Hussein, are working overtime to whip up an atmosphere of political hysteria in order to press their attack on the international working class.

The Workers League will have nothing to do with the cynical and sanctimonious horror expressed during the past week in the capitalist press. Our solidarity lies completely with the five young Arabs ruthlessly murdered by the Munich police. We grieve that these heroic freedom fighters were driven to the politically fruitless path of terrorism by the treachery of the Arab bourgeois governments and the Stalinists who support them.

Of all the abuse heaped upon the five young Arabs, none is more repulsive than the charge that they were cowards. Their entire lives were dedicated to the liberation of a population made homeless by Zionist aggression. "Our lives mean nothing to us" were their final words before being murdered.

RESPONSIBILITY

The responsibility for the deaths of the athletes rests entirely on the shoulders of the governments of West Germany and Israel and on the International Olympic Committee itself, which deliberately provoked and carried out the massacre at the Munich airport in order to create an international incident.

In fact, as the details surrounding the events accumulate, it becomes increasingly clear that the Israelis knew that the Arab guerillas were planning some sort of attack and patiently awaited its occurrence.

It has been revealed that the day before the attack took place, West German intelligence notified Israeli authorities that armed Arabs had just entered the country. Possessing this information, it is incredible that the Israelis—normally so careful about security—should have made such minimal efforts to protect their athletes in Munich unless the Zionist government was deliberately leaving them unguarded.

There is hardly room to doubt that Golda Meir and the military clique now dominant in the government have long been waiting for some excuse to renew its bombing of the Arab states and possibly launch a full-scale war for more territory.

Just after the Munich incident, Meir warned that: "In regard to the borders there must be big changes and the Arabs must know that peace in the Middle East will be achieved only if they will be prepared to give up territory."

Racked by a severe economic crisis within Israel and growing opposition within the Israeli working class to the Zionist program, the government is hungrily eyeing the borders of Syria and Lebanon as the targets of new aggression.

While the Arab guerillas, members of the "Black September" organization, repeatedly extended their deadline for Israel and West Germany to meet the demands for the release of political prisoners, Willy Brandt, Golda Meir, and Avery Brundage prepared a team of police sharpshooters to murder the Arabs at the first opportunity.

A late report revealed that Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan flew to Munich secretly Tuesday night to supervise the execution of the bloodbath.

(Continued On Page 18)



Avery Brundage

Union Leaders Tell Construction Workers To Cross Picket Line Of St. Louis Local

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS, September 5—Workers from 30 other construction trade unions crossed the picket lines of Ironworkers Local 396 in a move unprecedented in the history of the construction trades in St. Louis.

The main reason given for this action by the leadership of the unions, the Executive Board of the Building and Construction Trades Council of St. Louis, is that the rank and file are faced with few jobs and the prospects are bleak that many jobs will be available during the winter months, so they want as much work now as they can get.

ACTION

This action is occurring in a year where construction jobs have declined by 30 percent.

There was no trouble reported at any of the construction sites and the Ironworkers did not attempt to stop the other workers from entering. At many sites no pickets were there but at others there were pickets and many of the workers from the other unions were hesitant about crossing the lines.

At one site the work buzzer rang three different times but the men refused to go to work until the leadership of their respective unions and others went in first.

CROSS

One worker said: "I'll be the last one to cross that picket line." Some workers went home and another worker said that he did not believe they would cross the line.

The action taken by the Construction Trades Council comes at a time when the attacks by

Nixon and the ruling class are stepped up on the labor movement. The bosses will use any discord among the unions to further drive back the gains that have been made so that they can get "higher productivity" with less men to do the job.

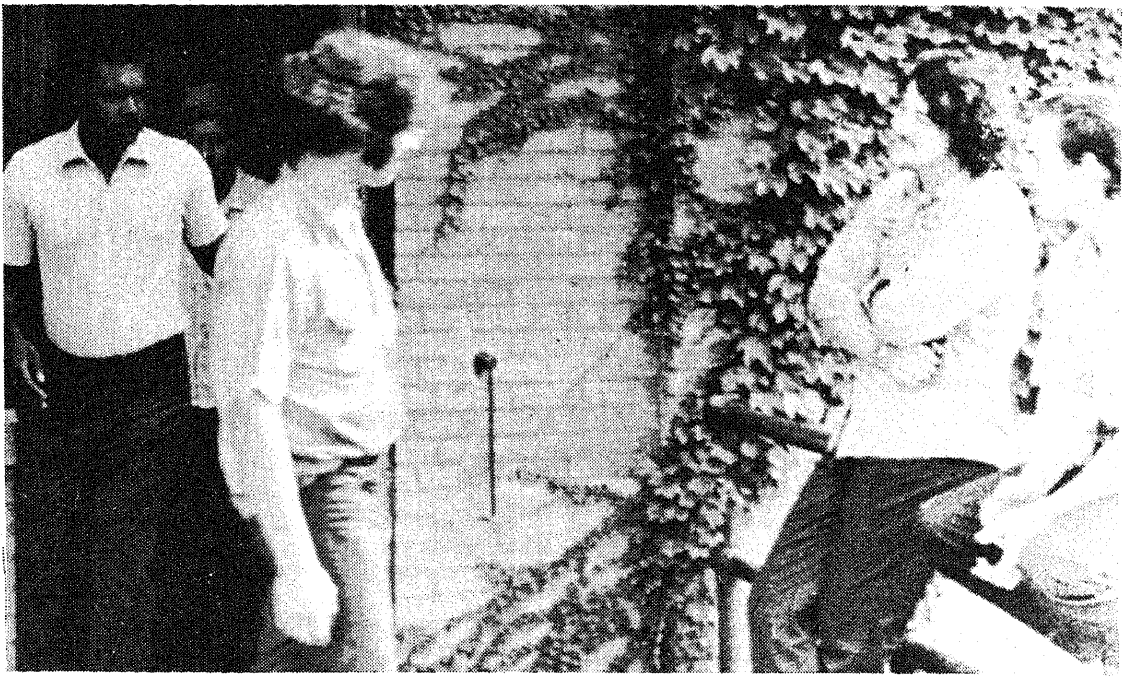
What must be done is for the other trades to give support to the Ironworkers strike because the stubborn refusal of the construction companies to meet their demands is just a preview of what lies in store as other contracts run out. The very hesitation of the workers to cross the picket lines reflects the will of the unionists to continue the fight.

DEMANDS

The Ironworkers demands are for union control of hiring, a referral system whereby unionists with less than five years seniority and permit workers would go through the union and be referred to a job. Those workers with over five years seniority would go directly to the site to be hired.

They are also asking for show up pay on days when it is impossible to work due to the weather.

The union leaders seek to solve the crisis in the construction industry at the expense of their members. The ranks of the unions must demand that if these companies cannot provide full employment then they must be nationalized under workers control.



Workers of UAW Local 174 walked out of Revere Co. in Detroit for a day last week. They struck to demand wages that the Pay Board is holding up. They also picketed UAW offices to demand support from leaders.

UAW Ranks Picket Woodcock For Action Against Pay Board

BY REX HENRY

DETROIT—At the same time that the Woodcock leadership has agreed to move negotiations over the Norwood strike to the "less heated atmosphere of Detroit" preparing the sellout of the longest strike in UAW history, workers at the Revere Copper and Brass Company in Detroit have gone into action against conditions in the auto industry and against Nixon's Pay Board.

Last week the 450 members of UAW Local 174 at Revere walked off their jobs. The walkout, which closed Revere tight for more than one full day, was sparked by disgust with Woodcock's inaction

over a Pay Board decision which has robbed the ranks of Local 174 of over \$36,000 in retroactive pay.

The walkout last week is the third such protest over this question since the beginning of the

year. Twice before Revere has been shut tight with pickets set up in front of the plant. Last Friday the afternoon shift walked out and production resumed when the night shift came in.

Monday both shifts walked out, transported themselves across Detroit and set up a picket line at Solidarity House, International headquarters of the UAW, at-

(Continued On Page 18)

Statement By Juan Farinas

The following is a statement by Juan Farinas on the refusal by the U.S. Board of Parole to review his case. Juan is presently in the federal prison in Danbury, Connecticut.

Every action taken by the government in the four years it took them to convict Farinas and place him behind bars was a conscious one executed by a ruling class determined to silence all working class fighters.

The Farinas case was a frame-up from beginning to end. It began in 1968 when he exercised his right of free speech by handing out leaflets denouncing the Vietnam War at his induction.

The refusal of the Parole Board to grant Juan parole is part of an entirely new stage of attacks that the government is preparing to unleash against the working class as Nixon revealed at the Republican Convention.

At the same time that the Parole Board was acting on Juan's case, a Federal District Court in Pennsylvania sentenced Philip Berrigan to four concurrent two-year terms for simply sending letters out of the Lewisburg Penitentiary—a right federal prisoners had previously won.

Farinas' fight to win parole drew tremendous support from trade unionists and youth across the country. This support shows the powerful offensive that can be mobilized by the working class to meet the all-out attacks of the government. Juan will again be eligible for parole in March. The Workers League calls on all its supporters to continue their campaign to free Juan.

"It is more than obvious that the Board of Parole's recent denial, a denial in fact if not by the Board's tricky and arbitrary procedures, namely the so-called 'Progress Reports,' of my request for parole is exclusively motivated by political reasons.

"They are more willing and ready to let out corrupt politicians, lawyers, businessmen, and outright criminals than young people who have committed no crime at all, unless one were to accept their spurious definition of fighting against the war in Vietnam, of fighting for the interests of working people in this country and around the world as a crime.

"In fact, during the interview, the Parole examiner told me that I would either be paroled or maintained in this institution for the 'rehabilitation purposes' that I've been sent here for. Rehabilitation indeed! That in itself is the clearest political declaration on the Board's part: if you 'rehabilitate' yourself, that is, renounce your convictions and politics, then you are a 'good citizen,' and due for reward. If not, a 'Progress Report...'"

Threat To Rail Pay

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Nixon Administration's Pay Board has announced it is challenging a five percent wage increase due October 1 to 340,000 railway workers. The action was taken at the urging of the National Railway Labor Conference, the bargaining arm of the railroads. If successful, the challenge would delay or cancel scheduled increases for an additional 160,000 workers.

William H. Dempsey, NRLC chairman, claimed that the rail companies entered into the contracts in "good faith," but the Pay Board must decide if they are to be carried out.

The five percent increase, plus an additional five percent granted in April, was what the rail union leaders used to justify their massive tradeoff of rail workers' jobs, particularly of firemen and shop workers, in the last contract. Now Nixon's Pay Board acts to take even this meager increase away.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John
Labor Editor: Dan Fried
Art Director: Jeannie Cooper
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: \$4.00, Foreign—1 year: \$5.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.

Workers League invites you to

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR A LABOR PARTY NOW! CHICAGO-OCT.21-22

The purpose of this conference will be to establish an organization of rank and file trade unionists to carry forward the fight for the trade unions to call a congress of labor to establish a labor party. The conference will also consider the program around which such a labor party is to be constructed as well as the situation facing specific sections of the labor movement.

Workshops on Steel, Auto, Longshore, Teachers, Civil Service, others.

Young Socialists will hold:
NATIONAL PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE
FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A
REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT
Chicago OCTOBER 22

Both events will be held at: Bismarck Hotel, Randolph & Wells (in the Loop)
Advance Registration Necessary: trade unionists: \$5.00 youth & unemployed: \$2.50

Contact:
New York: 6th Floor, 135 W. 14th St., NYC 10011 924-0852
Chicago: P.O. Box 6044, Main P.O., Chicago 60607
West Coast: Rm. 313, 3004 16th St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103 415-621-1310

Inexpensive accommodations available

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

The Olympics Farce Of Peace And Brotherhood

Vince Mathews and Wayne Collett were barred from further competition by the International Olympic Committee after winning gold and silver medals in the 400 meter run.

An appeal to review the case and allow Mathews and Collett to explain their actions was quickly turned down by the International Olympic Committee. The I.O.C.'s action was designed as punishment to these athletes for not standing at attention during the playing of the national anthem.

"On the victory stand, I was standing there just the way I would be standing at a baseball game or at a fight. I never stand at attention.

"I was led to believe that the Olympics was for the athletes. We considered ourselves athletes, not politicians, or marching bands."

These are some of the statements made by Vince Mathews after being thrown out of the Olympics. Mathews, a resident of Brooklyn and a worker, could not afford the best facilities and equipment needed to train. Instead, after getting home from work every night, he climbed 10-foot fences to prepare for his day at the Olympics.

The news media, along with the officials of the Olympics, have jumped on these athletes and branded them as virtual criminals in the last few days.

This incident shows that even the slightest sign of defiance by the working class and youth is enough to trigger off the capitalists of every country into whipping any opposition into submission.

The refusal of Mathews and Collett to bow before the imperialist's flag expresses the refusal of the youth to crawl in front of the ruling class. If there was any arrogance and disrespect to be noted, it was displayed by the capitalist class and the I.O.C. who represent them.

The very fact that this action has been taken to penalize anyone who does not whistle the tune that the capitalists want to hear is proof that there is nothing that is neutral or outside the conflict of classes—certainly not the Olympics.

The Olympics are an arena in which nationalism, patriotism, and humility before the world capitalist powers are considered the highest honor.

Nationalism and patriotism today become the greatest weapons of the ruling class to take away every right that belongs to the working class. This is what the ruling class used to justify the First and Second World Wars and to demand that the working class make "sacrifices" to save the honor of each country.

This is what Nixon uses to justify Vietnam while already he insists that workers must lower their wages because cheaper goods are needed to compete against foreign goods.

The 1972 Olympics had a chain of events that reflect the world capitalist crisis. The Munich killings were used to create a right-wing hysteria, with cries of moral outrage against the Arabs while nothing is said of the massive bombings and tortures of the men, women, and children that the state of Israel, with the help of U.S. imperialism, has carried out against the Palestinian people.

Avery Brundage and his bunch treated the athletes with complete disdain. These youth that for years prepared, worked, and trained for a chance at the Olympics have received the most degrading back-of-the-hand treatment.

Besides the expulsion of Mathews and Collett, other incidents that expose the anti-working class character of the I.O.C. occurred. Rick De Mont had to give up his gold medal in the 40-meter free style because he took some medicine for his asthma. Two runners of the U.S. Olympic team who were a sure win in track never showed up because they were given the wrong time by the officials.

It is evident from the way that these athletes were treated that the I.O.C. could not care less about them. It was Avery Brundage and the I.O.C. that insisted on allowing the racist right-wing state of Rhodesia to be represented. It was the athletes who would not allow it.

The actions against Mathews, Collett, and all the other athletes show the hatred that the ruling class has for the youth. Even though they talk so much about individual freedom, when it comes down to it, the capitalists determine when and if at all, any freedom will be allowed.

If the ruling class must take such action against those who express the smallest amount of opposition, they will be even more determined to launch vicious attacks against those youth who demand the jobs and education which capitalism cannot give them.

The building of a revolutionary youth movement that understands what is in store for the working class and can prepare it for the battle ahead is necessary. The Y.S. is that revolutionary youth movement.

YS Plans Conference In October To Build Marxist Leadership

BY GIL GONZALEZ

On October 22, 1972 in Chicago, the Young Socialists will hold a national pre-conference of working class youth and students for the construction of a revolutionary youth movement. The conference will be held in conjunction with the Workers League National Conference for a Labor Party Now.

This conference will take place in a period of deep capitalist crisis which will be reflected in the elections around that time. The crisis itself poses the greatest dangers to the working class and the youth who have constantly suffered more than anyone else under the attacks of the capitalist class.

Nixon's policy is clear as far as the youth are concerned. In order for corporate giants to produce greater profits Nixon has forced up to five million workers to go jobless. Of the unemployed, it is the youth that have and will continue to get the worst of it. Youth unemployment jumped 2 percent in just the month of August.

Occurring simultaneously is the stamping out of education for young people. Nixon continues to sign bills that undercut the funding of educational programs for the youth.

Because of what the working class faces, there is a crying need for the construction of a revolutionary leadership within the working class. This is what the East Coast Young Socialists Conference on December 18, 1971 asserted and the political and economic developments since then have proven this analysis to be correct.

In this revolutionary period, the youth have a vital role to play in building the leadership that will lead workers to the socialist revolution.

KEY

The youth movement cannot change society: they do not hold the key position in society. Only the organized workers through the unions can produce the socialist revolution. But it is young people, because they see no future under capitalism, that turn more quickly to ideas of revolution and revolutionary theory.

This means taking up a study of Marxist philosophy and building the movement on this basis, to carry out the struggle against the capitalist thinking that is hammered into the minds of the youth in the educational institutions. By fighting out these philosophical questions among the youth in the communities, universities, and among young workers, a mass revolutionary youth movement can be built.

Today this requires that young people turn to the labor movement and demand that the unions defend the rights of the unemployed to a job and decent education. At the same time, the Young Socialists will bring to the trade unions the understanding that a political fight is necessary

to defend the unions against the government. A break from the Democratic and Republican parties and the formation of a labor party to defend the working class is the call that every youth must make.

Through the fight to construct the labor party, the revolutionary movement can widen the consciousness of the working class and pose the necessity of socialism by demanding that the labor party be pledged to socialist policies.

Only the Young Socialists since December 18 have fought for this perspective.

STALINISTS

The Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League are today the main advocates for McGovern. It is these Stalinists who are the enemies seeking to put the Democratic Party back together. The entire history of Stalinism since Trotsky began his struggle against it has been to compromise with the ruling class, disarm the working class and lead them to defeat.

The nationalist groups such as the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords Party, and the rest are either openly supporting the Democratic Party, or have no perspective for the youth in the

(Continued On Page 18)



Ft. Greene Young Socialists held a successful block party last week. They raised over \$75 towards the fall Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive and sold much literature. Youth who came (above) enjoyed plenty of music, food (left) and games. Later, the Young Socialists organized a football game for neighborhood youth.

Young Socialist

Cutbacks Force Thousands To Quit College

BY KIKI MENDEZ

NEW YORK—The cuts in the educational budget have left the college campuses with 300,000 vacancies for the fall semester. The slashes of the financial aid program are being followed with a \$300 tuition increase in major colleges.

The students enrolled in these aid programs will be forced to quit school. At the same time, unemployment has reached five million and the prospects of getting jobs are hopeless.

The increase in the cost of education has caused a decrease in college enrollment. It was revealed that in 13 western states, 98,000 students have not yet registered for the September term. Most college students have been forced to drop the four year course for a less expensive two year study.

In Chicago, 12,000 college students are faced with a \$30

annual tuition tax. This will enable the city government to make a profit of \$300,000. These profits will be used to bring additional guards onto the campus.

Enrollment has dropped drastically in major colleges in California and the athletic programs will be cut by 15 percent. In fact, the nationwide enrollment for the fall semester is up only 1.37 percent. This is the lowest in a decade.

In order to justify these attacks on the youth, the government has spent thousands of dollars financing scientists to dig up various statistics in order to prove their reactionary theories. One year ago, a group of scientists led by Jenkins of Stanford University

came up with the racist theory that minority youth were inferior and that they were incapable of learning.

RESEARCH

This year, Carnegie Corporation gave a \$500,000 grant to a Harvard research team to study the effects of school conditions on a student's learning capacity. The scientists have invented the most idealist theory.

The position they put forward is that the existing conditions in the world have nothing to do with the thinking or learning capacity of the youth.

This leads them to the conclusion that it does not matter whether the government im-

proves the educational system because some students are already incapable of learning, while others will achieve progress on the basis that they are born intelligent.

In other words, the school really does not play a role in education because students are either born dumb and will never learn, or they are born intelligent and can learn under impossible conditions.

JENCK

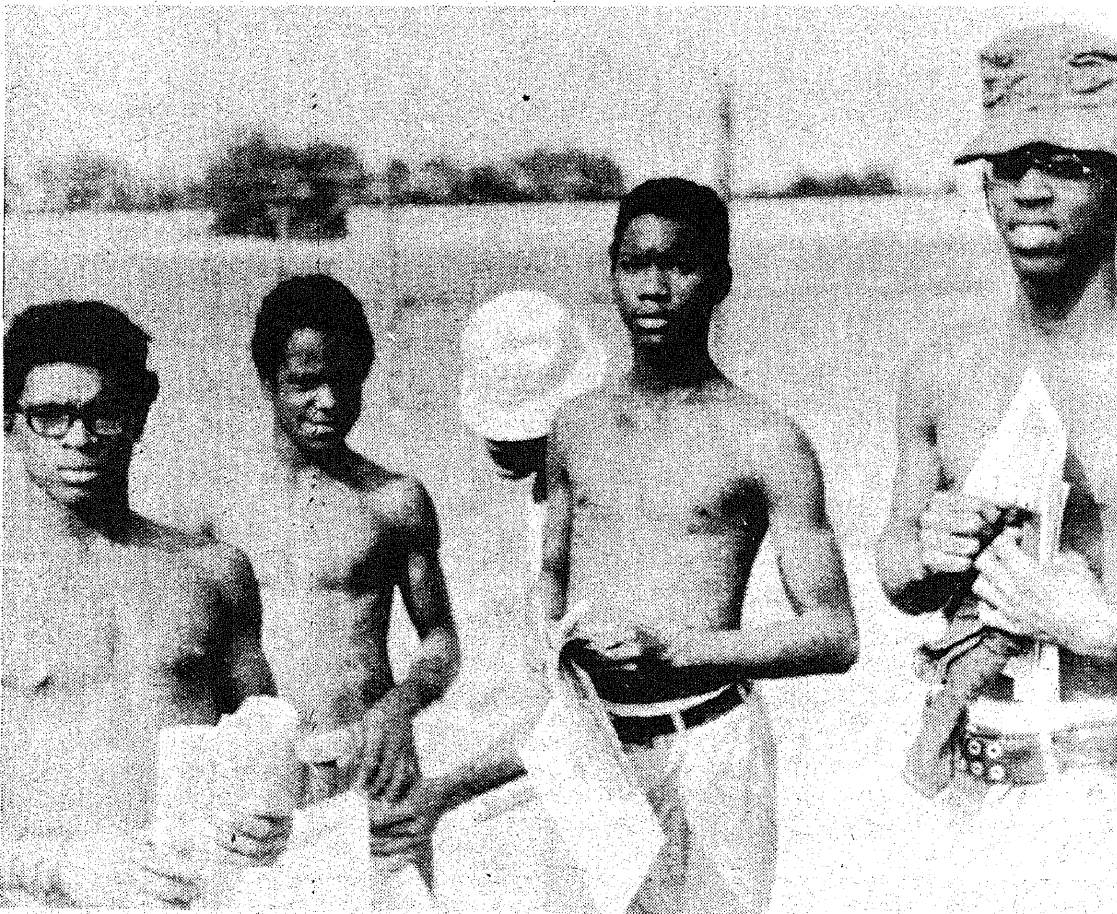
Christopher Jenck, the leader of the research team said: "The character of a school's output depends largely on a single input, namely the characteristic of its children. Everything else—the school budget, its policies, the characteristics of the teachers is either secondary or completely irrelevant. We do not find those (schools) with fat budgets turning out more skilled alumni than

those with inadequate budgets."

This is an open defense of capitalism's attack on working class youth. Nixon's policy is to completely deny any education through budget cuts. The government attempts to sell its policies to the youth with "scientific proof," by putting the blame on the students if the schools are incapable of providing a decent education.

The government's lust to make more profits results in tremendous cuts in education and an increasing number of youth are forced to drop out. The Young Socialists demand a free higher education for all youth. The youth are entitled to living wages while attending school.

Programs must be implemented that will train youth for decent jobs. It is this program the Young Socialists must fight for in the struggle to build a labor party.



Hartford youth (above) had something to say about the Republican Convention.

Youth Speak On Nixon's Convention

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

The Republican Party Convention clearly expressed the move now by the ruling class back to a one party system and the setting up of a Bonapartist dictatorship. The attacks are aimed at destroying the unions and driving down living standards of all workers.

The Young Socialist interviewed several youth on what they thought about the Republican Convention.

A Hartford youth named Junior stated: "Yes, I watched it but it was really boring. Nixon doesn't want to give any jobs. I had a job this summer around the center picking up garbage. I got paid \$1.85 an hour.

"It wasn't too bad but I know a lot of my friends had a lot of trouble finding a job. I assume I can get a job but I know a lot of kids have graduated and can't find a job."

A youth from Minneapolis said: "Another four years of Nixon would mean more summer job cuts. Even if you get a good education, there are no jobs. Computers have taken over. People are going to be forced into crime with no jobs around. And that's what Nixon wants so he can have more prisons and get us out of the way."

Another youth from Minneapolis stated: "All the beatings of the demonstrators down there were supported by the middle class people. Nixon wants their support against the youth so he uses these incidents to keep the workers and youth divided and their minds off fighting the system. Just like when cops beat Black people, they want everyone to think that Blacks are the troublemakers.

"We have to get more people in the Young Socialists to help build a labor party to stop the Democrats and Republicans. We've got to show the older workers how to fight for this labor party."

YOUNG TRADE UNIONIST SPEAKS OUT ON RACISM

Youth today are placed in a situation where their future is being threatened more and more with every attack by the government on the working class. Unemployment among youth has already reached the rate of 17 percent nationwide. The Young Socialist interviewed J. Cruz, a 26 year old worker who is now employed at Seatrain in the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

Young Socialist: How do you feel about the situation on your job?

Cruz: As far as the situation, it is very bad here. There is a lot of prejudice going on. As far as the bosses are concerned towards the workers here, there are no promotions, promotion system or safety system. Everything is hazardous here. I never see any Safety Officers come around. It is just a bad situation down here.

As far as money is concerned, there is no money, all the bosses are keeping it for themselves. They are not giving any to the workers. All the workers are just working real hard to build the ships. We're not getting any pat on the back or anything like that.

Y.S.: How do you feel about the situation facing young people today, in relation to unemployment, the cutbacks in education, budget cuts and so forth?

Cruz: As far as the young people are concerned, all young people go to school and when they come out, they expect to get a good job. Because they keep telling them on the television, radio and in school that if you graduate from high school, you'll go out and get a good job. So that's what you're looking for. But when young people come out here, and want to work, they don't care what they work at. They just want to work and make money and establish themselves in society. They come out here and they see that there are no jobs.

Y.S.: How do you feel we can fight racism and the government today?

Cruz: If a Black worker comes on the job now, he gets hired as a mechanics helper which pays about \$3.35 an hour. But if a white worker comes in and he doesn't know anything about the job, he cannot weld or burn, right away he gets hired as a third class mechanic, with a pay rate of \$3.75. To correct this situation, I think that all workers, Black, Puerto Rican and white should all get together and have a mass rally or protest to tell the bosses what they're doing. That it's very wrong and we're aware of it.

Y.S.: What's your opinion on the war in Vietnam and who do you think is gaining from this war?

Cruz: I've been in Vietnam and the only people I see gaining from it are the bosses. The workers are making the weapons but the profits are going to the bosses. I think the war should have been stopped five years ago,

with Kennedy, the one who started it. The war is very bad, they make killers out of us. We learn to kill anything four feet, two feet, men, women, children—they kill them.

My Lai has come out, but there are many more cases. I think that the first thing to do is to get everybody out of there. Nobody is profiting from it. Just the large corporations like McDonnell-Douglas and U.S. Steel. All we're getting is brothers and sisters getting killed and making orphans of us.

Y.S.: Do you see any difference between Nixon and McGovern?

Cruz: My answer is definitely no. Nixon and McGovern are both the same. Just because one calls himself a Republican and the other calls himself a Democrat, they're all for the same thing, to make profits for the government and for the big people. The people who are rich right now, they're the ones who are going to profit if McGovern

or Nixon gets in. We do not want or need a party to represent the bosses. We need a party to represent the workers.

Y.S.: How do you think a labor party can take up a struggle that will actually meet the needs of the workers?

Cruz: I read in the Bulletin where the two parties now are only concerned with the bosses. It's true, I see it before my eyes. And we do need a labor party to represent the workers. To get good jobs for workers and to get the standard of living up for the workers. Because now the standard of living for the bosses is incredible—they can do anything they want.

They have money, houses, everything. All we get is very low wages, and the cost of living right now in New York is almost to the maximum. You just can't live on the money they pay. But the labor party is a very good idea. I'm all for the labor party. When it comes I'm all for it, and I'll be right in there with them fighting for it too.

THE POLITICAL DEGENERATION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Young Socialist

1. The method of Huey P. Newton

BY JOHN HILLS

In the mid-sixties, the fall of capitalism's relative prosperity hit hardest at the Black working class and youth. It was in this period that the fashionable middle class peace marches and sit-ins led by Martin Luther King in the deep South were in full swing. As the crisis deepened, the middle class quickly receded into the woodwork.

The developments in Watts, Detroit, Harlem and Newark brought the working class on the scene. Pacifism was brutally proven inadequate and quickly negated. These spontaneous uprisings expressed the determination of a section of the working class to fight back against capitalist exploitation.

Black power advocates like Stokely Carmichael, Rap Brown and most particularly the SWP tried desperately to contain this section of the working class within the reformist limits of community control and Black political parties.

But the ghetto rebellions were merely a precursor of what was to be the fate of the entire American working class under capitalism. Thus, today we see the tremendous strike struggles taking place against the government in battles like Lordstown, and the Ballantine sit-down.

RESISTANCE

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense developed out of these spontaneous ghetto rebellions. Huey Newton wrongly characterized these rebellions as resistance struggles when in actual fact these rebellions marked the beginning of the massive offensive of the American working class as a whole.

Resistance politics was paid for dearly by Black workers who met with the ruling class' methods of police brutality, jailings and lynchings. Newton, basing himself on this wrong assumption, concludes that the task of the Black Panther Party is to "teach the working class the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance." We will find later that throughout the political development of Huey Newton and consequently the Black Panther Party itself that Newton never goes beyond resistance politics.

To protect the Black community against the rampant police terror that reigned in the ghettos of California, which brutalized and killed innocent workers and youth, the Panther Party took up arms against the police repression. This move brought on increased and renewed attacks by the government on the Black community and particularly on the Panthers. Several Panthers were killed and jailed, including Newton himself. This was the period of Bobby Hutton, Fred Hampton and others.

This adventure was brought to its limit. Panthers were being cut down and jailed by the armed forces of the government. At the same time the Panther Party was cut off and distant from the working class. Their method of adventurism was no longer practical—something new had to be found.

Newton, during this period, spent his time in prison studying questions of theory and Marxism. It was after Newton's release that the Black Panther Party began to tackle theoretical questions. Newton went on a national tour delivering speeches at major campuses across the country. Most of his talks were devoted almost entirely to questions of philosophy.

At this time Newton made his historic turn to Marxism, stating that at the heart of the vanguard party is the question of revolutionary theory, that is, dialectical materialism. This turn was hailed by the Workers League as a tremendous step forward of Black workers struggling to break out of the bondage of American pragmatism.

The reaction to this turn within the middle class was one of fear and frenzy. Liberal activism was insufficient in dealing with the capitalists; revolutionary theory was required. The liberals did not want to break with the comforts of their pragmatic thinking. Thus, they sang in chorus with the capitalist press in their campaign of witch-hunt against the terror of the Panthers.

REACTIONARY

However, it is now vital to the revolutionary party to go back over this period of Newton's turn to Marxism, to make an assessment of the idealist way in which Newton took up Marxist philosophy. Today we see the Black Panther Party embracing all that is reactionary in capitalist society, from support to capitalist politicians to going to church every Sunday.

In a speech delivered at Boston College in November of 1970, Newton starts with the following: "The scientific method relies heavily on empiricism. But the problem with empiricism is that it tells you very little about the future; it tells you only about the past, about information which you have already discovered through observation and experience."

"Long after the rules of empirical knowledge had been ascertained, a man by the name of Karl Marx integrated these rules



Huey Newton met with Stalinist leader Chou En-lai when he visited China.

with a theory developed by Immanuel Kant called rationale. Kant called his process of reasoning pure reason because it did not depend on the external world. Instead it only depended on consistency in manipulating symbols in order to come up with a conclusion based upon reason.

"With rationale we are not dependent on the external world. With empiricism we can tell very little about the future. So what will we do? What Marx did. In order to understand what was happening in the world, Marx found it necessary to integrate rationale with empiricism. He called his concept dialectical materialism."

PRAGMATISM

Here we have American pragmatism in its crudest form. A blind acceptance of facts. We simply deal with what is given. Over here you have empiricism and over there you have rationale. Now what do you do? This method is idealist to the core.

Newton treats these philosophical methods completely void of time and space. Empiricism and rationalism are completely separated out of the historical process. Empiricism developed in the seventeenth century with the rise of the bourgeoisie, where feudal society stunted the growth of the productive forces. Empiricism enabled the rising bourgeoisie to fight against the religious mysticism that dominated feudal society. In this sense empiricism played a progressive role.

With the rapid development of the productive forces under capitalism, empiricism becomes totally inadequate to bring about a further development of the productive forces. Empiricism becomes now a defense for what is in capitalism. Consequently empiricism is now turned into its opposite—idealist philosophy of a completely reactionary dying bourgeoisie.

KANT

What Newton fails to see in

relation to Kant's idealist "rationale" is that reason, our ideas, are themselves a reflection of the external world. Newton, however, agrees with the Kantian conception that our ideas exist a priori of the external world. Lenin had the following to say on Kant:

"The principal feature of the philosophy of Kant is an attempted reconciliation of materialism and idealism, a compromise between the claims of both, a fusion of heterogeneous and contrary philosophic tendencies into one system."

In relation to Marx's method, Marx did not integrate empiricism with "rationale" to come up with dialectical materialism. On the contrary, dialectical materialism was really a negation of these idealist schools of thought. Materialist dialectics was achieved by Marx's development of Hegel's dialectic, putting Hegel on a materialist base.

It is precisely Newton's pragmatic method that prevents him from bringing theory into conflict with the objective crisis of world capitalism, thereby changing his own thinking.

BLACK CAPITALISM

At no point in any of his speeches or writings does Newton find it necessary to make an objective assessment of the world economic crisis. This is why less than two months before Nixon's August 15 measures of last year, the Black Panther Party can turn around full swing and embrace Black capitalism.

When Nixon announced his preparations for class war with the August decisions, we see the Black Panther newspaper deeply entrenched in a seven page spread on a boycott of a neighborhood liquor store. With this method Newton can say with ease:

"The idea of Black Capitalism has come to mean to many people Black control of another one of the institutions in the community. We see within this cha-

racteristic the seeds of the negation of Black Capitalism and all capitalism in general. What we must do then is increase the positive qualities until they dominate the negative therefore transforming the situation."

Here again we have the static, lifeless method of pragmatism. Capitalism is taken out of its historical process. What Newton does is separate out these opposites (positive and negative sides of capitalism) in his head. The problem though is that capitalism in the real world exists as a unity of opposites, that is, the working class and ruling class. This unity is one of conflict but it is a unity on the basis of the exploitation of one class by the other. It is in fact this exploitation which unites them. It is this unity, this exploitation, which must be confronted and opposed, destroyed through revolution.

REVOLUTIONARY

We disagree with the Panthers completely. The masses are not sleeping as Newton says. It is exactly the attacks on the living standards of workers that change their thinking. But the working class will not develop revolutionary Marxism automatically as Newton implies. Only the Marxist party can bring that into the working class in a conflict with the pragmatic thinking of workers. This is the way Lenin and Trotsky built the Bolshevik Party that led the successful October Revolution.

It so happens that it is the working class in their unions that are now going beyond the Democratic and Republican parties, while the Black Panther Party is still sleeping with Ron Dellums, Shirley Chisholm and attending Sunday school with Father McNeil.

The Workers League and Young Socialists are confident that the American working class will establish its own labor party and carry out the socialist revolution under the leadership of the Marxist party.

TO BE CONTINUED

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Open Letter

(Continued From Page 1)

new processes and furnaces such as the Q-BOF which threaten to wipe out huge facilities such as the Gary works of US Steel;

- Mass layoffs which began at the time of the last contract have turned formerly active mills into virtual dead mills. For example, the Lackawanna Works of the Bethlehem Steel Company which two years ago employed 20,000 men is down to nearly 4,000, while a similar situation exists at the Bethlehem plant at Sparrows Point, Maryland;

- While the companies plan more shutdowns, they instruct their foremen to crack the whip and to launch the most vicious speed-up wherever possible. Disciplinary layoffs, forced overtime and harassment are on the rise.

Massive unemployment not only faces the workers but the developments since the contract and the anti-union drive by Nixon poses the wiping out of all union protection and the pushing back of conditions for those workers remaining in the plants to a pre-union sweatshop situation.

This is reinforced by the attack on the unions through the threat of new anti-strike legislation and right-to-work laws, and an international trade war that all are being planned by Nixon to help the corporations make more profits. At the same time, the Pay Board plans to reduce the wage guidelines to below 3 percent next year.

All this means the wiping out of jobs in steel while millions of other workers are tossed onto the streets under conditions of recession and collapse of world trade.

The steel barons are using the layoffs and closures to try to soften up the union for the next contract when they will try to drastically cut back the wage increase and eliminate the cost of living escalator and hard won fringe benefits.

In the face of this, the Abel leadership has been an accomplice of the employers. Not only did Abel agree to the establishment of the productivity committees, but he dropped all mention of the fight for a four day week at five days pay as the number one demand in the fight against unemployment.

Abel has retreated from any fight against Nixon under cover of "neutrality." At the time of the Democratic Convention when Abel scathingly denounced the hypocrisy of McGovern and Democratic "friends" of labor, he said that "maybe this convention is the thing that will force us to have a labor party. I have been for one."

Where does Abel stand now?

It is a life and death question for this USWA convention to take up a real fight against Nixon and the corporations in defense of the jobs and livelihood of its members. What this fight requires is:

- Total opposition to both Nixon and McGovern. Demand that the AFL-CIO convene a Congress of Labor of the entire trade union movement for the purpose of establishing an independent labor party;

- Immediate withdrawal by the union from all so-called productivity committees;

- Renegotiation of the contract to establish the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay with no layoffs;

- Immediate repeal of the no-strike clause from the contract, and the exercise of the strike weapon in every case where the employers continue speed-up, harassment or any form of discrimination against militants;

- Launching of a fight by the union to wipe out all forms of racial discrimination against Black and Spanish speaking workers in upgrading and all other working conditions;

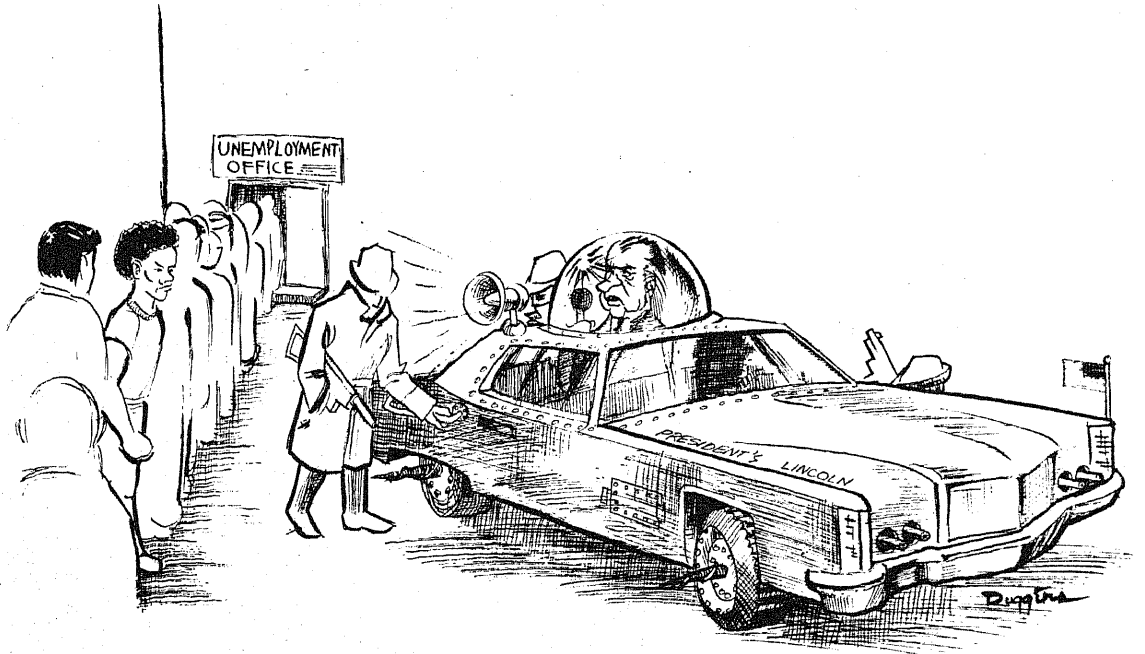
- No dues increase.

We urge all USWA members and other trade unionists to further take up the fight for the labor party by participating in the National Conference for A Labor Party Now, called by the Workers League, to be held in Chicago, October 21-22. The Conference will establish an organization of rank and file trade unionists to fight for the calling of a Congress of Labor to establish a labor party and will also consider the program upon which a labor party is to be built.

Sub Drive Nears Goal

As we go to press there are only a few days left in our subscription drive. This past week has been our best yet bringing in 579 subs to give us a grand total of 4,595. Every indication is that the remaining 405 subs will be coming in and that we will have completed our largest sub drive in the history of the Bulletin in full and on time.

Hartford, St. Louis, Northfield, and Ft. Greene have successfully surpassed their quotas already. The Bay Area sent in 80 subs in one week, bringing their total to 559 on a 600 quota while Baltimore brought in 72, East New York 40, Brownsville 35 and Boston 33. Chelsea, Bushwick, Los Angeles and Newark still are in serious shape with their quotas while all the other branches are very close to completing theirs.



"Everything valuable in life requires some striving and sacrifice! We must renew the work ethic!"

What we think Pablo's Final Liquidation

In 1953 the international Trotskyist movement went through a fundamental split. A faction led by Michel Pablo, which included Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank and Livio Maitan who are currently in the leadership of the revisionist United Secretariat, broke with every fundamental of Marxism. This group abandoned dialectical materialism for impressionism. They saw Stalinism as a force capable of carrying through revolutions under pressure and proposed the liquidation of the cadres of the Trotskyist movement into Stalinist and reformist organizations.

In 1953 the Socialist Workers Party issued an "Open Letter" against this liquidationism which became the basis for the formation of the International Committee of the Fourth International. The "Open Letter" restated the fundamental principles upon which the world Trotskyist movement had been constructed and which were abandoned by Pablo. "To sum up," said the letter, "the lines of cleavage between Pablo's revisionism and orthodox Trotskyism are so deep that no compromise is possible either politically or organizationally."

The "Open Letter" pointed out the logic of Pablo's revisionism: "This faction, centered around Pablo, is now working consciously and deliberately to disrupt, split and break up the historically created cadres of Trotskyism in the various countries and to liquidate the Fourth International."

The policies of Pablo led to the destruction of whole sections of the Trotskyist movement and did more to destroy the Trotskyist cadres than the combined forces of Hitler, the capitalists, and the Stalinists during World War Two.

Today Pablo, who until 1965 was in the leadership of the United Secretariat, has carried out the full logic of his perspective by announcing that he is breaking all connections with Trotskyism and the Fourth International. "For reasons of a political, conjunctural nature, and at the same time of fundamental theoretical importance, we have been led to abandon the reference to the 'Fourth International' that has appeared up to now in the name of our international Organization..."

"To us," he continues, "Parties and Unions, absolutely necessary for a whole historic transitional period from capitalism to completed international socialism, must have the primary aim of helping the proletariat and the workers to assume for themselves management of their struggles for their own power, as well as the society resulting from that conquest. We are thus resolutely against any 'model'... revolutionary strategy and socialism that systematically favors, explicitly or implicitly, the delegation of the power of

the proletariat and the workers to institutions (State, Parties, Unions) which claim to be theirs, and which in this way inexorably and imperceptibly start down the road of bureaucratization."

Pablo openly attacks the need for revolutionary parties and an international. To this, he counterposes a centrist "regroupment...Coming from diverse ideological outlooks, and not exclusively from the 'Fourth International' and 'Trotskyism.' It is not a matter of creating a new international formation, 'closed' ideologically and particularly organizationally. That is to say, a formation that declares that its program is virtually complete, and its organizational framework is the one in which must necessarily take place the regroupment of the new revolutionary forces emerging from the multiform revolutionary process on a world scale."

This statement was printed in the July 17 issue of Intercontinental Press, journal of the Pabloite United Secretariat. In introducing it, the editors say: "The document below shows that Pablo has traveled a considerable distance down the road to which the logic of some of his theories of the early fifties pointed."

What the editors refuse to say, however, is that it was on the basis of these theories that the Socialist Workers Party broke from the International Committee and the assessment in the "Open Letter" and reunified with Pablo in 1963. It is on these theories that the United Secretariat today stands.

The SWP rejected the demand of the British and French sections of the IC for discussion of the theoretical roots of Pabloism and the split in 1953 and of an accounting of the whole record of Pabloism's liquidationism and betrayal of Trotskyist principles. Instead agreement on the concrete question of Cuba was substituted for an assessment of the most fundamental struggle in the Fourth International since 1940.

While Pablo was expelled from the United Secretariat in 1965 for having violated the discipline of the international, his departure did not in any way signify that his political ideas were rejected.

Today Pierre Frank, who together with Livio Maitan and Ernest Mandel were part of the Pablo group in 1953, maintains the correctness of Pablo and his "Fourth International" in 1953. According to Frank, Pabloism was not what the "Open Letter" stated—the abandonment of Trotskyism and the liquidation of the party—but was "an invention dating from 1952-53, when it was used in an attempt to explain the split." Frank says, "This concept represented an incorrect extrapolation of the policy advocated by the Fourth International." Frank's history of the Fourth International printed this year in

Intercontinental Press is a complete whitewash of Pablo in which he upholds Pablo's International claiming that the International Committee was merely a faction and that the split far from being fundamental was "not unavoidable."

Pabloism's political essence has always been to reject the Trotskyist theory of the need to build independent revolutionary parties which can defeat the existing leadership of the working class and lead the masses to state power.

Pablo may be gone today but it is the essence of his revision of Marxism that dominates the United Secretariat. In March of this year Ernest Mandel gave an interview to the right-wing bourgeois paper Der Spiegel in which he openly denied the central role of the Marxist party: "We see ourselves as the yeast in a dough that must be there to start with...Given an existing mass revolutionary movement our task is only to lead it to success." On the question of state power Mandel said: "Real democracy is direct decision making by the masses, and thereby is identical with what I mean by revolution."

How far indeed is this from Pablo's statement today that the "primary aim" of parties is "helping the proletariat assume for themselves management of their struggles for their own power" and revolution of being a question of democracy, of "self-management?"

As the International Committee has insisted, at the center of the revisionism of Pablo was the question of the Marxist method, of a rejection of dialectical materialism and the substitution of bourgeois forms of thought—of impressionism and pragmatism.

Pablo, like Shachtman, denied the central struggle for Marxist theory, for dialectical materialism. Like Shachtman, Pablo sought to maintain the position of the petty bourgeois intellectual distant from the working class. He did not begin as a participant in the workers movement to construct a party in a battle against bourgeois consciousness. Shachtman for years after he was expelled from the SWP maintained the name of Trotskyism and the Fourth International but in time denounced it and his own past and ended up in the right-wing of the Socialist Party.

The road that Pablo has taken is the road for all those who have refused to confront the theoretical lessons of the history of the Trotskyist movement, who today seek to construct centrist amalgams against the International Committee of the Fourth International. There is no middle of the road. Those who begin by revising Marxism end up in the other camp. This is the legacy of Pablo that lives in the United Secretariat today.

From Sit-Down to Lordstown 4. TODAY'S STRUGGLE

the story of the UAW by Max Lewis



The decisive role played by social democrats, trade union bureaucrats and Stalinists in derailing the postwar upsurge and disorientating a whole generation of radicals ushered in the Cold War witch-hunts which internally tore the trade unions apart. The Stalinists compounded their crimes by diverting independent labor party sentiment into the Wallace "third capitalist party" campaign which only heightened and contributed to the factional anti-communist atmosphere inside trade unions.

It is the lessons of this period and the historical role of counter-revolution played by worldwide Stalinism that must be grasped by trade union militants today.

As the Truman administration, Congress and the mass media whipped up anti-Soviet hatred in preparation for extending U.S. imperialist world domination using the atomic bomb as blackmail, it also demanded the step by step discipline and subservience of the American working class.

Because labor party sentiment was growing, especially among auto workers, the persistent voices calling for a labor party could not be stilled or placated.

A third capitalist party was projected as the answer to trap and destroy this labor party sentiment. Henry A. Wallace, who had served more than three terms under Roosevelt's administration including Vice President, was to provide this diversionary service. From the start, the Stalinists were the key elements in the Wallace movement, although Wallace and his Democratic Party colleagues in the liberal wing dictated the program, officers and political moves of the Progressive Party. The Stalinists provided the transmission belt into the working class in an attempt to gain a base of support. Wallace who posed as a progressive capitalist campaigned on the basis of peace and understanding with Russia. He summed up his program as "We must talk with Stalin." This was scarcely a radical program, but Wallace was denounced as a "traitor" for prematurely advocating discussions with Moscow.

On the other hand, the Stalinists began to depict Wallace as a "great savior" and "man of the people." George Morris, labor editor of the *Daily Worker*, wrote approvingly of the Wallace type progressive capitalist: "Liberals who favor further advances along the

Roosevelt path to 'make capitalism work' won't get us sore. On the contrary, they have and will continue to find us among the most vigorous supporters of every step."

PURGE

There was nothing progressive in the CIO leadership opposition to the Wallace candidacy. They, like the Stalinists, opposed the formation of an independent party based on unions and controlled by labor. The Murray-Reuther-Carey wing of the CIO leadership was motivated strictly by a desire to maintain its ties with the old Democratic Party coalition.

The factional fight carried out by Murray demanded that all non-supporters of his policy be ousted. No compromise, evasion or abstention was to be tolerated. Murray's policy was "absolute opposition to any third party and one of positive support for the Marshall Plan." Murray asked all state and local CIO bodies to act with "utmost speed" to pressure Congress to pass the Marshall Plan Bill (European Recovery Act), and to make this the "number one priority task."

Kid-glove methods were abandoned as raids to split members from UE, Farm Equipment Workers, and other Stalinist-led unions were made. The UAW attempted to snatch the UE local in Cleveland, and gave haven to dissident UE members in New York. Reuther moved to squeeze the FE from the Caterpillar Tractor Plant in Illinois.

Reuther forces did not hesitate to take advantage of the Taft-Hartley oath, by providing that raiding unions could win

unopposed in the NLRB elections. When the FE leadership called a strike at the large Caterpillar Tractor Plant in Peoria, Illinois they suffered a shattering defeat as the UAW moved in and won an easy NLRB election because the Stalinist leadership of FE refused to take the Taft-Hartley anti-communist loyalty oath and four well-known Stalinists had to resign from that union.

Thousands of militants throughout industry were fired by a management only too happy to cooperate in helping to consolidate union power into "responsible" hands such as Murray-Reuther and Carey at the same time as they helped themselves to greater profits through increased speed-up of workers on the assembly lines.

The first 10 years of the UAW's existence saw 10 individually negotiated contracts on a yearly basis as an expression of the capitalist desire to get rid of unions and return back to the "good old days." This desire was frustrated and postponed each year for "one more year" as a concession to the strength of the unionized workers. By 1948, the industrialists had come to realize that it would take a major assault, using all the power of the state as well as fascism, to crush and destroy unionism. Such a step would in turn precipitate a self-destructive civil war in the heart of imperialism just when they needed stability in order to prop up world capitalism and extend their control over it.

Yearly contracts meant yearly strikes. Long range planning by corporations are

hampered by constant strikes of uncertain duration which disrupt their long range production scheduling and create a constant state of class struggle. GM still had vivid memories of the long 113 day strike and had no desire to repeat this again in the near future.

With this new "enlightened" approach to collective bargaining, General Motors surprised the union and industry alike in 1948 with their contract offer of a cost of living escalator clause plus wage increases in return for a "long-term" two year contract booby-hatched with their notorious company "security" and "penalty" clauses inserted into the agreement designed to penalize resistance to speed-up, utilizing the cooperation of "responsible" union leaders to help police this new "mutual contract."

The pattern of collective bargaining was set and molded in 1948, for the next two and a half decades, whereby the industry would grant the least amount of concessions it could get by with, as a concession to the strength of the unionized workers. These concessions would be recouped through inflating the prices with emphasis placed on increased productivity, regulation and stability of production over the life of the contract.

The ironclad company security paragraph number 8 of the national agreement makes it very explicit: "The right to hire; promote; discharge or discipline for cause; and to maintain discipline and efficiency of employees is the sole responsibility of the corporation except that union members shall not be discriminated against as such. In addition, the products to be manufactured, the location of plants, the schedules of production, the methods, processes and means of manufacturing are solely and exclusively the responsibility of the Corporation."

NO-STRIKE CLAUSE

Management's rights are then backed up by an ironclad no-strike penalty clause (Paragraph 117) which states: "That for the life of this agreement the union will not cause or permit its members to cause nor will any member of the union take part in any sit-down stay-in or slow-down in any plant of the corporation or any curtailment of work or restriction of production or interference with production of the corporation.

"The union will not cause or permit its members to cause nor will any member of the union take part in any strike or stoppage of any of the Corporation's operations or picket any of the Corporation's plants or premises until all the bargaining procedure as outlined in this Agreement has been exhausted and in no case on which the Umpire shall have ruled."

This no-strike clause gave management the "option of cancelling" contracts because of an "unauthorized" strike or work stoppage, any time after the 10th day of such an occurrence in which Walter



Top: Auto workers picket during 1970 General Motors strike. Above, rank and file workers demonstrate outside 1967 UAW Convention to make clear contract demands.

Reuther and his successor Leonard Woodcock were held directly accountable for controlling and disciplining just such occurrences. Management's right to discipline any employee for violating these sections of the contract resulted in over 5,000 GM workers alone being given disciplinary layoffs for resisting speed-up in the first year of the contract.

Reuther's consolidation of power over the UAW and the need to divide the awesome power of the auto workers with his "one-at-a-time" strategy of bargaining with each corporation separately was carefully designed to terminate these contracts not only in different months but different years. This strategy of Reuther's was designed to weaken the power of the class to reduce the possibility of industry-wide strikes and industry-wide contracts in which UAW members could effectively use its full strength to its advantage.

This in turn made it easier for management to chisel on demands and cut corners on working conditions from corporation to corporation and even from plant to plant. A one hundred day strike of 90,000 Chrysler workers was settled on May 6, 1950, for the beginnings of the pension plan.

Reuther seized upon this resistance of Chrysler, as well as mass unemployment and recession of 1949-50, to force a five year contract on the entire membership, industry by industry, for minimal gains. Midway through this five year contract the furor grew to an unanimous uproar condemning long contracts forcing all union leaders to retreat back in future contracts to three years duration.

In 1954, the Studebaker Corporation threatened to close its plants and move away unless the union accepted a pay cut. The Reuther leadership recommended and pressured for acceptance of this blackmail tactic and the workers accepted a pay cut in hopes of placating management and saving their jobs. Afterwards, the company closed its plants and moved to Canada, leaving behind a devastated community and a stunned workforce who watched their life-long security and retirement benefits go up in smoke.

PATTERN

Six months before each contract expiration the UAW convenes a Special Convention where delegates participate in drafting the demands. All demands are carefully adopted and then the convention concludes by voting for a "flexible policy at the top negotiating table" and empowers Reuther and now his successor Woodcock to select the "hard core demands." Then follows a slick UAW public relations job of explaining to the ranks just what "they" are asking for and really promise this time to "shake the tree hard." Then both sides resort to the mass media in the promotion of their positions.

This is next followed by a national strike vote and then the union selects a "target company." Very quickly after this, the broad outlines of the agreement on "the package" takes shape as marathon around-the-clock negotiations to fill in the substance of that package go down to the strike deadline and produce a last minute settlement. Each side emerges and poses for cameras, smiling, shaking hands and congratulating each other and announces that all that remains is the ratification and the "local issues."

This carefully staged and acted out melodrama takes on a farcical cloak of secrecy in order to obscure and buy off the intense class struggle occurring on the factory floor over what are mistakenly called the "local issues." These so-called "local issues" affect all auto workers universally as working conditions involving speed-up, discipline, health and safety, job assignment with promotion and demotion as well as job elimination which is an expression of their lack of control over what happens to them at the point of production.

BATTLE OF THE TOILETS

These long suppressed and ignored "local issues" finally burst forth on the 1964 top table negotiations for a national agreement to produce the first serious challenge to Reuther's "pattern" and monolithic rule over the UAW since his consolidation of power. Reuther's usual dramatic play for theatrics of emerging at the last minute from the marathon negotiating session to announce triumphantly "the greatest contract settlement ever

negotiated in the UAW," hit its first snag.

The GM Conference, which comprises all GM local presidents and shop chairmen, had assembled in Detroit to hear the new terms and vote on the settlement which traditionally over the past five contracts had functioned as a mere rubber stamp in approving Reuther's top table efforts which they would in turn sell to the ranks. This time a new defiant mood had emerged in this otherwise compliant body that reflected the growing anger over speed-up, deteriorating dehumanized working conditions. The angry ranks were breathing hot down the necks of their "elected representatives" over long neglected "local issues" centered around the "battle of the toilets," in which inadequate relief time was allotted for the personal needs of hard-pressed auto workers to maintain a minimum of human dignity.

GM carried out a national policy and outrageous practice of not providing adequate toilet breaks for its assembly line workers and then suspending them if they were caught urinating behind their machines. When "tag relief" was begrudgingly given, foremen were responsible for personally challenging the worker sitting on the toilet if he thought he was taking too long and suspending him for "loitering" if they thought that the worker was not expeditiously taking care of his body functions. The intensity of this relief issue caught Reuther and top GM management by surprise as the delegates rejected Reuther's settlement and demanded that he strike the industry immediately or they themselves would call the strike of all locals to resolve the problems of relief and a mountainous backlog of grievances. A four week national strike ensued which won a national agreement to provide 36 minutes a day relief time in which the vicious company "loitering shop rule" was thrown out.

MANSFIELD WILDCAT

How Reuther was to prevent future local rebellions from getting out of hand and challenging his rule was made clear in the Mansfield wildcat strike that occurred in March 1967. A preview of how Reuther would handle, control and sell out the local issues in the approaching 1967 national contract renewal was given a clear demonstration for all to see. This GM stamping plant had eliminated 100 jobs by subcontracting out this needed work and provoked a walk-out. Instead of rallying the entire UAW to support this strike, Reuther proceeded to work hand-in-glove with GM to break the strike and its leaders. The Wall Street Journal, March 10 and 15, 1967, said: "From the start, the UAW was working quietly to snuff out the fire, and GM was standing by silently and applying pressure at strategic moments."

When the men struck for a second time, the Wall Street Journal continued: "From GM's viewpoint it was now Reuther's turn to lower the boom. The UAW men took their cue and slapped the rebellious local into the hands of an administrator. GM then sealed the UAW action with its threat to move away from Mansfield if the uprising continued; UAW leaders responded meekly, saying GM was within its rights."

"GM left the heat on by not removing the threat to move operations from Mansfield." Reuther sided with GM once again by saying that: "If we again have stable labor-management relationships in Mansfield, General Motors would reconsider its position." The Wall Street Journal also revealed that UAW V.P. Woodcock defended the company's "right to demand reasonable stability." Reuther, who had suffered a debacle and a loss of "personal luster and charisma" at the hands of the rebellious locals in 1964, seized upon this Mansfield strike to demonstrate his ability to both management and "rebellious locals," his toughness in cracking down on "local issues rebelliousness" and to reassert his firm control once again over the UAW.

1967 NEGOTIATIONS

Negotiations for the 1967 contract took place under economic conditions described as "high level stagnation," with declining production and over-production of autos. The normal pattern for negotiations, that had been the established procedure for the past six contracts, was abruptly changed by management who read the facts which were that they must break the pattern of



Top, Tractor workers from International Harvester were organized by the UAW in the resurgence of the workers' movement after World War II. GMAD plants like Lordstown, Norwood and Linden (above during 1970 strike) are now on the firing line.

granting concessions or face an economic crisis greater than they have ever known. Powerful social forces exerted pressure on both sides of the top table.

As inflation started to accelerate, fueled by the stepped-up Vietnam war, the corporations demanded more control over the price of labor. They declared their intention to regulate wages by doing away with the escalator clause which provided automatic increases in wages when the cost of living increased. GM needed no crystal ball to see that the increased military spending for the war in Vietnam would more than double the rate of inflation over the next three years of a new contract.

Reuther, the pragmatist, molded by past practice and established patterns of class relationships, could not see these changes taking place that were to break up all of these past practices, established patterns and class relationships to pose the first serious challenge to auto workers in twenty years. The Big Three pledged a "mutual aid pact" among the auto industry to "hang tough" for the elimination of the COL escalator clause.

Reuther had grown soft and flabby from years of friendly "goodwill negotiating" with top management in the most servile class collaborationist manner. Reuther proclaimed his desire to "avoid a fight at all cost" while talking bravely of preserving and strengthening this COL protection. Ford was picked as the target and struck for 48 days at the end of which Reuther surrendered to the relentless demand of management to place a 16¢ cap on the COL escalator clause.

The loss from this 16¢ ceiling on COL was to pass up the "gains" on wages over the next three years pushing down the standard of living for all auto workers. Reuther's retreat and capitulation was to save the corporations millions of dollars robbed out of the pockets of all UAW members. Reuther's attempt to cover up this debacle obtained a new low in deceit and demagoguery when he announced "the largest economic pact... in the history of collective bargaining." In addition to this cap on the COL that cost all UAW members 26 cents loss per hour over the next three years, Reuther also bartered away parts of the improvement factor monies, forfeited most of the retroactive back pay and booby hatched the fringe benefits. These benefits such as holiday pay, drug plan, parts of the Pension

Program, etc., did not start until 1969 and 1970. As a result, this inadequate three year contract contained only one and two year benefits of a dubious value.

"LOCAL ISSUES" ONCE AGAIN

As this crippled and emasculated national agreement was sold to a confused membership, the "local issues" once again flared up as striking locals were forced back to work without settlements. Fifty pickets were arrested at Chrysler's Belvedere III. plant as UAW officials helped to cave in this strike and get production started there before the week ended.

In the Detroit area, 4,300 members at the Sterling township stamping plant shouted down pleas to return to work by Douglas Fraser and Ken Morris, who were not allowed to continue speaking at this meeting which was forced to adjourn. The hard core grievances at this plant centered around unsafe working conditions in which a 19 year old worker had lost an arm because of faulty equipment and indifferent and unyielding supervision. The workers were warned that if they failed to return to work the UAW would establish a "receivership" over their local. They returned to work only after Fraser and Morris inspected the unsafe conditions in the plant and extracted a promise from management that they would be corrected.

In GM, 119 out of 134 plants struck over unresolved "local issues" of which 175,000 grievances backlog was pending. The grievance procedure had completely broken down and had become a graveyard of frustration in resolving the mountainous problems arising out of the sharpening conflict at the point of production caused by the erosion of working conditions and loss of union jurisdictional power on the factory floor. Workers were finding out that management's "rights and prerogatives" in using any means and method they see fit to cut cost and increase profits was creating havoc with their job security and eroding away local agreements (Seniority, Shift Preference, Job Classifications and Transfer Rights) which in turn were eliminating thousands of workers from the bargaining units. If they complained and said they did not like it they were told to "file a grievance."

This they did: 175,000 of them! Management and the Reuther bureaucracy contrived a clever blackmail scheme of

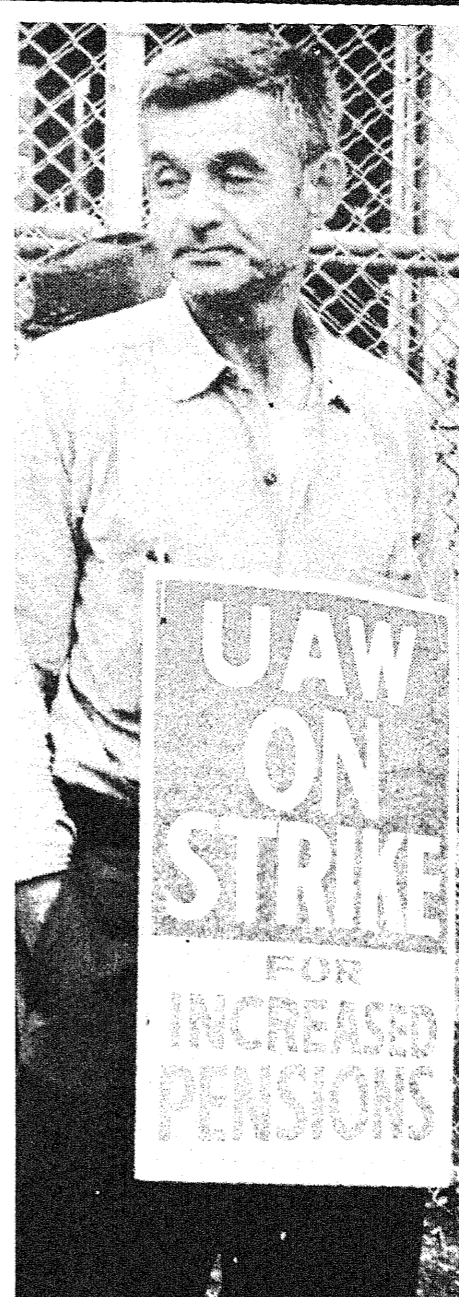
allowing the GM workers to strike 119 plants for two weeks in early December to blow off steam and deplete unsold inventories, then used the threat of loss of Christmas and New Year's three day holiday pay together with retroactive back pay (amounting to over \$100 per worker) to cave-in the resistance and drive the auto workers back into the plants.

This corporation (blackmail) letter was sent out to all striking locals with Reuther's signature of approval on it urging a "return to work" and "their grievances will be settled through negotiations." Once inside the plants, these workers discovered that the blackmail game was still being played. Management refused to pay the retroactive monies until "every grievance was settled." Without the power of the strike and depending on the "reasonableness of management, it could take years of pleading and begging to obtain a "fair settlement." With management telling the workers that it was "only the stubbornness of their shop committee that was holding up the back pay," the result was the scrapping of thousands of good grievances involving unfair discipline and loss of thousands of dollars in back pay.

The developing crisis of capitalism disclosed the precariousness of huge multinational corporations and their interlocking banking connections as the Chrysler Corporation was the next to feel the squeeze. In 1969 the bottom fell out for Chrysler. By the third quarter of that year its profits plunged to an incredible 87 percent drop as the value of their stock dropped from 72.75 to 40 dollars a share. Facing bankruptcy, several major banks united in an effort to save Chrysler from financial disaster.

GM, always anxious to take advantage of an economic downturn in order to bear down heavily on its trade union adversary, ordered an intensive manpower cut in all plants in an old fashioned speed-up at the start of the 1970 model production in September 1969. It singled out for special treatment the initiator of the massive 1937 sit-down strike wave that unleashed the fury of unionization, Local 588 of Flint Fisher Body No. Two (Battle of the Running Bulls fame).

Strike sanction was granted on Sept. 24 and 2300 workers walked off the job as its local president Sam Duncan stated that: "Fisher Body wants a 25 percent increase



in production with a 15 percent reduction in manpower."

They provoked this strike by laying off 473 workers and increasing the line speed in an obvious effort to induce a strike. Union negotiators called the shots right when they claimed that management was unyielding on every point and charged that GM was using the decline in car sales to speed up production in some plants while preparing to close others. Reuther and Woodcock "worked out an understanding" with GM Board chairman Roche and President Cole, as a basis for a settlement, but nothing happened. The strike just continued on, testing the endurance and militancy of these workers.

GM blocked every attempt to reach a settlement. Woodcock issued a warning that: "Since this is a corporation action, it makes the Flint situation no longer purely a local strike," and concludes that "the union now must explore every possible avenue to support Local 588." Woodcock allowed a corporation gang-up on this militant local as these workers were subjected to a grueling 136 day strike without striking all of General Motors.

The cowardice and fear of these UAW top bureaucrats knew no bounds as the full criminality of Reuther's "one-at-a-time" strategy hit home with full force. GM has had a long history of vindictiveness against any militant group of auto workers it cannot break, so at the conclusion of this long strike GM announced its plan to "phase out" this Fisher No. Two and a Chevrolet plant at the end of 1970 model changeover and change them into a single truck assembly operation with greatly reduced manpower.

This pattern was to repeat itself as GM's strategy for breaking down working conditions in preparation for its combined GMAD operations, culminating in the recent Lordstown and Norwood strikes. Again it must be pointed out that Reuther, Woodcock and their special hatchet man Ernie Moran did everything they could to beat down resistance and pave the way for GM's GMAD plan that has now become the scourge of the industry.

The death of Walter Reuther in a plane crash on May 9, 1970 raised much concern with top union and industry heads over the future of the UAW at a crucial period of crisis of capitalism.

As GM was chosen as the strike target, Woodcock toured all the GM locals where

assembled workers were told: "We are prepared to fight GM until our strike fund is exhausted and then we'll strike the old fashioned way." They responded with wild applause. Woodcock pledged to secure back the unlimited escalator clause given away in the last contract and frankly admitted that the union "erred" in accepting a ceiling plus trusting the auto barons to voluntarily give back the 26 cents an hour left owing due to this cap. Also promised was a substantial wage increase, \$500 a month pension, etc.

Woodcock then concentrated his fire on the "deplorable working conditions in GM" and gave his solemn pledge "that absolutely no GM plant will go back to work until every local has satisfactorily resolved its local issues." This was greeted enthusiastically with standing ovation.

GM workers expressed their opinion that "Woodcock sounded sincere" and was under pressure to prove himself as the new president, and reasoned "that anything would be better than Reuther." To management, Woodcock talked out of the other side of his mouth in a friendly, pacifist, conciliatory manner.

GM STRIKE 1970

The events of the 58 day national GM strike are still in the minds of auto workers. GM's last offer was 38 cents an hour the first year in which only 12 cents was "new money." The company refused to budge on removing the ceiling on the COL escalator clause.

They proposed to offset these meager concessions by making the workers pay for all future medical insurance increases and to pay new men a lower hourly rate. On top of this, the company offers were tied to increased productivity schemes. It was clear that GM was itching for a fight and called the shots in the auto industry by cracking the whip on the rest of the triumvirate—Ford and financially unstable Chrysler. With the walkout scheduled for midnight Sept. 14, 1970, GM was to meet its match and reap a bitter harvest of years of pent-up anger and frustration over speed-up, job elimination, insecurity, intimidation and discipline.

Those plants that decided to work their second shift right up to the deadline received the brunt of this pent-up hostility as the younger workers on the second shift engaged in individual acts of "careless workmanship" destruction and "sabotage" of these final jobs that were to be used against them during the strike. Cars had their paint scratched its entire length, tools were carelessly banged against the car bodies producing dents, chips, windows misfitted and cracked, dash panels damaged, upholstery, headliners and wires were cut, nuts and bolts "accidentally" broken off, engines had metal screws "carelessly" dropped through the carburetors to produce "metal in the head," inflated tires were punctured flat, vending machines plugged up, toilets topped up and switches and control panels damaged. Most plants sustained considerable damage and could no longer operate after five hours.

Some plants, like GM Southgate, knew what to expect and did not try to operate its second shift. The GM Fremont workers' sharp reaction on the night of the strike, as reported in the Bulletin, gave sharp indication of the depth of this pent-up anger. "Sparked by the younger workers who gave a visible demonstration of their class hatred of GM, these workers stopped all movement in and out of the plant, turned back a haulaway trying to make off with a load of trucks, smashed its windows, destroyed a guard shack, set fire to a huge truck loaded refuse receptacle, turned away fire engines and stoned police cars." They also "established roving bands of pickets that circled the plant all night."

Company doctors and labor relations are well aware of this. The medical departments in all auto plants now become the focal point of this individualistic form of class struggle and the company's effort to convince the worker that "it is all in his head" or he must "learn to live with his pain," and "miserable job." The company doctor's cynicism in sorting out the legitimate complaints quite frequently results in a blunderous diagnosis that acts to solidify the workers' natural hatred of what they call a "quack horse doctor who sells his soul to the company."

Medical leaves of absence flourish from workers who approach a nervous or mental breakdown or just need a rest. For those who feel that they cannot finish out the day, they simply call their wives to have them phone personnel "that the husband is needed at home at once on an

maintained that to strike these other 27 GM plants would shut down all of auto and in addition lay off "hundreds of thousands of unrelated industrial workers producing economic chaos and social crisis."

That was precisely what was needed in order to have shortened that 58 day strike—a social crisis on the order of 1946 when millions of workers joined auto in bringing that crisis to a head. The settlement of this long strike was forced through with the termination of strike benefits for wage gains far short of what GM workers had expected.

Of the total 76 cents wage package, only 50 cents was new money averaging out to only three percent per year. The total cost of the settlement was close to what the GM cost accountants originally estimated—10 percent per year, 30 percent over three years. An unlimited COL was won but GM succeeded in taking away the first year of COL. Five hundred dollars a month pension after 30 years was compromised to retain its shell while removing its substance. Paid holidays and other fringe benefits were manipulated to show up on the second and third year of the contract. While many auto workers compared their smaller wage gains with the Teamsters, railroad workers, etc., this strike must be considered a success because it beat back GM's attempt to do away entirely with the COL clause, shoulder the burden of increasing medical insurance cost onto the workers, cut the starting pay of new hires and impose new productivity schemes.

Upon return to work the auto industry embarked on an intensive cost-cutting drive to absorb the cost of this contract, introducing new methods designed to cut jobs and wages, arbitrarily changing long standing local agreements and practices and shortening the disciplinary procedure to be better able to discharge "undesirables." Containerized railroad boxcars were introduced cutting unloading time to one tenth the former time with 50 percent less manpower. Car seats are now solid molded foam rubber that only requires the fabric covering which has eliminated two thirds of the cushion department. One piece headliners means less assemblers to install, parts are now being shipped in from sources "unitized" with fewer parts. Greater use of plastics, automatic tire mounting and balancing took its toll of workers.

Simplification of design as well as the trend towards fewer parts used, electrostatic and automatic pain processes, computerized welding machines, are now devastating the jobs and threatening the majority with unemployment. GM, through intensive consolidation of auto assemblies into 18 GMAD plants, has eliminated thousands of jobs, pushed back working conditions, giving rise to a new form of industrial tyranny where General Manager Joseph Godfrey attempts to "occupy a man for 60 minutes" because "we've got that right."

Individualism develops in auto as a frustrated reaction to the attacks in the plants. One example is excessive absenteeism, which can be directly traced to a miserable, back-breaking job or a beef with the boss. It is a reflection of an individual act of protest to "get even" and "show the boss," in hopes of getting a better job. These individual acts are also expressed in breaking of air tools, parts and the product itself. Many workers welcome a small injury or cut in order to go to medical and gain a brief respite away from their miserable job. Some become so aggravated as to self-inflict injuries on themselves in order to get off a job and gain "light duty."

Company doctors and labor relations are well aware of this. The medical departments in all auto plants now become the focal point of this individualistic form of class struggle and the company's effort to convince the worker that "it is all in his head" or he must "learn to live with his pain," and "miserable job." The company doctor's cynicism in sorting out the legitimate complaints quite frequently results in a blunderous diagnosis that acts to solidify the workers' natural hatred of what they call a "quack horse doctor who sells his soul to the company."

Medical leaves of absence flourish from workers who approach a nervous or mental breakdown or just need a rest. For those who feel that they cannot finish out the day, they simply call their wives to have them phone personnel "that the husband is needed at home at once on an

emergency." The medical department serves as an escape valve whenever the pressure becomes unbearable for many auto workers.

The breakdown of the in-plant grievance procedure is blamed on the International Union by the shop committee, the International denies this and defends the grievance procedure as "working well" and blames the breakdown on individual shop committeemen's practice and attitudes. Good grievances are written, placed in the backlog file of hundreds in the order of their priority and perhaps never heard from again.

AUGUST 15, 1971

On August 15, 1971, President Nixon declared a 90 day wage freeze and imposed a whole series of decisions vitally affecting the future of every worker in the U.S. and throughout the world. He spoke for the large corporations and the profit system to which they are dedicated. In response to a succession of monetary crises, balance of payment deficits and 50 billion dollars worth of outstanding claims against the U.S.'s 10 billion dollar gold reserve at Fort Knox, Nixon with one carefully prepared blow, removed the gold backing of the dollar, transforming the hoards of dollars held abroad into so many pieces of paper. This can only mean that capitalism as a world system is now bankrupt and can only be preserved if the working class is forced back into poverty while the employers intensify the speed-up.

Nixon's declaration of war on the working class and their unions means a break-up of all the old established relationships built up over the past two and one half decades. That period of compromise with the working class is over. In every country the capitalists must now take on the working class and seek to break its unions and political parties and force down its living standards and working conditions so that the profit system can be preserved.

Nixon set up the Pay Board in order to rob the American workers of their living standards by holding down their wages while prices soar and profits reach all-time highs. GM's president Cole received a 121.1 percent salary boost to \$497,534 while Henry Ford II, worried about the rise in the cost of living, signed in for a 37.8 percent increase to \$689,000. These are the men who ordered the Democrats and Republicans to establish the Pay Board to hold down wages of their own workers. At the same time, Nixon, Agnew and Connally, in speech after speech, goad on big business to step up its ruthless speed-up to sweat every penny of profit possible out of American workers. The full significance of the Pay Board can only be understood if we realize that it is aimed at destroying the one strength the American working class has—its trade unions. Regardless of its autocratic practices and rule, the bureaucrats themselves now come under attack and are forced to react for self preservation.

The immediate reaction of the trade union bureaucracy to the wage freeze was one of public anger. UAW President Woodcock said: "This means war," and Meany warned that the freeze represented a step down "the road to fascism." But true to their role as class conciliators and past history of compromise, these labor leaders tried to avoid a political confrontation with the government at every step. They sought to minimize the significance of the Pay Board and the full implications of the government's attack on the trade unions. They have approached the Pay Board and agreed to sit on it with the aim of finding its loopholes in order to live with it rather than with a program to defeat it.

Woodcock disarms his union and paves the way for further government slashes at UAW's hard-won wage gains by assuring that members' rights can best be protected by his sitting on the Pay Board and working within. Woodcock told the November 13 Special Convention: "Our contracts are in full effect in all terms. Our raises on Nov. 22 and Dec. 6 will be paid and we have assurances that ongoing bargaining (Aerospace) will proceed on the basis of tandem (pattern tracking) relationships." This was offered by Woodcock, to the applause of some of the delegates, as proof of correctness of his strategy of participating on the Pay Board. History and the Pay Board was to make one hell of a liar out of Woodcock only one month later as the Board ripped up the aerospace contract and "tandem

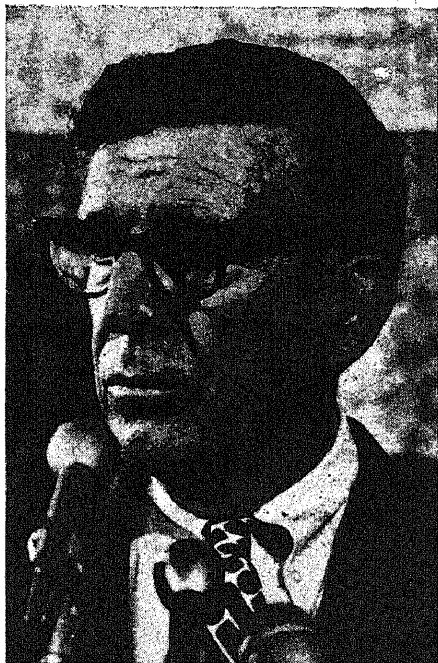
relationship" by cutting their wage gain four percent. Woodcock, who has struck out every time at bat, then feebly proposed to "sue" the Pay Board in an absolutely bankrupt gesture to further disarm the ranks. Woodcock was even reluctant to leave the Pay Board after Meany and the other bureaucrats walked off.

The widening gap between the members and their union is a ticking time-bomb. The rebellion of the ranks is expressed in every election now by voting the "rascals" out or total abstention from voting or attending meetings. Few unions in American have been as hard hit by automation, unemployment, the vagaries of the business cycle and the closing down and running away of marginal plants as the UAW. Discrimination and racism is encouraged by management and some union bureaucrats in order to divide and weaken the class along with the old divisions of youth against age, skilled against unskilled, male against female and the red-baiting of union militants.

The workers today know very little of the turbulent class struggles of the past that gave birth to the UAW. He views his union with a pragmatic eye as being static, institutionalized and unchanging. His brief sense of power during a national strike is dimmed by his day to day practical experiences in between those three-year contract intervals.

HISTORY

The UAW was built through struggle, not through compromise. It was built by militants and revolutionaries, not bureaucrats and lawyers. It came into being in an explosive way, through a great leap, not through gradualism and compromise with craft unionism. The history making sit-down strike in Flint by auto



UAW President Leonard Woodcock.

workers was led by socialists and communists who overnight laid the basis for the building of the CIO. It was the strength of this powerful movement which created the standard of living of the postwar period for all workers, union and non-union alike. Nothing was given to American workers.

It was won after the most bitter of struggles facing time and time again the court orders and troops of the government itself, which did the bidding of the biggest corporations every time. These present lay bureaucrats like Woodcock, who live off the sweat of the auto workers, did not build the UAW or mass trade unions. These were built by revolutionaries. It took a sharp struggle to break from the old methods of craft unionism of the 1930's.

It requires just such a sharp struggle to break today from the outmoded syndicalist methods of trade unionism in order to create a new leap forward in defense of our class interests now under sharp attack. What must be understood is that Aug. 15 completely shattered for all time the structure of compromise that has dominated relationships between the employer and union. Gone is the era of compromise, conciliation and concessions together with the expanding "boom" economy that it was predicated upon.

The Pay Board is used by the government to launch a frontal assault on trade unions with the objective of smashing and destroying all the rights won by workers since the creation of the CIO. The Pay Board ordered a 22 percent reduction of the wage increase negotiated by the ILA and cut the ILWU wage gains from 16 to 10

percent. The Supreme Court ruled unanimously that a company taking over a predecessor's employees is not bound by the original labor contract. Another decision abolished the unanimous 12 man jury system and replaced it with a court martial set-up, where a conviction can be obtained by a vote of two to one. This ruling is designed for use against union militants and leaders—perhaps even George Meany himself.

The government is now ready to pass compulsory arbitration laws aimed primarily at the transportation unions but we know from bitter experience that all unions will get this in the back of the neck. The Justice Department filed a suit against a New Haven ITU local insisting that 39 of its members restore to their employers wage increases they had received that were two percent in excess of the Pay Board's 5.5 percent guideline. The government is now reaching right into the pockets of workers, forcing them to pay back their savings to profit bloated employers; it is telling workers that they will not be allowed to strike; the courts are ruling that every company merger or transfer abrogates the old contract; and it is slicing wage increases won after the most difficult battles.

Massive layoffs have occurred in the aerospace industry with dozens of plant closures wiping out over 200,000 jobs on the West Coast. This also led directly to the "dumping" of UAW Regional Director Paul Schrade at the last UAW Convention.

The demands for more productivity as spelled out by the GMAD top boss, Joseph Godfrey who stated that "auto workers do not work hard," have been brought into every industry but most sharply into auto. But behind Godfrey stands the Pay Board which now openly declares that speed-up and unemployment—productivity—is the condition demanded by the Pay Board for the workers to get any shrinking wage increase as prices skyrocket. For Godfrey, it is good, wholesome, moral Americanism to accept all this and work harder. But if you do not, warns Godfrey, we will just lock you out, start hiring the thousands of unemployed and smash the union if it stands in the way. This is the program of fascism which Nixon and the Pay Board are opening the way for and of which George Wallace, with his thinly veiled campaign to outlaw the unions, is spearheading!

But Lordstown showed one thing. The workers are not going the Godfrey route peacefully. Far from it. The tremendous explosion of the young workers at Lordstown, which forced GM back despite the compromise of the UAW leadership, and the strike at Norwood are only the prelude to new more explosive strikes that threaten to engulf General Motors entirely and must come to a head in the next contract.

At the same time, the fight of the American working class to defend its jobs, its wages, conditions and the unions themselves, is entering a new stage, drawing into it sections of the working class long considered as "backward" by middle-class snobs. This is the meaning of the massive demonstrations against strike-breaking and against unemployment that have been held recently by construction workers in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts.

Just as these demonstrations show a new political movement and awareness of the construction workers, all the trade union struggles today, from the docks to Lordstown, Norwood and the UAW begin to center on the sharp point of politics. The question of the formation of labor's own party, of a sharp break with the Democrats, of a qualitative leap in the political development of the trade union movement, becomes the question of the day. It is this question, posed in the groupings of UAW delegates at the last convention and more consciously by United National Caucus leader Pete Kelly, that has since gathered steam, to the point where in the split of the AFL-CIO with McGovern at the Democratic convention, I.W. Abel of the United Steelworkers and George Meany were forced to consider the formation of a labor party as a real alternative.

WOODCOCK

Despite the insistence of UAW President Leonard Woodcock to cling to McGovern and the Democrats at all costs, the movement for a labor party will find more response among the UAW rank and file than perhaps any other union. Woodcock in fact turns against the real tradi-

tions and strengths that built the UAW, against the heroic struggles of Flint, River Rouge and the 1946 GM strike, of the vanguard role of UAW militants in demanding a labor party in the 1930's and 1940's and of the massive movement calling for a Congress of labor that was led by the UAW in the postwar period. This is the reality of the UAW that is coming to the fore today under new conditions where the struggles against GMAD are merely the prelude to an unprecedented movement demanding "build a labor party now" amongst the ranks.

It is on this basis that the Workers League takes the lead in the campaign for a labor party spelled out in the manifesto, "The Case for a Labor Party." Around the demand for the calling of a Congress of Labor to launch the labor party, the manifesto spells out a socialist program representing the needs and interests of all the workers:

No laws against unions: abolish the Pay Board and all restrictive anti-labor laws that seek to prevent the right to strike.

Wages: No government interference in wage increases; no productivity deals; a full escalator clause in every contract.

Jobs: Full employment by making 30 hour work week the law of the land so that everyone may work and benefit from the productive capacity of this country. There must be real job-training for youth and unemployment benefits to all without cutoffs.

Peace: Total and unconditional withdrawal of all American troops and war material from around the world by replacing our present policy of imperialism with a policy of support to the oppressed workers and peasants struggle for a better life, to replace the present policy of economic domination by U.S. big business with a policy of economic cooperation in helping underdeveloped nations as the only policy that can bring peace to the world.

Taxes: This manifesto calls for 100 percent tax on all war profits as well as all income over \$25,000. Plug all existing tax loopholes for the wealthy and abolish property taxes on small home owners and small businesses and levy these taxes against the large corporations and banks.

Racism: abolish all ghettos and discrimination in pay, hiring, upgrading, schools and housing. Only through integration with full economic equality will racism and ghettoized existence be ended.

Nationalization of industry: all the attacks on the labor movement, cutbacks in school funds, housing, social benefits and unemployment stem from a dying social system that has long outlived its usefulness and now only offers repression, death and destruction.

"This country has the productive power to provide everything outlined in this program today," concludes this manifesto: "What must be done now is to place these industries in the hands of the working people through nationalization under workers' control, so that the economy can be planned to meet the needs of all the people. There is no solution to any problem now facing American workers outside of creating its own party."

It is on the basis of this perspective that a concrete program of demands must now be prepared, and taken into next spring's UAW Special Convention which will formulate collective bargaining demands for the next contract. At the center of these demands must be:

- 30 hours week at 40 hours pay;
- full pension insurance and unlimited SUB at full salary;
- worker control of productive standards and line speed;
- unlimited right of locals to strike against grievances, backed by the International.

The convention must make preparation for strike action to win these demands which must include a call for a general strike against the Pay Board or any interference by the government against the UAW, and the placing of a resolution for formation of a labor party on the convention floor.

It is around this perspective that we must organize rank and file caucuses in every local of the UAW, to elect delegates and officials of the UAW that will carry out this program and lead a real battle against the corporations and the government. This is the way in which the great traditions of the UAW can be brought to life and show the way for the entire working class today.

emergency." The medical department serves as an escape valve whenever the pressure becomes unbearable for many auto workers.

The breakdown of the in-plant grievance procedure is blamed on the International Union by the shop committee, the International denies this and defends the grievance procedure as "working well" and blames the breakdown on individual shop committeemen's practice and attitudes. Good grievances are written, placed in the backlog file of hundreds in the order of their priority and perhaps never heard from again.

AUGUST 15, 1971

On August 15, 1971, President Nixon declared a 90 day wage freeze and imposed a whole series of decisions vitally affecting the future of every worker in the U.S. and throughout the world. He spoke for the large corporations and the profit system to which they are dedicated. In response to a succession of monetary crises, balance of payment deficits and 50 billion dollars worth of outstanding claims against the U.S.'s 10 billion dollar gold reserve at Fort Knox, Nixon with one carefully prepared blow, removed the gold backing of the dollar, transforming the hoards of dollars held abroad into so many pieces of paper. This can only mean that capitalism as a world system is now bankrupt and can only be preserved if the working class is forced back into poverty while the employers intensify the speed-up.

Nixon's declaration of war on the working class and their unions means a break-up of all the old established relationships built up over the past two and one half decades. That period of compromise with the working class is over. In every country the capitalists must now take on the working class and seek to break its unions and political parties and force down its living standards and working conditions so that the profit system can be preserved.

Nixon set up the Pay Board in order to rob the American workers of their living standards by holding down their wages while prices soar and profits reach all-time highs. GM's president Cole received a 121.1 percent salary boost to \$497,534 while Henry Ford II, worried about the rise in the cost of living, signed in for a 37.8 percent increase to \$689,000. These are the men who ordered the Democrats and Republicans to establish the Pay Board to hold down wages of their own workers. At the same time, Nixon, Agnew and Connally, in speech after speech, goad on big business to step up its ruthless speed-up to sweat every penny of profit possible out of American workers. The full significance of the Pay Board can only be understood if we realize that it is aimed at destroying the one strength the American working class has—its trade unions. Regardless of its autocratic practices and rule, the bureaucrats themselves now come under attack and are forced to react for self preservation.

The immediate reaction of the trade union bureaucracy to the wage freeze was one of public anger. UAW President Woodcock said: "This means war," and Meany warned that the freeze represented a step down "the road to fascism." But true to their role as class conciliators and past history of compromise, these labor leaders tried to avoid a political confrontation with the government at every step. They sought to minimize the significance of the Pay Board and the full implications of the government's attack on the trade unions. They have approached the Pay Board and agreed to sit on it with the aim of finding its loopholes in order to live with it rather than with a program to defeat it.

Woodcock disarms his union and paves the way for further government slashes at UAW's hard-won wage gains by assuring that members' rights can best be protected by his sitting on the Pay Board and working within. Woodcock told the November 13 Special Convention: "Our contracts are in full effect in all terms. Our raises on Nov. 22 and Dec. 6 will be paid and we have assurances that ongoing bargaining (Aerospace) will proceed on the basis of tandem (pattern tracking) relationships." This was offered by Woodcock, to the applause of some of the delegates, as proof of correctness of his strategy of participating on the Pay Board. History and the Pay Board was to make one hell of a liar out of Woodcock only one month later as the Board ripped up the aerospace contract and "tandem

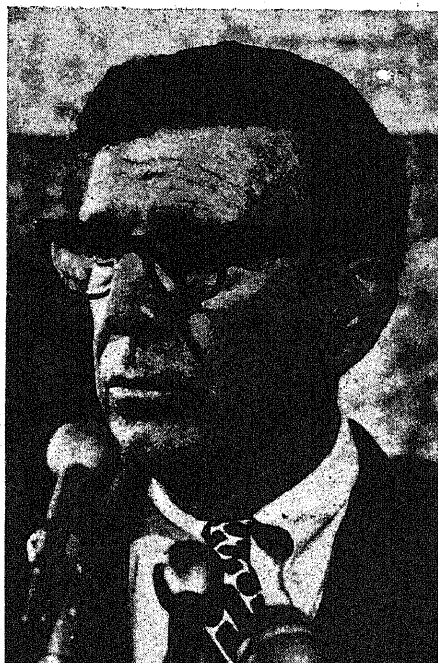
relationship" by cutting their wage gain four percent. Woodcock, who has struck out every time at bat, then feebly proposed to "sue" the Pay Board in an absolutely bankrupt gesture to further disarm the ranks. Woodcock was even reluctant to leave the Pay Board after Meany and the other bureaucrats walked off.

The widening gap between the members and their union is a ticking time-bomb. The rebellion of the ranks is expressed in every election now by voting the "rascals" out or total abstention from voting or attending meetings. Few unions in American have been as hard hit by automation, unemployment, the vagaries of the business cycle and the closing down and running away of marginal plants as the UAW. Discrimination and racism is encouraged by management and some union bureaucrats in order to divide and weaken the class along with the old divisions of youth against age, skilled against unskilled, male against female and the redbaiting of union militants.

The workers today know very little of the turbulent class struggles of the past that gave birth to the UAW. He views his union with a pragmatic eye as being static, institutionalized and unchanging. His brief sense of power during a national strike is dimmed by his day to day practical experiences in between those three-year contract intervals.

HISTORY

The UAW was built through struggle, not through compromise. It was built by militants and revolutionaries, not bureaucrats and lawyers. It came into being in an explosive way, through a great leap, not through gradualism and compromise with craft unionism. The history making sit-down strike in Flint by auto



UAW President Leonard Woodcock.

workers was led by socialists and communists who overnight laid the basis for the building of the CIO. It was the strength of this powerful movement which created the standard of living of the postwar period for all workers, union and non-union alike. Nothing was given to American workers.

It was won after the most bitter of struggles facing time and time again the court orders and troops of the government itself, which did the bidding of the biggest corporations every time. These present lay bureaucrats like Woodcock, who live off the sweat of the auto workers, did not build the UAW or mass trade unions. These were built by revolutionaries. It took a sharp struggle to break from the old methods of craft unionism of the 1930's.

It requires just such a sharp struggle to break today from the outmoded syndicalist methods of trade unionism in order to create a new leap forward in defense of our class interests now under sharp attack. What must be understood is that Aug. 15 completely shattered for all time the structure of compromise that has dominated relationships between the employer and union. Gone is the era of compromise, conciliation and concessions together with the expanding "boom" economy that it was predicated upon.

The Pay Board is used by the government to launch a frontal assault on trade unions with the objective of smashing and destroying all the rights won by workers since the creation of the CIO. The Pay Board ordered a 22 percent reduction of the wage increase negotiated by the ILA and cut the ILWU wage gains from 16 to 10

percent. The Supreme Court ruled unanimously that a company taking over a predecessor's employees is not bound by the original labor contract. Another decision abolished the unanimous 12 man jury system and replaced it with a court martial set-up, where a conviction can be obtained by a vote of two to one. This ruling is designed for use against union militants and leaders—perhaps even George Meany himself.

The government is now ready to pass compulsory arbitration laws aimed primarily at the transportation unions but we know from bitter experience that all unions will get this in the back of the neck. The Justice Department filed a suit against a New Haven ITU local insisting that 39 of its members restore to their employers wage increases they had received that were two percent in excess of the Pay Board's 5.5 percent guideline. The government is now reaching right into the pockets of workers, forcing them to pay back their savings to profit bloated employers; it is telling workers that they will not be allowed to strike; the courts are ruling that every company merger or transfer abrogates the old contract; and it is slicing wage increases won after the most difficult battles.

Massive layoffs have occurred in the aerospace industry with dozens of plant closures wiping out over 200,000 jobs on the West Coast. This also led directly to the "dumping" of UAW Regional Director Paul Schrade at the last UAW Convention.

The demands for more productivity as spelled out by the GMAD top boss, Joseph Godfrey who stated that "auto workers do not work hard," have been brought into every industry but most sharply into auto. But behind Godfrey stands the Pay Board which now openly declares that speed-up and unemployment—productivity—is the condition demanded by the Pay Board for the workers to get any shrinking wage increase as prices skyrocket. For Godfrey, it is good, wholesome, moral Americanism to accept all this and work harder. But if you do not, warns Godfrey, we will just lock you out, start hiring the thousands of unemployed and smash the union if it stands in the way. This is the program of fascism which Nixon and the Pay Board are opening the way for and of which George Wallace, with his thinly veiled campaign to outlaw the unions, is spearheading!

But Lordstown showed one thing. The workers are not going the Godfrey route peacefully. Far from it. The tremendous explosion of the young workers at Lordstown, which forced GM back despite the compromise of the UAW leadership, and the strike at Norwood are only the prelude to new more explosive strikes that threaten to engulf General Motors entirely and must come to a head in the next contract.

At the same time, the fight of the American working class to defend its jobs, its wages, conditions and the unions themselves, is entering a new stage, drawing into it sections of the working class long considered as "backward" by middle-class snobs. This is the meaning of the massive demonstrations against strike-breaking and against unemployment that have been held recently by construction workers in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts.

Just as these demonstrations show a new political movement and awareness of the construction workers, all the trade union struggles today, from the docks to Lordstown, Norwood and the UAW begin to center on the sharp point of politics. The question of the formation of labor's own party, of a sharp break with the Democrats, of a qualitative leap in the political development of the trade union movement, becomes the question of the day. It is this question, posed in the gropings of UAW delegates at the last convention and more consciously by United National Caucus leader Pete Kelly, that has since gathered steam, to the point where in the split of the AFL-CIO with McGovern at the Democratic convention, I.W. Abel of the United Steelworkers and George Meany were forced to consider the formation of a labor party as a real alternative.

WOODCOCK

Despite the insistence of UAW President Leonard Woodcock to cling to McGovern and the Democrats at all costs, the movement for a labor party will find more response among the UAW rank and file than perhaps any other union. Woodcock in fact turns against the real tradi-

tions and strengths that built the UAW, against the heroic struggles of Flint, River Rouge and the 1946 GM strike, of the vanguard role of UAW militants in demanding a labor party in the 1930's and 1940's and of the massive movement calling for a Congress of labor that was led by the UAW in the postwar period. This is the reality of the UAW that is coming to the fore today under new conditions where the struggles against GMAD are merely the prelude to an unprecedented movement demanding "build a labor party now" amongst the ranks.

It is on this basis that the Workers League takes the lead in the campaign for a labor party spelled out in the manifesto, "The Case for a Labor Party." Around the demand for the calling of a Congress of Labor to launch the labor party, the manifesto spells out a socialist program representing the needs and interests of all the workers:

No laws against unions: abolish the Pay Board and all restrictive anti-labor laws that seek to prevent the right to strike.

Wages: No government interference in wage increases; no productivity deals; a full escalator clause in every contract.

Jobs: Full employment by making 30 hour work week the law of the land so that everyone may work and benefit from the productive capacity of this country. There must be real job-training for youth and unemployment benefits to all without cutoffs.

Peace: Total and unconditional withdrawal of all American troops and war material from around the world by replacing our present policy of imperialism with a policy of support to the oppressed workers and peasants struggle for a better life, to replace the present policy of economic domination by U.S. big business with a policy of economic cooperation in helping underdeveloped nations as the only policy that can bring peace to the world.

Taxes: This manifesto calls for 100 percent tax on all war profits as well as all income over \$25,000. Plug all existing tax loopholes for the wealthy and abolish property taxes on small home owners and small businesses and levy these taxes against the large corporations and banks.

Racism: abolish all ghettos and discrimination in pay, hiring, upgrading, schools and housing. Only through integration with full economic equality will racism and ghettoized existence be ended.

Nationalization of Industry: all the attacks on the labor movement, cutbacks in school funds, housing, social benefits and unemployment stem from a dying social system that has long outlived its usefulness and now only offers repression, death and destruction.

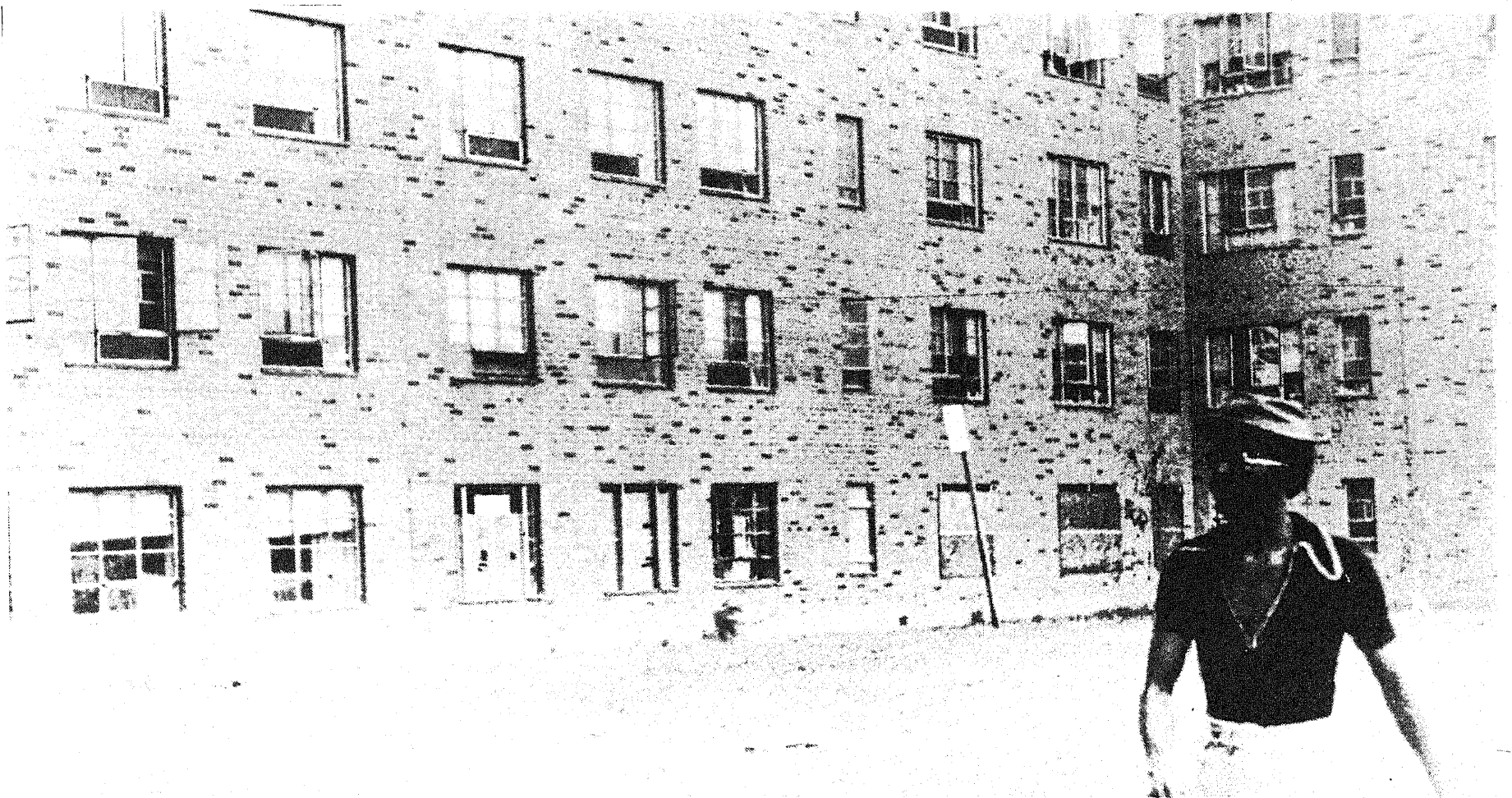
"This country has the productive power to provide everything outlined in this program today," concludes this manifesto: "What must be done now is to place these industries in the hands of the working people through nationalization under workers' control, so that the economy can be planned to meet the needs of all the people. There is no solution to any problem now facing American workers outside of creating its own party."

It is on the basis of this perspective that a concrete program of demands must now be prepared, and taken into next spring's UAW Special Convention which will formulate collective bargaining demands for the next contract. At the center of these demands must be:

- 30 hours week at 40 hours pay;
- full pension insurance and unlimited SUB at full salary;
- worker control of productive standards and line speed;
- unlimited right of locals to strike against grievances, backed by the International.

The convention must make preparation for strike action to win these demands which must include a call for a general strike against the Pay Board or any interference by the government against the UAW, and the placing of a resolution for formation of a labor party on the convention floor.

It is around this perspective that we must organize rank and file caucuses in every local of the UAW, to elect delegates and officials of the UAW that will carry out this program and lead a real battle against the corporations and the government. This is the way in which the great traditions of the UAW can be brought to life and show the way for the entire working class today.



THE HOUSING CRISIS Worse Now Than After 1967 Rebellions

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

NEWARK—The housing situation here has gone from bad to worse. In 1967, this was one of the cities in which the Black workers rioted against the unemployment, the slum housing and the lack of any future for themselves or their children.

The ruling class is only interested in workers for the profit they can produce for the capitalists in a factory. When the Black workers rebelled against the conditions that this greed created, they were bloodily suppressed. A Young Socialist who was only 11 years old then still remembers what it was like:

"A lot of youth were shot down, some were killed. It was like hell on earth. There were fires everywhere. The cops shot a friend of mine and claimed it was because he was in the act of stealing a television set. But still, he didn't need to have his brains shot out. It seems like they sent in the National Guard to kill instead of stopping the riots."

After these riots, there was a flurry of programs proposed by reformist politicians to alleviate the conditions that caused the riots. The capitalists shed crocodile tears for the dead and promised that the future would be filled with Federal funds to rebuild Newark and other ravaged cities.

The only thing these poverty funds did was to finance nationalists such as LeRoi Jones, who became professionals at keeping Black workers and youth suppressed with slogans like "community control." Meanwhile, recent government reports have shown that Newark is worse off now than before the 1967 riots. All the empty promises of the Democrats and Republicans and their na-

tionalist lackeys are now openly exposed.

Up on the "Hill," around Springfield Avenue which was at the center of the riots, scores of fire-gutted buildings and stores still stand as silent reminders of those hollow promises. Some of the burned buildings were torn down, but none were ever replaced.

DECREPIT

All the housing in that area is old, decrepit, filled with mice, rats and cockroaches. The rents keep going up and families are often forced to live in gutted buildings, wondering if they will be able to find another apartment they could afford before theirs is torn down or catches fire. In buildings that not even the poorest working class family could live in, drug addicts reside.

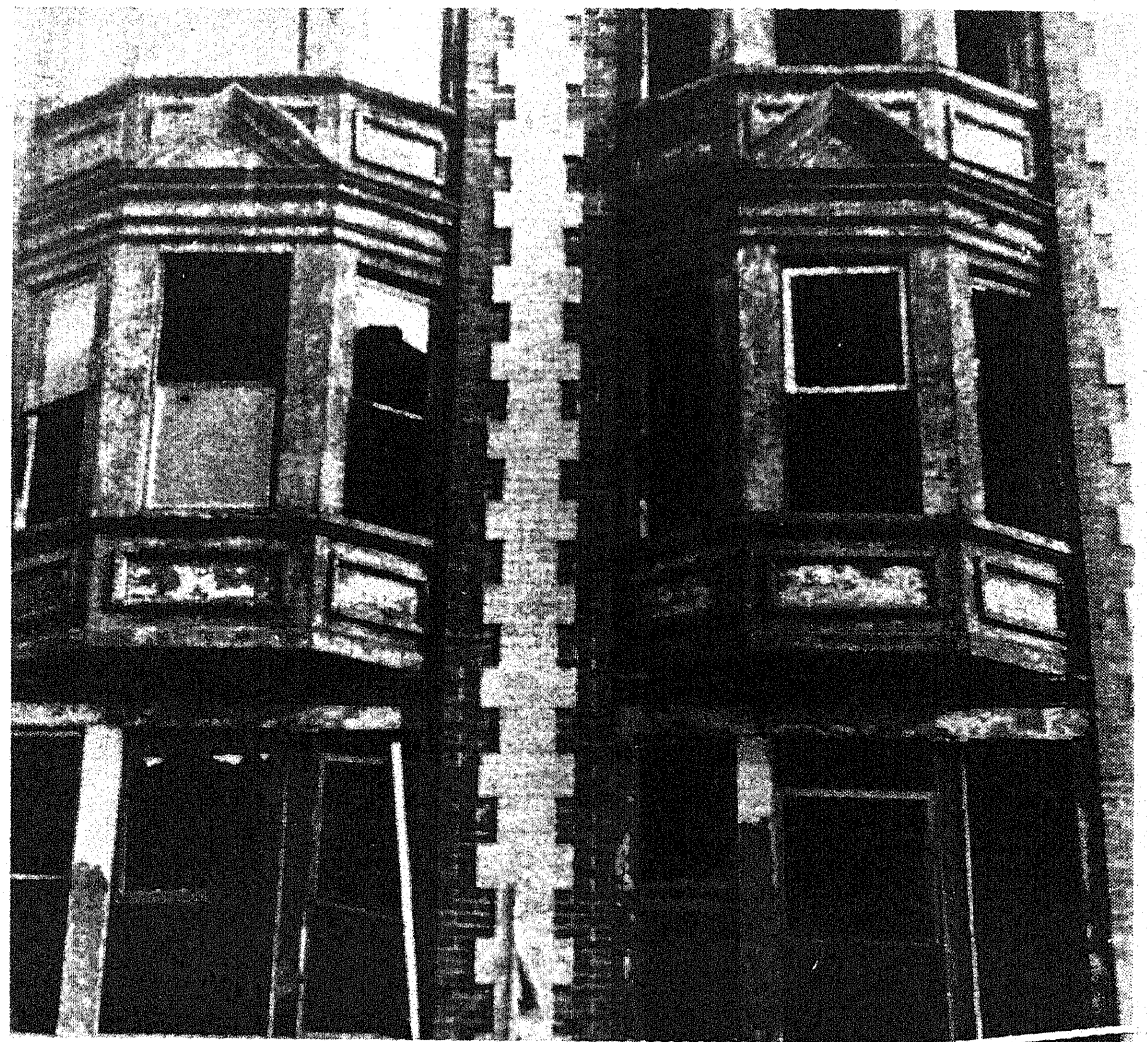
A Young Socialist who lives in this area explains that:

"On Stirling Street, there is a vacant lot called 'Dr. Martin Luther King Park.' It looks like a bomb hit it. It was supposed to be turned into a park for the children, with a pool, basketball court and swings. But nothing is there, only a vacant lot in which kids play."

The housing projects in Newark have been allowed by the government to deteriorate so badly that hundreds of tenants went on a rent strike. Tenants at the Stella Wright projects have been on a rent strike for over two years.

In these vermin-infested buildings, the elevators do not work (they are twelve storeys high), windows are broken and the emergency fire hoses do not function. Recently, the Housing Administration has begun to put in new windows and they sporadically send in repairmen to fix the elevators.

Toby Henry, head of the Stella



Wright Tenants Association believes that: "These projects should be condemned and torn down. They cannot be made livable. We need new housing. That's the solution."

HIGHWAY

But when the politicians tear down buildings, they have other reasons than the welfare of working people. A highway extension is planned to run straight through the Hill. A couple of years ago, whole blocks of houses were razed to make way for the highway. These blocks now stand vacant as more houses are now

being razed in the area.

Mayor Gibson, the Black mayor who is supported by nationalists like LeRoi Jones, and by the Communist Party and the revisionists, sides with the capitalists. The Newark Chamber of Commerce knew what they were doing when they also supported him when he ran for mayor.

Gibson makes excursions through the Black neighborhoods in his limousine. He even shakes hands and talks with people. But he has nothing to offer the workers who live there except kind words.

LeRoi Jones helps the

capitalists with his community control program. The problems facing workers on the Hill and in Newark cannot be solved in one particular city. It is capitalism that creates these conditions.

CONTROL

The housing can only continue to decay unless the working class unites throughout the country to build a labor party and a workers government, to nationalize all industry under workers control so that the wealth that is produced can be used for the benefit of the working people.

Roy Battersby Film

THE ASSASSINATION OF TROTSKY. Director Joseph Losey. With Richard Burton, Alain Delon and Romy Schneider. Technicolor.

At one point in this film Losey quotes with evident approval Trotsky's characterization of art as "one of the ways in which man finds his bearings in the world."

Joseph Losey, at 63, is an artist of considerable accomplishment; his films, since the first in 1948 "The Boy With The Green Hair" to the most recent like "Accident" and "The Go-Between," even when based on poor scripts or after severe re-editing and despoliation by commercial interests, all bear the stamp of a deliberate creative intelligence.

His reputation as a director very much rests on the way in which he has always struggled to say what he meant, sometimes directly, sometimes by allusion.

His work is distinguished by its developing attempt to control all the elements of film, image and sound that go to make up moods, to strip down reality and rebuild it by controlling exactly light and texture, by eliminating all useless movement of actors or camera, by orchestrating the structure and the score through montage (editing) and so on.

His intention has always been, he says, to create conditions where his audience can think.

His ideas were deeply influenced by his experience in the 1930s and by his later collaboration with Bertold Brecht. Working for 16 years in the theater before turning to films, he did the first American production of Brecht's "Galileo" with Charles Laughton.

In the 1930s, apart from a range of conventional theatre work, he did many plays including "The Living Newspaper" for a year under the New Deal (1936) and a play about the Spanish Civil War called "Who Fights This Battle?"

CONSCIOUS

"I think the most important aspect of my theater work up to the time I went to Hollywood was its experimental nature and perhaps also its political nature" (Losey on Losey, by Tom Milne, British Film Institute, 1967, p. 99).

In 1935 he visited Moscow, where he did a production of Clifford Odets' play "Waiting For Lefty," and throughout this whole period, like many artists in the United States and elsewhere, took a conscious part in politics with the Communist Party. For this he was later witch-hunted out of America during the McCarthy period.

So when an artist of this standing and that past turns now to give an account of the assassination of Trotsky, we can be sure that much more is at stake than simply the making of another film.

And although Losey disclaims any direct political intent in his work, preferring general formulations about the human condition etc., it is clear that this film has the most important political implications, both for the view it presents to millions of the meaning of the events surrounding the assassination and for the way in which an ex-Stalinist feels forced to face his history and attempts to settle with it.

Let us say straight off, however, that the bearings which the art of Losey gives us are completely false.

What does the film-maker want us to think, and how does he set about his task?

The film begins with a series of still photographs of Trotsky at different periods of his life. As a boy, as a young revolutionary, in 1905, as founder and leader of the Red Army in 1919 second only to Lenin.

The next still is from 1929, and the caption beneath explains that this was the year of his exile.

Apparently nothing worth mentioning happened between 1919 and 1929. Only the New Economic Policy, the defeat of the German revolution of 1923, the death of Lenin, Lenin's last testament against Stalin, the 1926 British General Strike, the destruction of the Chinese revolution of 1926, the founding of the Left Opposition, Stalin's left zigzag after the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, to forced collectivization at home and the policy of "social fascism" abroad.

Only all the fundamental questions that have to be accounted in any reckoning with the degeneration of the inheritors of 1917 into the assassins and mass murderers of the 1930s.

But immediately we are given another caption. This one assures us that wherever facts are proven "we have attempted to present them accurately" and where not "we have left them open."

It is certainly true that the film throughout pays the most careful regard to the reproduction of minutiae.

One feels confident that the rabbit-hutches are exactly and correctly placed in the garden, that the objects on Trotsky's desk are precisely matched for accuracy with contemporary photographs and that clothes, hair styles and weapons are perfectly chosen.

There are "facts" which are not so accurate—like the clear insinuation in the film that Trotsky knew in advance about the first attempt on his life and more important still the omission from his last words of Trotsky's famous testament: "I am confident of the victory of the Fourth International—go forward."

APPARATUS

These "facts," of course, have a much more direct meaning, which must at all costs be glossed over or misrepresented if a real reckoning is to be avoided.

After all, it's a reckoning with the fact that our film-maker was able to lend himself wholeheartedly to the apparatus that trained the assassins.

How to square that? Well, first of all it's implied the assassins weren't merely the agents of the Stalinist bureaucracy that received Losey so courteously in the early 1930s. Really, the film would have us believe, it's more complex than that. Losey's credo now is that people are the victims of circumstance.

Both the painter Siqueiros, who led the first machine-gun attack, and Mercader (Jackson) who finally succeeded in killing Trotsky, are presented as primarily of psychological interest.

There is a brief visual reference to Stalin on a poster next to Siqueiros, but apart from that the role of the GPU (secret police) in the first attempt is kept to a minimum and Siqueiros' passionate, flamboyant artistic nature is vaunted to the full instead.

The extent of the operation, involving renting houses for the use of so-called prostitute decoys for the Mexican police and so on, is virtually ignored, even though the script writer Nicholas Mosley makes some play with it in his book *The Assassination of Trotsky*, which he wrote out of the film script. And since we're led to believe from Trotsky's knowing look that he knew the attack was coming anyway we can relax about the whole episode.

The fact that Trotsky and his wife Natalia always insisted that such an account was false—that it originated in precisely the same Stalinist lie-machine that tried to go further and say that Trotsky even arranged that attempt in order to win sympathy—is again ignored.

Our film-maker knows best and after all the artist must have license—especially when the truth is so unpalatable to the artist himself.

Again Sheldon Harte, one of Trotsky's young guards who was kidnapped by the would-be assassins and later found shot through the head and buried in quicklime, is further maligned in the film. He is shown opening the door to the murderers and leaving peacefully with them.

No mention of the "fact" that the later successful assassin was almost certainly on the raid, that he was known to Harte as a visitor to the house with the girl Sylvia Agelof. It was probably he to whom the inexperienced Harte opened the door.

It is suggested that Trotsky's continuous assertion of Harte's innocence (we

see a commemorative wall-plaque arrive) was at least deluded. Much better for the film-maker if villainy can be created inside the Fourth International, too; if all the "bad" men weren't just on one side—that is, Losey's side.

If people are victims merely, if the struggle to change the world isn't decisive, if we're all just lost and at the mercy of the situation, then Stalinism was inevitable; the fight to the death against it by the finest of three generations in the communist movement can all be sadly observed as noble but doomed to failure.

And, more importantly, those who supported Stalinism, those who worked for it, need never account for their involvement because they too were just victims, poor creatures of circumstance.

In an interview in *The Scotsman* (August 21), Losey describes watching a demonstration in Moscow in 1935:

"It had tremendous emotional impact. The old boy up there was Uncle Joe. It was impossible to think of him as other than warm, lovely, of him as carrying forward the revolution of Lenin."

He goes on to describe the Khrushchev speech to the 20th Congress in 1956 as traumatic; it "ended most of our lives." Who could believe it all? Yes, they had known, however, there were liquidations and murders—"there always will be."

It's true, of course, that the idealism of scores of thousands of middle class people, including artists, was traded upon by the Communist Parties of the 1930s and 1940s. But how these people came to be so deluded, how the Communist Parties had reached this state is the prime question facing anyone so involved.

The one obstacle to all this "inevitability," of course, is Trotskyism.

The continuous fight for Marxism by Trotsky and the Left Opposition throughout the 1920s, a fight in which correct assessments of developments were made, in which correct policies were forged; the fight which led to the founding of the Fourth International to replace the utterly degenerated and counterrevolutionary Third International; the continuous and consciously undertaken struggle for theory against all revision—it's this history that stands in the way of those who want to explain away their past as necessary and inevitable.

So another tack must be tried. This time to show Trotsky as noble—yes, as brave indeed, as wonderfully intelligent, as witty, dedicated and fine—but how sad that he was really so totally isolated, so utterly ineffectual, so sadly doomed to be surrounded by people not up to his calibre.

That is to show Trotskyism as correct and even splendid, but to show it as impotent, and as the voice of noble losers in the wilderness.

If that picture can be sustained then another reason not to get too fussed about the past has been fabricated.

But more important than that, even it's a reason not to have to be bothered about the present, except in the most general way.

DESPAIR

If the struggle for the continuity of the development of Marxism was actually defeated and destroyed in the 1930s, especially with Trotsky's death in August 1940, then indeed no one can do anything except despair or express goodwill messages for its revival. And the film works hardest at precisely this account.

The central image of the film is of a bullfight. Jackson (Mercader) and Agelof are shown watching it.

We see the bull strong, determined, courageous. It charges and counter-charges. The picadors get in some bloody lances but the bull never gives up attacking and counter-attacking the horses and the mounted riders.

Enter the torador. Young, swarthy, a little unsure; he faces death too. A first few passes and the bull, becoming more and more frenzied but also more exhausted, is now bleeding profusely.

Then the matador is caught by the bull. Some heavy butting but no sign of any going. The matador recovers and delivers the death stroke. The bull roars, staggers, charges, blood gushing from its mouth. Finally it falls, noble creature, in the sand.

In the midst of all this we are shown one key cutaway shot of the crowd. Thou-



Far left: top, Leon Trotsky. Bottom, Richard Burton playing Trotsky. Above: Top, left, Alain Delon plays Trotsky's assassin; center, "Trotsky" in his study; right, the real assassin—Mercader who worked for the GPU. Below, Trotsky after he was killed.



Roy Battersby is a British film director. He was also a director for the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) for a number of years. The latest film he has directed was "The Body." He is also a leading member and shop steward in the Association of Cinematic and Television Technicians.

THE SECOND ASSASSINATION OF TROTSKY

sands and thousands of people sitting passively, quietly watching, detached, uninvolved.

After death we see the bull's carcass, pulled from the ring in chains by horses, pulled through mud, and finally we are shown the butchers cutting up the carcass, skinning it, cutting off the hocks, sawing out the organs.

The point of all this is clear: a visual analogy with the assassination is being drawn and, in case you doubt it, the images of the bull's death and Trotsky's are deliberately cut together. Bulls, of course, always lose.

We're also shown Agelof and Jackson arguing at the spectacle. Jackson, the murderer, the GPU-trained assassin, is made to care about "suffering humanity" and reproaches Agelof (the Trotskyist) with caring only about the horses.

Heavenly choirs sing throughout. This is the only image in the film which alludes to the period after Trotsky's death. We are meant to understand clearly enough that it was one of mud and dismemberment, of degutting, of complete destruction.

Another important aspect of this bullfight device is that violence is turned into a fetish; it is objectified, alienated, put outside.

The involvement of Losey is thus repudiated by a trick, and by employing the bankrupt image of all liberals from Hemingway on, he can join in the chorus of concern and regret about that violence over there whilst remaining detached, even if a little titillated.

That way the assassination can be put in the distance, separated, and the subjective, conscious, responsible factor minimized. Also, of course, the bullfight allows the emphasis to be placed emotionally upon the ritualized and therefore sanctioned nature of the killing. A further

reduction of responsibility. And all this is deeply hidden in the film, none of this is regarded as a fact to be proven or left open.

The undoubted isolation of Trotsky and the bitter struggle for Marxism in those years of defeat for the working class is dealt with as a forlorn and finished process. The "crowd," i.e. the working class, just wasn't interested except as spectators. So really it's all their fault, too.

The film even goes on to suggest that it was partly Trotsky's own fault that he was murdered!

We see him look suspiciously and thoughtfully at Jackson on one of his early visits with his bogus manuscript. Why then let him in later? Ah, the death wish, you see!

FACELESS

Nicholas Mosley, in his book on the script actually puts the view that:

"Trotsky perhaps admitted the faceless silhouette into his study just for this—to demonstrate that a person should behave with courage and with dignity, and by this to show some faith in the dignity of mankind. For the rest, it did not much matter.

"So even when the faceless man brought the pick down on Trotsky's skull Trotsky could still jump up and go after him roaring and bite him on the finger and say—"I prevented him!"

Examine the position here. The murderer was faceless, i.e. anonymous and not Mercader, Stalinist agent.

Trotsky, whose whole life was dedicated to the working class, admitted the killer deliberately as an impotent liberal gesture to human dignity.

When struck he behaved like the bull. His tireless defense of October against Stalin and all he stood for was not really carried on to his last breath but was

simply another impotent, empty, patently absurd claim.

This is the philistinism with which we are dealing, but, of course, this is the philistinism of Stalinism. On this level Losey chooses to live and to advocate.

All this is found in every frame of the film.

Mercader's "doubt" is emphasized, his guilty depressions; it's even implied that he did it all from sexual impotence to find an identity as the man who killed Trotsky.

Stalin is only once mentioned by name in the film and then as a joke. He is alluded to visually twice: once in the brief glimpse of a poster, the second time as a chimera in the Water Garden sequence.

The Stalinist line that Trotsky was a man of principle, yes, but that they had socialism to build—that omelettes mean cracking a few eggs—is not only put by the GPU contact man to Mercader, it is sanctioned.

When the chief prosecutor in the Moscow Trials explained the alleged acts of his victims as "Trotsky's thirst for power," Losey finds Trotsky "pretty ambiguous in his power drive. I think he realized the price of power was more than he was prepared to pay." (The Scotsman.)

In other words we are asked to accept again that it was all Trotsky's fault and that Stalinism is the inevitable result of the working class taking power, that power and principle must always be separated.

Another version of the same humbug used to cover up for the Stalinist bureaucracy's monstrous crimes is peddled in the form of the old saw that men of "action" can't be men of imagination, and that men of imagination can't be men of action.

In other words we should accept that Stalin was just a man of action and Trotsky one of imagination, and the con-

fusion between them was one more example of this sad paradox which, again, has exercised liberals looking for a way out since Goethe.

Presumably Losey is thus excused on the grounds that he is an artist and not really involved.

Unfortunately for him, Trotsky was both a man of action and of imagination.

There are many who would like to excuse their own inaction by making this false separation, many who try also to present Marx and Engels as merely scholars and not leading figures in the class struggle. But they, like Trotsky, were leading figures in this struggle; more, they were men to whom knowledge could only be developed in it.

Many, too, try to speak of Lenin as simply a man of action—again trying to ignore his deep and scholarly study of philosophy and his understanding of the relationship of theory and practice as a unity of conflict between opposites.

Losey joins these dualists.

He can't stomach the old Stalinist line that Trotsky was a fascist, although he says he believed it at the time (Scotsman, August 21).

He can't accept what Pravda said, that Mercader was a disenchanted Trotskyist. But he gives them their new cover, their latest lies.

Mercader "resorted to violence because destruction is the easiest activity by which a bright and lost young man can make his notch in an arbitrary world" (Mosley, p. 153), or perhaps because the GPU held his mother.

But no mention of the Order of Lenin awarded to his mother after the assassination and none that she was maintained by the GPU for 20 years during his imprisonment. None, either, of his known involvement in the Spanish Civil War, of his

training, of his introduction to Sylvia Agelof through the New York Communist Party. Instead:

"Trotskyism seemed to have come to mean just the voice of Trotsky—explaining, protesting, scintillating, enduring.

"This was heroic; but what was the end of heroics in war?...His chickens clucked, his dictating machines clacked...! (Mosley, p. 144.)

All the scenes of Trotsky in the film are calculated to foster exactly this.

No sign at all that he even followed world events, especially in the USSR. Just shots of a quick bit of brilliant dictation followed by a nice cup of tea and a witty remark about Catherine the Great.

What pathetic reductionism Losey's claim to be working at other levels of human experience, more complicated than "mere Marxism," turns out to be.

Losey's "psychology" cannot even resolve the paradox of its own making about Trotsky. They say he was a man who looked for death, but on the other hand they are faced with him fighting for 15 minutes with an ice-pick over two inches into his brain. They say: "He verbally protested but did not do things which he could have done" (Scotsman).

RECORD

And this is said by one who loved the Uncle Joe who had already killed one of Trotsky's sons and imprisoned another, murdered his first wife, driven his daughter to suicide, killed his secretaries and all his political associates that could be captured—apart from waging a campaign of vicious slanders and monstrous lies.

But such an antithesis is the sterile philistinism that bewails man as half-devil, half-angel: the same philistinism that makes a film like this to defend the liars, the falsifiers of history, the murderers, those who tried to destroy October.

No mention that Mercader is alive and very well on a pension and with a job in Prague; that he is still supported by the apparatus that continues to imprison communist oppositionists including leading artists, or incarcerates them in mental hospitals.

No word about the force that created the Moscow Trials and ran the camps, that tried to murder and beat all that was best out of the proletariat in Russia and abroad.

No mention because when all the liberal convolutions are done it's these men that Losey ends up supporting—in 1972 as he did in 1935.

There's no accident or mistake made when Losey, who backed the Stalinist line which led to the defeat of the Spanish Civil War, identifies in the film the Spanish centrist POUM with the Fourth International; no error in willfully obscuring Trotsky's struggle to keep alive in practice the truth about the October Revolution of 1917.

No, this is precisely in the tradition of the trials and the frame-ups.

This is exactly the tradition that must destroy the truth at all costs, not defend it. This is the continuity of counter-revolution, and it comes forward exactly during the deepest crisis of imperialism, when the question of building a revolutionary leadership in the working class is the primary task.

Trotsky's true greatness, however, is not obscured.

Isolated, in exile, hunted by assassins, witnessing the destruction of all the leading old Bolsheviks, fighting to create a new leadership against the massive odds of historical defeat and a state apparatus totally committed to the destruction of communism—these were the conditions in which a tiny handful of devoted communists in different countries fought to keep Marxism alive in the working class, through the struggle to build the Fourth International.

The day has now come when that fight and those enormous sacrifices can be fully appreciated. The principles defended then are today becoming the weapons first of thousands and then millions who face the task of overthrowing capitalism.

Trotsky was right when he assessed the work of his last ten years as the most important of his life. It's unlikely on this showing that Losey will be able to say the same.

Roy Battersby Film

THE ASSASSINATION OF TROTSKY. Director Joseph Losey. With Richard Burton, Alain Delon and Romy Schneider. Technicolor.

At one point in this film Losey quotes with evident approval Trotsky's characterization of art as "one of the ways in which man finds his bearings in the world."

Joseph Losey, at 63, is an artist of considerable accomplishment; his films, since the first in 1948 "The Boy With The Green Hair" to the most recent like "Accident" and "The Go-Between," even when based on poor scripts or after severe re-editing and despoliation by commercial interests, all bear the stamp of a deliberate creative intelligence.

His reputation as a director very much rests on the way in which he has always struggled to say what he meant, sometimes directly, sometimes by allusion.

His work is distinguished by its developing attempt to control all the elements of film, image and sound that go to make up moods, to strip down reality and rebuild it by controlling exactly light and texture, by eliminating all useless movement of actors or camera, by orchestrating the structure and the score through montage (editing) and so on.

His intention has always been, he says, to create conditions where his audience can think.

His ideas were deeply influenced by his experience in the 1930s and by his later collaboration with Berthold Brecht. Working for 16 years in the theater before turning to films, he did the first American production of Brecht's "Galileo" with Charles Laughton.

In the 1930s, apart from a range of conventional theatre work, he did many plays including "The Living Newspaper" for a year under the New Deal (1936) and a play about the Spanish Civil War called "Who Fights This Battle?"

CONSCIOUS

"I think the most important aspect of my theater work up to the time I went to Hollywood was its experimental nature and perhaps also its political nature" (Losey on Losey, by Tom Milne, British Film Institute, 1967, p. 99).

In 1935 he visited Moscow, where he did a production of Clifford Odets' play "Waiting For Lefty," and throughout this whole period, like many artists in the United States and elsewhere, took a conscious part in politics with the Communist Party. For this he was later witch-hunted out of America during the McCarthy period.

So when an artist of this standing and that past turns now to give an account of the assassination of Trotsky, we can be sure that much more is at stake than simply the making of another film.

And although Losey disclaims any direct political intent in his work, preferring general formulations about the human condition etc., it is clear that this film has the most important political implications, both for the view it presents to millions of the meaning of the events surrounding the assassination and for the way in which an ex-Stalinist feels forced to face his history and attempts to settle with it.

Let us say straight off, however, that the bearings which the art of Losey gives us are completely false.

What does the film-maker want us to think, and how does he set about his task?

The film begins with a series of still photographs of Trotsky at different periods of his life. As a boy, as a young revolutionary, in 1905, as founder and leader of the Red Army in 1919 second only to Lenin.

The next still is from 1929, and the caption beneath explains that this was the year of his exile.

Apparently nothing worth mentioning happened between 1919 and 1929. Only the New Economic Policy, the defeat of the German revolution of 1923, the death of Lenin, Lenin's last testament against Stalin, the 1926 British General Strike, the destruction of the Chinese revolution of 1926, the founding of the Left Opposition, Stalin's left zigzag after the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, to forced collectivization at home and the policy of "social fascism" abroad.

Only all the fundamental questions that have to be accounted in any reckoning with the degeneration of the inheritors of 1917 into the assassins and mass murderers of the 1930s.

But immediately we are given another caption. This one assures us that wherever facts are proven "we have attempted to present them accurately" and where not "we have left them open."

It is certainly true that the film throughout pays the most careful regard to the reproduction of minutiae.

One feels confident that the rabbit-hutches are exactly and correctly placed in the garden, that the objects on Trotsky's desk are precisely matched for accuracy with contemporary photographs and that clothes, hair styles and weapons are perfectly chosen.

There are "facts" which are not so accurate—like the clear insinuation in the film that Trotsky knew in advance about the first attempt on his life and more important still the omission from his last words of Trotsky's famous testament: "I am confident of the victory of the Fourth International—go forward."

APPARATUS

These "facts," of course, have a much more direct meaning, which must at all costs be glossed over or misrepresented if a real reckoning is to be avoided.

After all, it's a reckoning with the fact that our film-maker was able to lend himself wholeheartedly to the apparatus that trained the assassins.

How to square that? Well, first of all it's implied the assassins weren't merely the agents of the Stalinist bureaucracy that received Losey so courteously in the early 1930s. Really, the film would have us believe, it's more complex than that. Losey's credo now is that people are the victims of circumstance.

Both the painter Siqueiros, who led the first machine-gun attack, and Mercader (Jacson) who finally succeeded in killing Trotsky, are presented as primarily of psychological interest.

There is a brief visual reference to Stalin on a poster next to Siqueiros, but apart from that the role of the GPU (secret police) in the first attempt is kept to a minimum and Siqueiros' passionate, flamboyant artistic nature is vaunted to the full instead.

The extent of the operation, involving renting houses for the use of so-called prostitute decoys for the Mexican police and so on, is virtually ignored, even though the script writer Nicholas Mosley makes some play with it in his book *The Assassination of Trotsky*, which he wrote out of the film-script. And since we're led to believe from Trotsky's knowing look that he knew the attack was coming anyway we can relax about the whole episode.

The fact that Trotsky and his wife Natalia always insisted that such an account was false—that it originated in precisely the same Stalinist lie-machine that tried to go further and say that Trotsky even arranged that attempt in order to win sympathy—is again ignored.

Our film-maker knows best and after all the artist must have license—especially when the truth is so unpalatable to the artist himself.

Again Sheldon Harte, one of Trotsky's young guards who was kidnapped by the would-be assassins and later found shot through the head and buried in quicklime, is further maligned in the film. He is shown opening the door to the murderers and leaving peacefully with them.

No mention of the "fact" that the later successful assassin was almost certainly on the raid, that he was known to Harte as a visitor to the house with the girl Sylvia Agelof. It was probably he to whom the inexperienced Harte opened the door.

It is suggested that Trotsky's continuous assertion of Harte's innocence (we

see a commemorative wall-plaque arrive) was at least deluded. Much better for the film-maker if villainy can be created inside the Fourth International, too; if all the "bad" men weren't just on one side—that is, Losey's side.

If people are victims merely, if the struggle to change the world isn't decisive, if we're all just lost and at the mercy of the situation, then Stalinism was inevitable; the fight to the death against it by the finest of three generations in the communist movement can all be sadly observed as noble but doomed to failure.

And, more importantly, those who supported Stalinism, those who worked for it, need never account for their involvement because they too were just victims, poor creatures of circumstance.

In an interview in *The Scotsman* (August 21), Losey describes watching a demonstration in Moscow in 1935:

"It had tremendous emotional impact. The old boy up there was Uncle Joe. It was impossible to think of him as other than warm, lovely, of him as carrying forward the revolution of Lenin."

He goes on to describe the Khrushchev speech to the 20th Congress in 1956 as traumatic; it "ended most of our lives." Who could believe it all? Yes, they had known, however, there were liquidations and murders—"there always will be."

It's true, of course, that the idealism of scores of thousands of middle class people, including artists, was traded upon by the Communist Parties of the 1930s and 1940s. But how these people came to be so deluded, how the Communist Parties had reached this state is the prime question facing anyone so involved.

The one obstacle to all this "inevitability," of course, is Trotskyism.

The continuous fight for Marxism by Trotsky and the Left Opposition throughout the 1920s, a fight in which correct assessments of developments were made, in which correct policies were forged; the fight which led to the founding of the Fourth International to replace the utterly degenerated and counterrevolutionary Third International; the continuous and consciously undertaken struggle for theory against all revision—it's this history that stands in the way of those who want to explain away their past as necessary and inevitable.

So another tack must be tried. This time to show Trotsky as noble—yes, as brave indeed, as wonderfully intelligent, as witty, dedicated and fine—but how sad that he was really so totally isolated, so utterly ineffectual, so sadly doomed to be surrounded by people not up to his calibre.

That is to show Trotskyism as correct and even splendid, but to show it as impotent, and as the voice of noble losers in the wilderness.

If that picture can be sustained then another reason not to get too fussed about the past has been fabricated.

But more important than that, even, it's a reason not to have to be bothered about the present, except in the most general way.

DESPAIR

If the struggle for the continuity of the development of Marxism was actually defeated and destroyed in the 1930s, especially with Trotsky's death in August 1940, then indeed no one can do anything except despair or express goodwill messages for its revival. And the film works hardest at precisely this account.

The central image of the film is of a bullfight. Jacson (Mercader) and Agelof are shown watching it.

We see the bull strong, determined, courageous. It charges and counter-charges. The picadors get in some bloody lances but the bull never gives up attacking and counter-attacking the horses and the mounted riders.

Enter the toreador. Young, swarthy, a little unsure; he faces death too. A first few passes and the bull, becoming more and more frenzied but also more exhausted, is now bleeding profusely.

Then the matador is caught by the bull. Some heavy butting but no sign of any going. The matador recovers and delivers the death stroke. The bull roars, staggers, charges, blood gushing from its mouth. Finally it falls, noble creature, in the sand.

In the midst of all this we are shown one key cutaway shot of the crowd. Thou-



THE SECOND

sands and thousands of people sitting passively, quietly watching, detached, uninvolved.

After death we see the bull's carcass, pulled from the ring in chains by horses, pulled through mud, and finally we are shown the butchers cutting up the carcass, skinning it, cutting off the hocks, sawing out the organs.

The point of all this is clear: a visual analogy with the assassination is being drawn and, in case you doubt it, the images of the bull's death and Trotsky's are deliberately cut together. Bulls, of course, always lose.

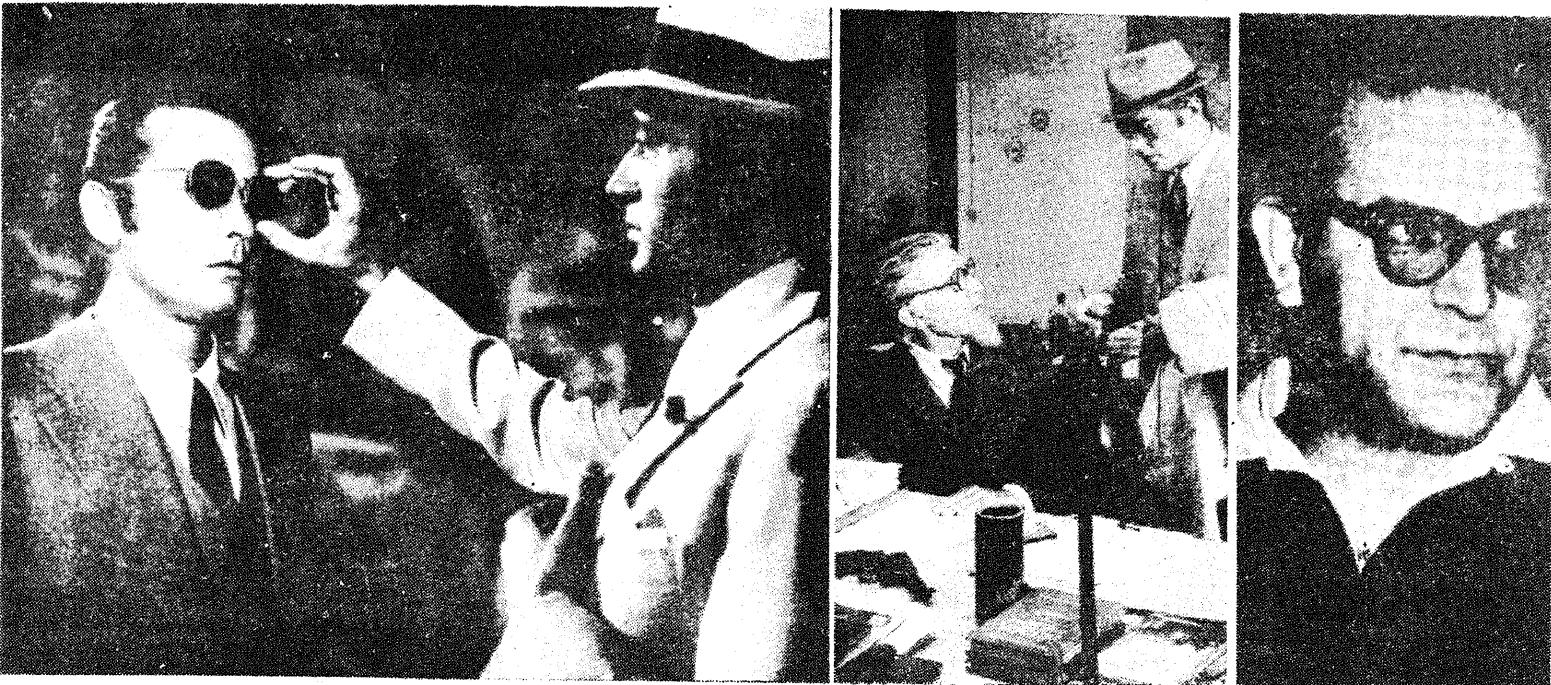
We're also shown Agelof and Jacson arguing at the spectacle. Jacson, the murderer, the GPU-trained assassin, is made to care about "suffering humanity" and reproaches Agelof (the Trotskyist) with caring only about the horses.

Heavenly choirs sing throughout. This is the only image in the film which alludes to the period after Trotsky's death. We are meant to understand clearly enough that it was one of mud and dismemberment, of degutting, of complete destruction.

Another important aspect of this bullfight device is that violence is turned into a fetish; it is objectified, alienated, put outside.

The involvement of Losey is thus repudiated by a trick, and by employing the bankrupt image of all liberals from Hemingway on, he can join in the chorus of concern and regret about that violence over there whilst remaining detached, even if a little titillated.

That way the assassination can be put in the distance, separated, and the subjective, conscious, responsible factor minimized. Also, of course, the bullfight allows the emphasis to be placed emotionally upon the ritualized and therefore sanctioned nature of the killing. A further



Far left: top, Leon Trotsky. Bottom, Richard Burton playing Trotsky. Above: Top, left, Alain Delon plays Trotsky's assassin; center, "Trotsky" in his study; right, the real assassin—Mercader who worked for the GPU. Below, Trotsky after he was killed.



Roy Battersby is a British film director. He was also a director for the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) for a number of years. The latest film he has directed was "The Body." He is also a leading member and shop steward in the Association of Cinematic and Television Technicians.

ASSASSINATION OF TROTSKY

reduction of responsibility.

And all this is deeply hidden in the film, none of this is regarded as a fact to be proven or left open.

The undoubted isolation of Trotsky and the bitter struggle for Marxism in those years of defeat for the working class is dealt with as a forlorn and finished process. The "crowd," i.e. the working class, just wasn't interested except as spectators. So really it's all their fault, too.

The film even goes on to suggest that it was partly Trotsky's own fault that he was murdered!

We see him look suspiciously and thoughtfully at Jackson on one of his early visits with his bogus manuscript. Why then let him in later? Ah, the death wish, you see!

FACELESS

Nicholas Mosley, in his book on the script actually puts the view that:

"Trotsky perhaps admitted the faceless silhouette into his study just for this—to demonstrate that a person should behave with courage and with dignity, and by this to show some faith in the dignity of mankind. For the rest, it did not much matter.

"So even when the faceless man brought the pick down on Trotsky's skull Trotsky could still jump up and go after him roaring and bite him on the finger and say—"I prevented him'."

Examine the position here.

The murderer was faceless, i.e. anonymous and not Mercader, Stalinist agent.

Trotsky, whose whole life was dedicated to the working class, admitted the killer deliberately as an impotent liberal gesture to human dignity.

When struck he behaved like the bull. His tireless defense of October against Stalin and all he stood for was not really carried on to his last breath but was

simply another impotent, empty, patently absurd claim.

This is the philistinism with which we are dealing, but, of course, this is the philistinism of Stalinism. On this level Losey chooses to live and to advocate.

All this is found in every frame of the film.

Mercader's "doubt" is emphasized, his guilty depressions; it's even implied that he did it all from sexual impotence to find an identity as the man who killed Trotsky.

Stalin is only once mentioned by name in the film and then as a joke. He is alluded to visually twice: once in the brief glimpse of a poster, the second time as a chimera in the Water Garden sequence.

The Stalinist line that Trotsky was a man of principle, yes, but that they had socialism to build—that omelettes mean cracking a few eggs—is not only put by the GPU contact man to Mercader, it is sanctioned.

When the chief prosecutor in the Moscow Trials explained the alleged acts of his victims as "Trotsky's thirst for power," Losey finds Trotsky "pretty ambiguous in his power drive. I think he realized the price of power was more than he was prepared to pay." (*The Scotsman*.)

In other words we are asked to accept again that it was all Trotsky's fault and that Stalinism is the inevitable result of the working class taking power, that power and principle must always be separated.

Another version of the same humbug used to cover up for the Stalinist bureaucracy's monstrous crimes is peddled in the form of the old saw that men of "action" can't be men of imagination, and that men of imagination can't be men of action.

In other words we should accept that Stalin was just a man of action and Trotsky one of imagination, and the con-

flict between them was one more example of this sad paradox which, again, has exercised liberals looking for a way out since Goethe.

Presumably Losey is thus excused on the grounds that he is an artist and not really involved.

Unfortunately for him, Trotsky was both a man of action and of imagination.

There are many who would like to excuse their own inaction by making this false separation, many who try also to present Marx and Engels as merely scholars and not leading figures in the class struggle. But they, like Trotsky, were leading figures in this struggle; more, they were men to whom knowledge could only be developed in it.

Many, too, try to speak of Lenin as simply a man of action—again trying to ignore his deep and scholarly study of philosophy and his understanding of the relationship of theory and practice as a unity of conflict between opposites.

Losey joins these dualists.

He can't stomach the old Stalinist line that Trotsky was a fascist, although he says he believed it at the time (*Scotsman*, August 21).

He can't accept what Pravda said, that Mercader was a disenchanted Trotskyist. But he gives them their new cover, their latest lies.

Mercader "resorted to violence because destruction is the easiest activity by which a bright and lost young man can make his notch in an arbitrary world" (*Mosley*, p. 153), or perhaps because the GPU held his mother.

But no mention of the Order of Lenin awarded to his mother after the assassination and none that she was maintained by the GPU for 20 years during his imprisonment. None, either, of his known involvement in the Spanish Civil War, of his

training, of his introduction to Sylvia Agelof through the New York Communist Party. Instead:

"Trotskyism seemed to have come to mean just the voice of Trotsky—explaining, protesting, scintillating, enduring.

"This was heroic; but what was the end of heroics in war?...His chickens clucked, his dictating machines clacked...! (*Mosley*, p. 144.)

All the scenes of Trotsky in the film are calculated to foster exactly this.

No sign at all that he even followed world events, especially in the USSR. Just shots of a quick bit of brilliant dictation followed by a nice cup of tea and a witty remark about Catherine the Great.

What pathetic reductionism Losey's claim to be working at other levels of human experience, more complicated than "mere Marxism," turns out to be.

Losey's "psychology" cannot even resolve the paradox of its own making about Trotsky. They say he was a man who looked for death, but on the other hand they are faced with him fighting for 15 minutes with an ice-pick over two inches into his brain. They say: "He verbally protested but did not do things which he could have done" (*Scotsman*).

RECORD

And this is said by one who loved the Uncle Joe who had already killed one of Trotsky's sons and imprisoned another, murdered his first wife, driven his daughter to suicide, killed his secretaries and all his political associates that could be captured—apart from waging a campaign of vicious slanders and monstrous lies.

But such an antithesis is the sterile philistinism that bewails man as half-devil, half-angel: the same philistinism that makes a film like this to defend the liars, the falsifiers of history, the murderers, those who tried to destroy October.

No mention that Mercader is alive and very well on a pension and with a job in Prague; that he is still supported by the apparatus that continues to imprison communist oppositionists including leading artists, or incarcerates them in mental hospitals.

No word about the force that created the Moscow Trials and ran the camps, that tried to murder and beat all that was best out of the proletariat in Russia and abroad.

No mention because when all the liberal convolutions are done it's these men that Losey ends up supporting—in 1972 as he did in 1935.

There's no accident or mistake made when Losey, who backed the Stalinist line which led to the defeat of the Spanish Civil War, identifies in the film the Spanish centrist POUM with the Fourth International; no error in wilfully obscuring Trotsky's struggle to keep alive in practice the truth about the October Revolution of 1917.

No, this is precisely in the tradition of the trials and the frame-ups.

This is exactly the tradition that must destroy the truth at all costs, not defend it. This is the continuity of counter-revolution, and it comes forward exactly during the deepest crisis of imperialism, when the question of building a revolutionary leadership in the working class is the primary task.

Trotsky's true greatness, however, is not obscured.

Isolated, in exile, hunted by assassins, witnessing the destruction of all the leading old Bolsheviks, fighting to create a new leadership against the massive odds of historical defeat and a state apparatus totally committed to the destruction of communism—these were the conditions in which a tiny handful of devoted communists in different countries fought to keep Marxism alive in the working class, through the struggle to build the Fourth International.

The day has now come when that fight and those enormous sacrifices can be fully appreciated. The principles defended then are today becoming the weapons first of thousands and then millions who face the task of overthrowing capitalism.

Trotsky was right when he assessed the work of his last ten years as the most important of his life. It's unlikely on this showing that Losey will be able to say the same.

DICK HOLODY is a delegate of the Social Service Employees Union Local 371 and is employed by the Social Service Department of New York City.

If you're going to analyze the political situation today you have to analyze Miami—both political parties and their conventions—and the attitude both party leaders and party people exhibited toward labor.

In the Democratic Party they instituted convention reforms which allegedly insure greater representation so that the party

truly reflects the makeup of the country. There was a quota for women, Spanish people, etc. Conspicuously omitted was a quota for union members—labor in general.

The lack of one shows that the Democratic Party is in complete disregard of labor. Lots of people say this disregard was exhibited by the treatment of Abel and Meany at the

convention—but I think it was that less than 10 percent of the delegates were union members.

If the Democratic Party is interested in the problems of labor, it is not so necessary to be obsequious to Meany, Abel and others but they should have taken time to insure labor's representation and include in the platform points of life and death interest to labor.

If you watched the convention you would have thought the Pay Board was a dead issue—no one mentioned it. No one praised it, of course, but no one criticized it. As far as the Democratic Party is concerned, it isn't even reformist with regard to the Pay Board.

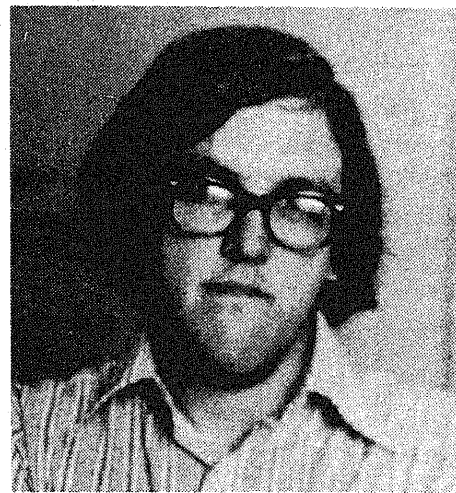
Also, I think, of the big historical political stories this year, important is what happened at Lordstown—but where was support for workers' there?

A month later we have the Republican Convention and at that convention newspapers said the Republicans made a big concession to labor. I believe for the first time the Republican platform did not call for a right-to-work law. This so-called "step forward" . . . I'm at a loss for words to describe it. I'm glad the Republicans recognize unions can exist but there's certainly no indication that what Nixon, Rockefeller, Agnew—any Republican—does, will in any way assist labor.

If you're a working man now and you see that your problems are not simply a matter of enough laboratories on a floor, but that your problems are political problems then you look at Miami and you've got to say: "Where the hell do we go?" Because it is not so much that labor was defeated at the two conventions—labor wasn't even considered.

About the program of the labor party in this manifesto. You're obviously not going to get adequate medical, housing, etc. under the economy as it stands—not in terms of an up or down economy but the economy as it is now structured. The proof of that is the last 200 years. When the capitalist economy has been at its full peak, churning as only it can churn, a worker could still die of heart disease because he could not scrape up the money to pay a doctor to have his condition taken care of.

My aunt had open heart surgery—my uncle just got the bill: \$8300. I don't



begrudge the anesthetist, the orderly, the nurse, the doctor, their pay—where much of the money goes—but I do begrudge that a man can possibly meet economic disaster just to preserve the life of his relative.

I think it's pretty clear any efforts made to tamper just the slightest bit with the capitalist economic system have been crushed—for very good reason—because those that have want to keep having. And \$8300 medical bills are not a problem if you're in a position of capitalist control. The troubles in the SSEU right now are probably indicative of what's happening in other unions. When we have a City versus union problem over wages, hiring, safe working conditions, workers are faced with two fights when they should only have one. There's no question we have to fight the City since the City will do anything that is in its power to have as few of us do as much work under whatever circumstances it can engineer—so the line there is clearly drawn, and I think most workers are aware of it.

Often this fight can be carried out with a good deal of solidarity. But it's this other fight that has to be taken up and that is against the bureaucratic leadership of the union itself. This is a very, very frustrating business because the assumption is that if a slate of people are elected to carry out a certain fight that the leadership will. But it hasn't worked out that way at all.

Under the Cohen "leadership" efforts have been made to stifle the workers to an unprecedented degree. For example at a time when there's been no hiring for over one year and the workload skyrocketing, Cohen agreed to a three month postponement in talks about hiring and then had the balls to call it a victory!

It's almost indescribable to say what this kind of action does to the morale of the workers. The eventual result is going to be that increasingly more workers will consider the union leadership to have no difference from the capitalist management and this can only result in defeat of all the workers' demands, since there will be no organization or structure workers can use to carry on their struggle.

So even though we face at present time within our union tremendous attacks by the City we also face the enormous struggle to make our union work. What this entails is placing strong and consistent pressure on the leadership to force them to take up the fight.

The situation is now that the workers' demands are political demands and so when the fight is taken in the union local and parent unions—the fight must not only be to force the leadership to take up the struggle against the City for workers' demands but also to take up a political struggle.

And the leadership cannot be permitted to say: "Well, there are only two candidates and we should support one of them" because regardless of the outcome of the election the struggle is a deeper and a longer one than that. What has to happen is that the leadership has to come to terms with what I've said happened at the two conventions—the complete disregard of labor.

They've got to face up to and wrestle with the fact that neither man has promised to end the Pay Board. People have talked about one and another party as a "friend of labor" but we've come to the point where having "friends" is just not enough and that instead of fighting someone (a party) that he should be your friend, the fight should be for labor to control via a labor party.

TRADE UNIONISTS SPEAK ON The Case for a Labor Party



The following articles are part of a series of statements which will appear weekly in the Bulletin, by trade unionists, unemployed and other sections of the working class, on the labor party as outlined in the Workers League manifesto, "The Case For A Labor Party." The purpose of these statements is to promote a continuing discussion of the program in the manifesto in relation to the needs and the experiences of the working class. This discussion is part of the campaign for the mid-October conference of trade unionists and youth which will establish an organization to fight for the formation of a labor party.

FRANK BUFFKIN is an assemblyman at the St. Louis General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) plant and a member of UAW Local 25.

I started work at the General Motors plant four years ago after being laid off from the McDonnell-Aircraft plant. What happened out there was the same that we are seeing in auto now. Around about 1969 and 1970 McDonnell was laying off thousands of workers. I don't know how many exactly, but guys with up to 25 years seniority were being thrown out of work.

With the introduction of GMAD in this plant last October about 2000 guys have been laid off and just since the model changeover last August the management has laid off 200 men. With unemployment as high as it is now there is no chance of these guys getting jobs. The situation for those remaining on the job is just as bad because now they have to do the job of two men or more.

The union leadership has not done anything to fight against these attacks. In the past the union hasn't minded going on strike, but over the



last 12 months the working conditions have deteriorated to the worst ever and these leaders seem to be backing away from the struggle. In our local we even took a strike vote back in the spring but nothing has come of it yet.

The management has no desire to settle the thousands of grievances which have piled up. We need a strike before anything can be settled. But it can't be just the St. Louis plant by itself. We haven't heard anything about the Norwood strike and that's been going on for 20 weeks so far. It has to be a nationwide shutdown.

What we are seeing now is the increase of profits at the expense of manpower. Nixon is backing the corporations all the way. For the working man to maintain the present standards or to improve them we have to have full employment. This is especially what the bosses and the government are against. They are trying to eliminate jobs with automation right across the country.

The unions have to be defended. There

can be no laws against the union's right to organize workers. The same thing goes for pay increases. We can't allow the government, through the Pay Board, to take back the raises that we win from the company.

I agree with the nationalization plank of your program. When the working conditions get worse and there is some sabotage in the plant, the management threatens to move the plant to South East Missouri or Arkansas where they can get cheaper labor. They have used this threat a lot, especially in the last two years. I don't think the corporations should be allowed to move their plants.

If they say that's the only way they can continue, then the government should step in and nationalize the plants and put them in control of the workers.

The unions can't fight these demands themselves. I think the labor party is a good idea. But we have to get the people behind it. Workers should fight in their unions to get them to back the formation of a labor party which they control and which can really fight for these demands.

French Workers Head For Wages Battle

BY MELODY FARROW

The French government of George Pompidou has just announced a series of anti-inflation measures that aim at destroying the independence of the unions while big business is given a free rein to raise prices.

The Gaullist party of Pompidou, the Union for the Defense of the Republic (UDR), is entering an election year with a growing economic crisis, vicious trade war with the U.S. and other countries and faced with a working class determined to strike to defend its eroding standard of living.

This year, inflation is expected to rise over 6.5 percent. Meat prices have gone up 15 percent, bread 14 percent. Unemployment this month went up over 381,000 an increase of 10,000 over the previous months.

The proposals of Valery Giscard d'Estaing, Economy and Finance Minister, contain a thinly veiled threat of wage controls

coupled with a series of minor and inexpensive concessions designed to seduce the labor bureaucracy into cooperating with the government.

DECLARED

D'Estaing declared that the policy of limiting price increases to three percent on non-competitive manufactured goods from March 1972 to March 1973 would be maintained and steps would be taken to inform the unions of this program. He said that "salaries are rising twice as fast as prices."

This is not only a complete lie but lays the blame for inflation not on the corporations but on the working class and is an implicit warning of wage restraints. Furthermore, he announced a

rise in the credit rate and a freeze on public service fares until March 1973.

The Finance Minister also announced that France would ask the Common Market for a suspension of tariff walls on meat imports in order to purchase meat from colonial countries at a cheaper price than from its own farmers. This policy, which means the end of subsidized support to the French farmer, will drive countless numbers of meat producers into ruin.

In his report, D'Estaing issued an appeal for the "Europeanization" of fiscal affairs and for common agreements among the Common Market countries to bring European production into line with each country's needs.

UNEMPLOYMENT

It is little wonder that D'Estaing passed over the problem of unemployment by blithely assuring everyone that it was not as bad as expected. He knows that his proposals to consolidate industries and agriculture will throw millions of workers out of their jobs.

The second aspect of the Gaullist program, to be headed by Social Affairs Minister, Edgar Faure, is full of demagogic and phony concern for the working man. The government categorically rejects the demand of the unions for a minimum wage of 1,000 francs a month. The minimum salary rate will be reviewed periodically and raises will be higher than the inflation rate and the average rate of increase of wages.

A French employers' organization has proposed that the government establish a program called "Guaranteed Annual Minimum of Resources" with the amount to be determined each year by a tripartite board of labor, employers and the public. If a worker does not put in the required amount of working

hours per year, he will not be eligible.

Other concessions that Pompidou is magnanimously making are a revision of the system of participation to facilitate the distribution of shares of a company to its employees and the creation of a national agency for "the economy of participation" to propose changes in working conditions.

CONTROLLED

What Pompidou is seeking is a rigid control over wages, a corporate state in which every decision affecting the working class is controlled by the government.

The reaction of the Communist Party is to enthusiastically join this "participation" scheme, just as it did in the middle of the 1968 General Strike, when it signed a national wage deal called the "Grenelle Agreements." These were overwhelmingly rejected by the working class. George Seguy, head of the CGT, seeks to revise these schemes by calling for a "great concert" of the unions and the government.

Following Giscard d'Estaing proposals, the head of Employers Council, Ceyrac, reflecting the thinking of large sections of big business, stated he would not agree to a "new Grenelle" and that the only way to deal with the unions was to take them on one by one in each industry.

Rodger Peyrefitte, who has just been elected as head of the Gaullist Party to lead the election campaign, devoted his first speech to an attack on the CP and the Union of the Left which is opposing the UDR. He declared that the Communist Party was a "threat to the future of our institutions" and to "our free society."

OFFENSIVE

Behind the wooing of the labor bureaucracy and affirmations of

economic stability, the Pompidou regime is preparing to launch an offensive against the working class and move towards a dictatorship.

The French government is forced to take desperate and savage measures against the working class in order to defend its economy within the Common Market and against the U.S.

France has been the principle opposition to Nixon's ultimatum that Common Market tariffs be lowered to allow U.S. goods to be sold in Europe and that the European countries revalue their currencies. Pompidou has demanded that the official gold price be set at \$70 an ounce.

Common Market transactions have been thrown into chaos since August 15 when Nixon severed the dollar from gold. This has meant a ruthless struggle for markets within the Common Market itself.

France, in a stronger position than Britain has demanded that Britain end the floating of the pound even though this would mean a catastrophe for British trade. All that matters to France and each capitalist class is its own survival.

STRIKE WAVE

The privileged position that France has enjoyed in the Common Market is coming to an end. There is nothing that will prevent a massive strike wave from sweeping the country this fall. Already a factory which makes electric batteries near Rouen has been occupied by its 400 workers, in a fight for better wages and working conditions.

The French working class can take a big step forward by demanding that candidates of the Union of the Left in next March's elections adopt a socialist program for nationalization of industry under workers control and a workers government.

Editor's Notebook

He Prefers Better Beef

As wages continue to drop under the wage freeze, prices soar. Last month one of the biggest increases was the price of meat. In fact beef prices alone have climbed 17.4 percent in a year—the highest since the Korean War.

This is distressing for a great many families for whom hamburger is becoming more and more a common staple.

But not so for Nixon's Secretary of Agriculture, Earl L. Butz.

Butz has been putting his time in fighting hard against controls on meat prices. Last month he even went further and praised the increase on the price of beef because, as he put it, it's "the best way to insure a good supply of the better cuts of beef I prefer."



Henry Kissinger

swinging with starlets has more to do with his access to power than his innate sex appeal. All of this is capped with the most perceptive of Madame Hunebelle's observations:

"I looked at him tenderly. What a poor lover he must be. Bound hand and foot by complexes. Fraught with persecution mania. His mistrustful look hurt me. A man like that would always be something of a mystery, I thought; his contradictions make him a sort of monster."

Quite so. But the international working class will soon put an end to his misery.

The Truth About Henry

It's been billed as "Everything You Always Wanted To Know About Henry But Never Dared To Ask," but Dear Henry, the heart-and-soul outpouring of a French lady journalist in pursuit of Henry Kissinger, makes you glad you never did.

Madame Hunebelle, suffering from a terminal case of radical chic par excellence "tells all" after Henry spurns her. In intimate tete-a-tete dinners in expensive French restaurants in Washington, she learns that Henry sops up the sauce from his coq au vin with bread.

He was ill tailored until she wised him up with a Lanvin tie from a Paris boutique, and is such an adorable absent-minded professor that he forgets the combination to his personal safe (containing state secrets, and, we presume, more Pentagon papers).

She says he has sensual hands and is a former henpecked husband with enough sensitivity to realize that his

Police Lib

Another August has passed with another aborted women's march in the streets of New York. This one was even smaller than the last. It is no wonder.

The real logic of this middle class movement was brought home the other day by

an official of the National Organization of Women (NOW), who insisted that women "are very interested in police work." To this end the NOW official has suggested that no less than the FBI be given advertising space in the pages of its newsletter to recruit women to its services.



Over 400 workers in Baltimore rallied on Labor Day and prevented the American Nazi Party from holding a march. Nazis set up headquarters (above) in the city earlier and vowed to organize against "Jews, Niggers and Polacks." A Vietnam veteran said "That's everybody in the neighborhood. There are people here who lived through WWII in Nazi concentration camps and fought in the underground against them. They haven't forgotten what the Nazis are and they aren't going to tolerate Nazis here." A pensioner who came from Germany said: "No more can we surrender. If we have a labor party, it must fight the Nazis and not surrender."

UE CONVENTION...

(Continued From Page 1)

Democrats are just as determined as the Republicans to destroy the living standards of the working class.

"We fight the bosses day in and day out," stated the delegate, "but we deliver our votes to the politicians they control."

OVATION

The 400 delegates gave the speaker a strong ovation as he called on the UE to "organize our ranks in a party of labor."

Following the delegate's ten minute speech, the labor party question absorbed the attention of the convention even though the resolution being debated concerned support for the McGovern Shriver ticket.

Almost every single delegate who spoke during the remaining hours of the session admitted that a labor party would be the best alternative for the working class, but defended the Mc-

Govern resolution on the grounds that there was too little time to organize a labor party.

"The ultimate goal would be the establishment of the labor party," stated a member of the Executive Board, "but we'll be lucky if we get one in the next ten years."

Clearly disturbed by the course of the discussion, UE President Fitzgerald intervened with a 20 minute speech in which he defended the pro-McGovern resolution and attacked the Workers League "which seems to think a labor party can be built overnight."

Before the session had started, Fitzgerald had personally warned the Bulletin reporter at the Convention to refrain from political discussions with delegates or face expulsion from the proceedings. "Don't try to organize an opposition here," he said.

Fitzgerald, who publicly stated last Spring that he supported a labor party for 1972, told the delegates that he still thought that workers had suffered under the leadership of both parties. He said that the Democrats passed the law which enabled Nixon to impose the wage freeze.

"But I was not foolish enough to think anything could be done before November," he claimed, explaining his reasons for now supporting McGovern.

"The primary job of a union is organizing the unorganized. But there are millions of workers who are not ripe enough to join a labor party. They aren't even ripe enough to join a union. The idea that we can build a labor party overnight is a mistake."

Referring to members of the Workers League who sold the Bulletin at the St. Louis Labor for Peace Conference in June and led the fight for the labor party, Fitzgerald said:

"I saw a bunch on a corner handing out a newspaper (the

Bulletin), expressing their disgust at 'those old fogies' who are dragging their feet on the labor party.

The UE Convention revealed in the sharpest manner the reactionary character of the so-called "progressive" section of the trade union bureaucracy that is opposing AFL-CIO President George Meany's statement of neutrality with efforts to drive the working class into the Democratic Party and stifle the movement for the labor party.

Behind all the demagogic attacks on Meany's right wing positions is the cynical objective of the Stalinist-supported bureaucracy to establish the type of relationship with McGovern that Meany enjoyed with Johnson and Humphrey.

But these bureaucrats are in a tremendous crisis. They have no policy to meet Nixon's attacks on the trade unions, and have a hard time explaining their support of McGovern to convention delegates—let alone the ranks in the plants.

Although the UE delegates voted to accept the resolution put forward by the bureaucracy, support for the opposition statement was very much in evidence. After the close of the session, a large number of delegates congratulated the worker who had spoken in behalf of the labor party.

The labor party resolution itself was tabled.

UNEMPLOYMENT

In the discussion that had preceded the debate over the McGovern endorsement, delegates described the tremendous growth in unemployment that had hit their plants, and the political and legal attacks on trade unionism.

The only way these dangers can be fought is through the independent mobilization of the working class in a labor party pledged to socialist programs.

YS CONFERENCE...

(Continued From Page 5)

election and in both cases are incapable of defending the unions and the youth.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance which were born in a fight against Stalinism now leave the youth unprepared for the betrayal ahead. The Young Socialists supports their Jenness and Pulley campaign, but does the YSA think that you can defeat Nixon with Jenness and Pulley?

The only thing that you can counterpose to Nixon is the working class organized in a labor party. It is as part of this campaign for the labor party that the Young Socialists supports the Jenness and Pulley candidacy and we call on all their supporters to break from the policy

of the YSA of building coalitions, and popular fronts with the Youth for McGovern.

DOCUMENT

For the Chicago pre-conference a document is being prepared on which discussion will take place. The finished document will then be the center of the spring national launching of the YS.

We urge all youth to attend the conference and join the YS to build for it. We also urge all the youth to send in any proposals they may have on the program and perspectives of the YS.

OLYMPICS...

(Continued From Page 3)

Nothing was further from the minds of Brandt, Meir, Dayan and Brundage than saving the athletes. Nor was the Munich police force, controlled by the right-wing Bavarian government and sprinkled with ex-Nazi sympathizers, concerned with the lives of the athletes.

What they all wanted was a massacre which would provide the opportunity for an international witch-hunt and renewed assaults on the Arab people victimized by Zionist oppression.

Originally, the West German government attempted to cover its deliberate provocation by claiming that the young Arabs had started the airport massacre by opening fire on the German police.

But as evidence to the contrary poured in from hundreds of witnesses, the authorities were forced to order a blackout on all news reports, and then admit that the police had actually fired first.

The West German government has attempted to justify its cold-blooded murder by claiming that the Israelis would have met certain death had the Arabs been allowed to fly to Egypt with the hostages. German authorities claimed after the shootings that the Egyptian government stated that it would not do anything to save the hostages were they to land in Egypt.

But a German official publicly has challenged this statement and said that Egypt did indeed offer to intervene on behalf of the athletes.

However, the imperialists considered the athletes more profitable dead than alive. They have mobilized all their spokesmen in a frenzied chorus of denunciations and threats.

Richard Nixon piously called the action of the young Arabs "a hideous perversion of the Olympic spirit" and demanded "effective common action against fanatics or criminals who recognize no boundaries or limits to their depredations."

Olympic President Avery Brundage denounced the "criminal intrusion of terrorists into peaceful Olympic precincts." In 1936, the same Mr. Brundage vigorously defended the intrusion of swastikas, Nazis, and Adolf Hitler into the "peaceful Olympic precincts" of Berlin, the site of the games that year.

George McGovern called for retribution against the Arab states.

Pope Paul mourned the "betrayal of the Olympic spirit." Obviously, His Holiness does not think that the "Olympic spirit" is offended by the fact that the

games are being played only several miles from Dachau, the site of the Nazi concentration camp in which thousands of communists and Jews were slaughtered.

Standing in open solidarity with Nixon, the Pope, Brundage, Golda Meir and the rest of the bloodthirsty crew is the Stalinist American Communist Party. In an editorial published September 7 in the CP's Daily World, entitled "To End Banditry," the Stalinists declared:

"The world is justly outraged by the murderous banditry unleashed at the Olympics in Munich. We join in its denunciation."

Two days later, the Daily World once again accused the Arabs of "a barbaric crime."

These criminal statements are nothing less than an endorsement of the Israeli raids against Syria and Lebanon during the past week in supposed retaliation.

Scores of defenseless Arabs have been killed—including women and children—and hundreds more wounded in lightening attacks conducted by Israeli jets. The annihilation of the Hamse family in the city of Rafid—a mother and her seven children, ranging in age from 14 months to 15 years—is an example of the Israeli terror which the Zionist government arrogantly admits has only just begun.

A young Arab who witnessed the bombings told the press: "I've never seen people kill like this, just women and children, like the Nazis. The Israelis know that there are no commandos in this town and they know where we have our camps—so why this attack?"

The answer to Zionist aggression in the Middle East and the attacks of imperialism internationally cannot be given by individual heroism expressed through terrorism. The defense of the working class in every part of the world requires the mobilization of the working class under the Marxist leadership of the Fourth International.

UAW...

(Continued From Page 4)

tempting to pressure the Woodcock team into action to defend the livelihood of Revere workers. In an incredible show of impudence toward the men they represent, officials at Solidarity House told Local 174 members that there was nothing the International could do for them and that any action against the robbery of their retroactive pay was up to their local leadership.

When the picketers arrived at their local headquarters, however, their local leadership was nowhere to be found. Woodrow Ferguson, President of Local 174, an amalgamated local which includes two other plants, later told the press that although Monday's walkout was unauthorized, he could understand his members' impatience with the Pay Board.

But in an emergency meeting held Monday night, Ferguson himself told Local 174 strikers to go back to work to avoid a suit against the local. As one Local 174 member told the Bulletin:

"Ferguson thought we'd get a definite decision on the retroactivity. Not within two weeks, but he told us it was mostly up to the company. Now the union is mad at us because of the walkout. We had to beg for Monday's meeting and we wouldn't have gotten one at all if we hadn't walked out."

UFT...

(Continued From Page 3) guidelines, saying that nothing could be done to fight the Pay Board.

Starting teachers will get only a \$100 increase per year of the contract and the maximum increase is \$900 per year.

The Board can set a quota for the number of teachers in each school regardless of class size. Under the new contract, this will be subject to discussion and this Shanker presented as a great victory.

At the delegates meeting Friday, 20 percent of the delegates voted against the contract. When discussion began, the microphone was turned off, and only three speakers were allowed.

FUND DRIVE...

(Continued From Page 1)

tant that all our supporters help us to start the drive properly by sending in contributions immediately so that we do not face the task of raising huge sums during the last few weeks of the drive.

Some of our supporters have already started fund drive work. Last week the Fort Greene Young Socialists held a successful street fair for the Bulletin and this coming weekend the Bushwick Young Socialists are also holding a street fair. All such activities must be planned now and held continually throughout the fund drive period.

As Nixon prepares his trade war against Europe and encourages right-wing forces in and around the Republican Party, we must prepare to give a political lead to the American working class in the coming period. This can only be done through the Bulletin and the Young Socialist. This is why this fund campaign is so urgent now.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

☐\$1.00 FOR 4 MONTH INTRODUCTORY SUB ☐\$2.00 FOR 6 MONTHS
☐\$4.00 FOR ONE YEAR 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

CAPITAL
FIRST EDITION



Karl Marx
FIRST ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE
FIRST EDITION OF CAPITAL, VOLUME
ONE, CHAPTER ONE, THE COMMODITY
BULLETIN MARXIST CLASSICS 50c

Just Out!

Capital Volume One,
Chapter One, The Com-
modity. By Karl Marx.
50c

Never before available in English, this first edition of Chapter One of Capital is meticulously translated from the original German. It is an invaluable guide to a study of Capital from the point of view of Marxist methodology.

Order From: Labor Publications, 6th Floor, 135 West 14th Street, New York 10011

West Coast News

**Warren Billings Dies,
1916 Frame-Up Victim**

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The last survivor of the 1916 Preparedness Day bombing case, Warren K. Billings, died on Labor Day at 79 in Redwood City.

Tom Mooney and Billings were well known as labor organizers in the Bay Area. Both had been marked down for harassment and frame-up by the bosses. Billings was sent to Folsom prison for 22 years for possession of explosives planted on him by a detective for Pacific Gas and Electric Company.

In June 1916, the streetcar strike they organized failed, and both were put under surveillance by city and company detectives. On July 22, during a demonstration for "preparedness," that is, favoring U.S. entry into World War I, a bomb exploded on the parade route, killing 10 and wounding scores more.

Billings and Mooney were framed for this. The actual bombers were never caught. The police department removed and destroyed all the physical evidence such as bomb fragments and chemical residues.

Every effort was made to manufacture a case against Mooney, Billings, and three others, relying on a few programmed witnesses to make the necessary identifications. The District Attorney, Fickett, acted as the conscious agent of the Chamber of Commerce in whipping up an anti-labor hysteria to attack not just Mooney and Billings but the entire working class.

Billings was President of Local 220 of the Shoe and Boot Workers Union at the time of his arrest.

CONVICTED

Billings was tried first, convicted of placing the bomb, and given a life sentence, although the three witnesses who identified him "saw" him at different places at the same time.

When Mooney was about to come to trial, photographs turned up taken during the parade which showed Mooney and his wife far from the scene of the bombing. The prosecution promptly hired two witnesses from out of town to swear they saw Mooney pass the bomb to Billings at an earlier time. These men had not testified against Billings—they were simply brought in to fill up the hole in the prosecution's case.

Mooney was convicted as the



Warren K. Billings, after his release from prison in 1939.

prime instigator of the bombing and sentenced to death. One of the hired stool pigeons got cold feet and talked about the payoff. He released to the press detailed correspondence with other witnesses and the prosecutor which fully established the conspiracy against Mooney and Billings.

The governor of California commuted Mooney's sentence to life imprisonment. At this point, many of the other witnesses began to come forward, telling how their testimony had been prepared by the prosecutor.

Every rotten detail of the workings of capitalist justice came to light. No juries could be found to take the charges seriously, and the other defendants were acquitted.

A campaign began for the release of Mooney and Billings, which lasted more than 20 years. The international working class movement rallied to the defense of the two men—in 1917 Russian workingmen stormed the American embassy in Petrograd demanding their freedom. However, the defeat of the post-war revolutionary wave in Europe was a heavy blow to Mooney and Billings as well.

UPSURGE

Only in 1939, as a calculated concession to the new upsurge in the American labor movement in the CIO, was Mooney pardoned. That same year Billings' sentence was commuted to time served, after Earl Warren, then state Attorney General, prevented a full pardon for him.

Mooney went to the hospital six months after leaving prison and died there in 1942. Billings, who went to jail at 23 and was released at 46, a prematurely old man, rejoined the labor movement and fought until 1961, when he finally received a full pardon.

BOISE . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

During this period the leadership of Millmen and Industrial Carpenters Union Local 262, which represents the plant, did nothing to fight these conditions.

Last October 6 the company closed down production and announced that the closure would be permanent unless the union agreed to forego a 25 cent wage increase scheduled under the contract for January and further agreed to the ripping up of the seniority rights provided under the contract.

Only the use of such blackmail tactics, combined with strong-arm measures by the local leadership, enabled the company to push through a new contract over tremendous opposition from the ranks.

In a move to break the tremendous opposition in the plant to the local leadership, Business Representative Gordon Franco removed two of the shop stewards who were leading the fight, Chief Steward Frank Zuniga and Francisco De Leon, and replaced them with his own men in March.

The San Jose Mercury, in reporting the layoffs, had

The freeing of Mooney and Billings came as a by product of the greatest class battles in American history. Their only "crime" was fighting in defense of the working class.

The refusal of the parole board to free Juan Farinas and the opening in California of the trials of Billy Smith and Ruchell Magee offer a glimpse of what the ruling class is preparing for the labor movement.

Mooney and Billings are men the working class will never forget. Their fight will be taken forward through the struggle to mobilize the working class in defense of political prisoners in the fight for power.

**Debate Erupts Over
Endorsing Democrats
At COPE Conference**

BY TED BAKER

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 8—The California State Labor Council on Political Education (COPE) met here today under conditions described by its Executive Secretary, John Henning, as "unique in the history of labor."

Henning's keynote speech was almost wholly devoted to an analysis of why California COPE cannot endorse McGovern. According to Henning these reasons are strictly confined to the decision of the national AFL-CIO executive committee to remain neutral in the presidential elections.

He did not once mention McGovern's notorious anti-labor

voting record. His remarks ended with a motion to defeat Nixon because he is anti-union, a racist, and unpatriotic.

As indicated by Henning's backhanded support to McGovern, the California labor bureaucracy is desperate to save its relationship with the Democrats. It was this atmosphere which dominated all aspects of the convention.

The guest speaker was San Francisco's Mayor Alioto, who

was introduced as "a man who stands up for the principles of labor."

CONFLICT

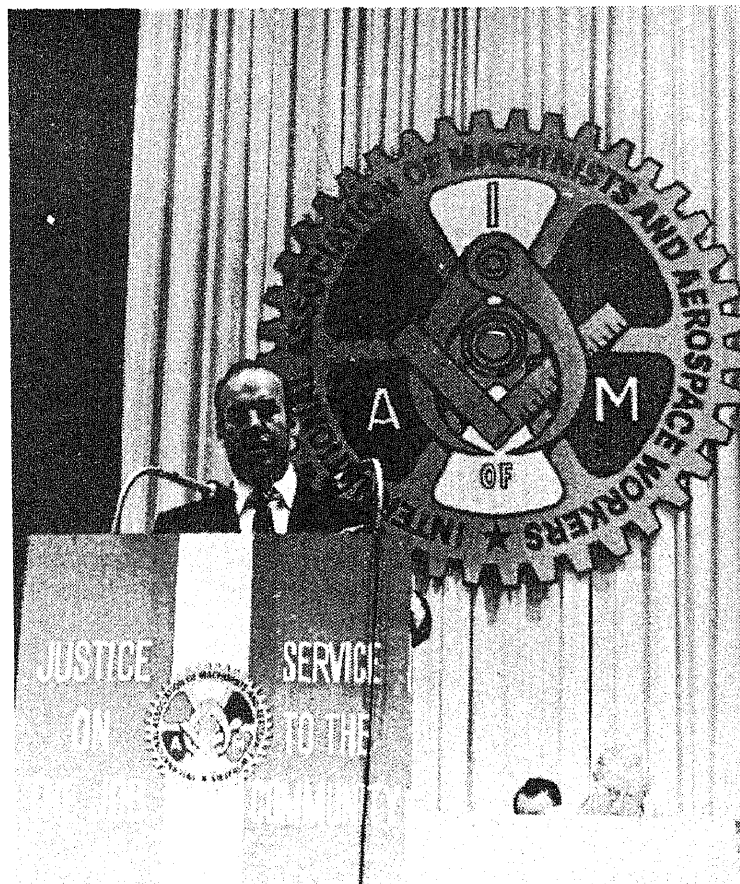
Despite Henning's speech and the cordial relations with Alioto, the convention was unable to conceal the growing conflict between labor and the Democratic Party. The main body of the conference was devoted to endorsements of candidates to Congress and for the State Legislature.

One candidate recommended by the Executive Committee, Leo J. Ryan, narrowly won endorsement over the strong opposition of the teachers and public employee unions for his consistent opposition to the rights of government employees to strike. Altogether nine recommendations of the Executive Committee were opposed from the floor.

ASPECT

Every aspect of the convention underscored the fact that as long as the labor movement does not have its own party, it is not going to be able to defeat the anti-labor policies of Nixon. More and more of labor's "friends" in the Democratic Party are stabbing labor in the back and supporting Nixon.

As if to emphasize this, the Labor for McGovern Committee meeting, held after the conference, broke down into a squabble over allocation of money and organizational control of the campaign. Even these true blue Democrats could not conceal their unhappiness over supporting McGovern. They were all willing to put their name on a piece of paper, but only the right-wing leadership of the CWA was willing to fork over any money.



Lodge 113 submitted a resolution to the IAM Convention in L.A. It calls on IAM to demand that the AFL-CIO build a labor party.

West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN. WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 318 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103. PHONE 415-621-1310

Editorial

Chicano Youth Give CP A Slap In The Face

The first national convention of La Raza Unida Party was held in El Paso last week.

This conference reflected very sharply the crisis that is breaking up the Democratic Party and that has forced the AFL-CIO to a position of neutrality on the Presidential elections.

The hatred of the Chicano youth for the two capitalist parties led to a massive and prolonged floor demonstration in support of a resolution calling for no support to either Nixon or McGovern.

Despite the attempts of the leadership to divert the ranks with appeals for Raza unity around a bankrupt nationalist program, the heart of the matter was the overwhelming sentiment for a decisive break from the capitalist parties.

Thus Angel Gutierrez, elected national chairman, found himself facing massive opposition when he attempted to turn the floor over to a Spanish Roman Catholic Bishop and to Jack O'Dell of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Both were opposed because of their positions supporting the Democratic Party.

The attitude of the Stalinists towards this convention is very significant. Juan Lopez writing for the People's World originally praised Raza participation in the Democratic Party convention, claiming that McGovern's platform was "more responsive to the needs of the people in general, of La Raza in particular than that of Richard Nixon."

He called on the convention to concentrate its fire on Nixon, not McGovern in order not to isolate itself from the masses of Raza people.

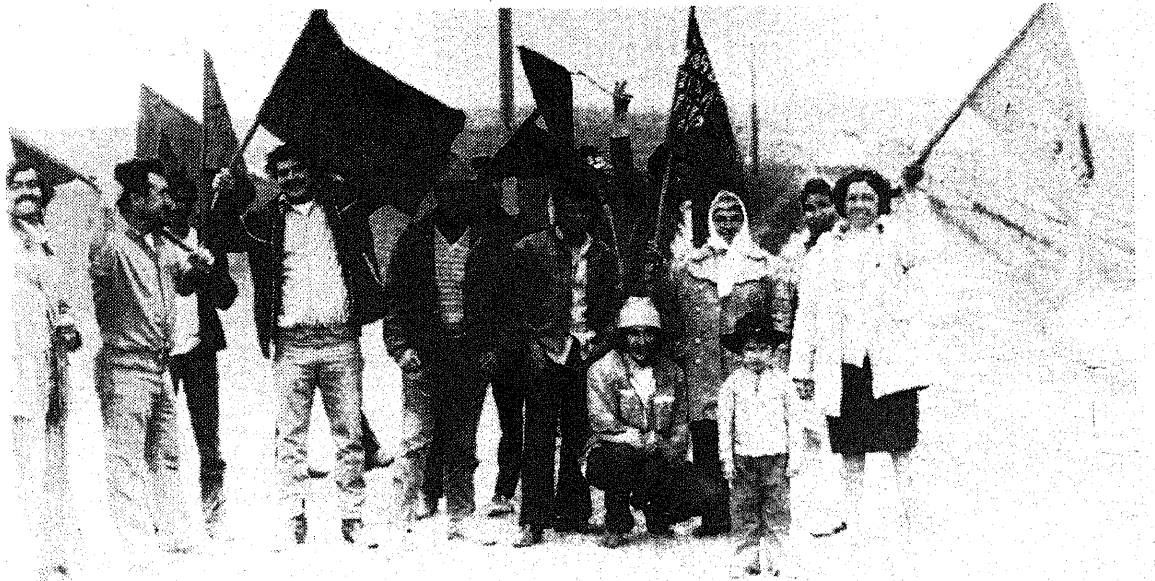
The Stalinists were stung by the bitterly anti-McGovern sentiment of the ranks. Lopez now consoles himself with the observation that the Gutierrez leadership has "in the past, based itself on a policy of coalition and alliances."

What this means in practice was summed up by Lopez in a denunciation of delegates as "rigid" for opposing the participation of Catholic churchmen and Democratic Party reformists.

Thus the Stalinists line up with the most right-wing forces in an attempt to divert the youth from their "narrow view" back into the mainstream of Democratic Party politics.

The temporary and fragile "unity" built up around Gutierrez can only break down as the logic of nationalism is to wall off Chicano workers and youth from their class brothers in an acceptance of reformism and capitalist-caused divisions.

Those LRUP members who seriously wish to break from capitalist politics will have to see that the same crisis that drives the farmworkers to build up a massive united struggle of the labor movement against anti-union legislation requires the political unity of the entire working class through the construction of a labor party.



Farmworkers picket Inter-Harvest in Salinas, Calif. Strikers are demanding pension and wage increases.

UFW Strike Cripples Inter-Harvest Fields

BY BARRY GREY

SALINAS—On September 1, the United Farm Workers struck Inter-Harvest in the Salinas Valley.

Inter-Harvest, part of United Fruit Company, is the largest lettuce grower in Salinas and was the first to sign a contract with the UFW. To date Inter-Harvest has refused to bargain seriously. They have rejected the union's demand for pension increases and offered a mere 3 cents per crate increase over three years for the celery workers.

The strike of almost 2000 workers has shut down all of Inter-Harvest's fields in the valley. If the strike continues, whole sections of the lettuce crop will go to ruin.

SOLID

The strike has been solid, with no irrigation and only a minimal amount of picking by supervisor-operated machines taking place. Last Wednesday night a group of farm workers from Salinas went to Firebaugh and brought out 90 workers who had been scabbing.

One picker was arrested on Thursday morning for holding several nails in his hand. Inter-Harvest has discontinued the food service which is normally given to those workers who live in their barracks.

The spirit of the strikers is high and they are determined to defend the gains won by the union. But the strike faces grave dangers because of the reformist policies of the Chavez leadership.

SETTLEMENT

The leadership has led the strikers to expect a quick settlement. But every indication is that Inter-Harvest is front running for all the growers in an attempt to inflict a sharp defeat on the farm workers.

This strike occurs in the midst of an all-out offensive by the federal and state governments to pass legislation like that already passed in Arizona, Idaho, and Nebraska which would in effect

outlaw the UFW.

There can be no doubt that the growers fear the massive counter-offensive that has been launched in Arizona by Chavez to recall the governor and the multi-union campaign that has been begun in California to defeat proposition 22b. They

want to derail this movement, which poses the united strength of the unions backed by the youth and unemployed and, in Arizona, the question of political power itself.

FORWARD

The UFW can only go forward by carrying what has been begun in Arizona into a campaign in the labor movement for the construction of a labor party.

Boise Cascade To Lay Off 250 Men

BY BARRY GREY

MORGAN HILL—Last Tuesday, Boise Cascade Aristocrat Division in Morgan Hill, which produces recreational trailers, campers, and mini-homes, informed its 400 employees that it was temporarily stopping production and 250 were permanently out of a job.

Aristocrat is the largest employer in Morgan Hill, a town of 5600 just south of San Jose. Its decision to slash employment and consolidate production from 11 assembly lines in 22 buildings to three lines in one building will have a devastating effect on the area's economy.

SENIORITY

For the 250 workers with seven or less years of seniority who were thrown out of work, there are virtually no prospects for jobs other than seasonal work in the fields. The vast majority of Aristocrat workers are Chicanos and many speak only Spanish.

For the 150 workers with higher seniority scheduled to return to work in late October, the prospects are for vicious speed-up and pay cuts.

This move by Boise Cascade comes as the culmination of a history of industrial blackmail by the company and outright complicity by the local union leadership that must serve as the sharpest warning to the labor movement nationally.

Ever since Boise Cascade

bought out Aristocrat in 1969, it has used the threat of closure to enforce layoffs, speed-up, and police state conditions in the plant. A driver and shop steward, who was fired last May for fighting against open violations of the contract by the company, told the Bulletin:

"The first thing they did when they came in was to increase the security. They went from two to eight guards. They built fences around all the areas that had been open. They began inspecting our lunch pails.

"They brought efficiency experts in. They cut five men here, five men there. Management was always changing. There was constant turmoil ever since Boise Cascade came in. People began to feel a strong sense of insecurity. Dealers began to complain about the low quality of the trailers.

"They began pushing people very hard to make quotas. They held meetings with the leadmen, saying you have not met the quota, if you don't, we'll get someone who can.

"Boise Cascade came in and bled the company."

(Continued On Page 19)

The Case for a Labor Party

Public Meeting SUNDAY, OCT. 8

HOTEL SAN FRANCISCO
1231 MARKET ST. — NOB HILL ROOM 2P.M.
Contribution: \$1.00

Sponsored by the Workers League
3004 16th St., San Francisco Phone: 621-1310

