

Workers' Action

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SELL-OUT OF UAW STRIKE!

Ranks Must Oppose Woodcock Betrayal

FREMONT REPORT

The tentative settlement of the strike recommended by Woodcock represents a sell-out to GM and a betrayal of the interests of workers. Triggered by the U.S. war in Southeast Asia, inflation has eaten away our standard of living so that, in terms of buying power, most workers are making less now than three years ago! Faced with a declining economy, Nixon-Agnew are helping the corporations maintain their greedy profits by making working people the fall guys for slowing down inflation through "planned unemployment" and shrinking paychecks.

Bosses Attack

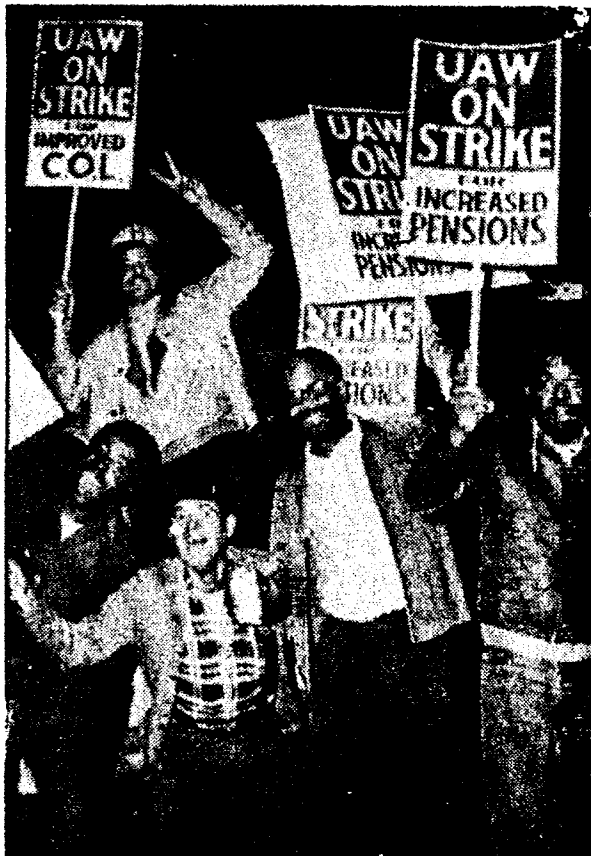
Unemployment is already over 8% in many areas of the country. Politicians from both of the bosses' parties -- as well as a few so-called labor leaders -- have been beating the drums for "wage-price controls", which really means only wage controls. From the bosses' side, the only way they can succeed in enforcing this crackdown is by taming or defeating the major unions -- in this case the UAW. This explains why GM has taken such a tough stand and why a long strike is likely.

The UAW membership must answer this attack with strong, militant strike action and aggressive demands, rallying the support of the entire labor movement to back them up. Yet, the UAW bureaucrats, headed by Leonard Woodcock, have sounded no alarm about the far-reaching effects of this strike, and instead are matter-of-factly conducting a defensive, low-level, business-like strike, limited only to GM, even exempting 27 GM plants that produce parts for the other auto makers. By this policy they hope to run down the striking membership and set them up for a sell-out settlement like Reuther did in the 1967 strike.

Bureaucrats Maneuver

While supposedly "very far apart" on money and other national issues, top UAW and GM officials have reversed the bargaining pattern of previous years and are frantically running all over the country trying to wrap up agreements on local issues -- to clear the way for a shotgun settlement on the money and pension package, probably after a second or third offer by GM when the strike fund runs out. The N. Y. Times reports that a special hot line system has been run into the GM headquarters in Detroit to help Union and management officials break "bottlenecks" that develop at local plants. Already 6700 workers at the Allison Diesel Division in Detroit, which supplies engines for 100 non-GM companies, have been told to go back to work after a "victory" was declared on local issues.

Furthermore, Woodcock is already show-



ing how "reasonable" he is by publicly hinting that the UAW would be willing to let its members pay for increases in medical insurance if GM loosens up on the cost-of-living increases. Thanks. What else has been going on behind the scenes? All of this smells like the time-worn pattern of previous contracts of selling out on working conditions, automation, productivity, local grievances, "management prerogatives", etc., in exchange for a little more money and a better pension -- at least for those workers who manage to survive the speedups and layoffs. So it seems that Woodcock's strategy is to make the strike as painless as possible for the auto makers and the "national economy", while cooperating with GM to swindle the membership into a quick settlement, hopefully with no local issues to block the way.

For A Labor Offensive

WORKERS' ACTION believes that for a real victory of the UAW strike, the Woodcock bureaucracy and their sell-out policies must be fought and defeated. UAW militants should organize rank and file Strike Committees in every local to direct all strike activities and link up with other workers nationally through strike bulletins. Raise the demand for a special national Strike Convention of workers from all the Big Three plants to fight for the following urgent demands:

Fremont, California -- Since the 4300 workers of UAW Local 1346 struck the Fremont GM plant on September 15, it has become obvious that the union leadership is more interested in crushing the union ranks than winning the strike.

There is no lack of rank-and-file anger against GM; at the midnight strike deadline in September, local members rushed in to set up pickets and turn back trucks carrying newly assembled cars -- a task which the local leadership under John Herrera, Local Shop Committee Chairman, had failed to do. Later the workers set fire to a garbage truck attempting to leave the plant and had a "dispute" with an ambulance driver who came too close to the crowd. Herrera responded to all this by blaming it on "student agitators" and putting an end to nighttime picketing!

Repression

More and more, the local leadership, in panic against rising anger in their ranks, is resorting to open repression -- including collusion with GM and the cops. No discussion of the union's demands was permitted at the few meetings held since the strike began! Finally the local was ordered to cease all local membership meetings by UAW Regional Director Paul Schrade. (When this reporter visited the plant, pickets at the entrance said they didn't know what the union was demanding, and that the union doesn't know either!) When a rank-and-file opposition caucus in the local tried to call a rally on September 18, Herrera and Schrade called out nearly 200 riot cops from the local police department, plus a special squad of goons to intimidate the ranks; as a result, the Caucus called off its rally.

Herrera blames the unrest on "left-wing agitators" and through a "leadership liaison committee" he maintains contact with the Police Department to crush the ranks. To enhance the atmosphere of intimidation, he maintains an around-the-clock squad of goons at the union hall to "protect it" from "agitators". To top it off, Herrera and the Local 1365 Executive Board, backed up by Schrade, recently approved of an arrangement to allow striking UAW maintenance crews to work on raising the security wall around the plant from 6 feet to 12 feet to afford protection for the company from "agitators"!

The strike is providing a serious test for two caucuses presently in the local -- the

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Editorial

FIGHT BACK AGAINST MOUNTING REPRESSION!

Voices of the right, such as Nixon, Agnew, and Wallace, have attempted to place the blame for the American working people's problems on the shoulders of blacks, students and radicals. Every time there is a demonstration, a bombing of some building, a police raid on the Panthers, etc., the press and the politicians step up their campaign to crack down on "hippies" and terrorists. Nixon is banking on the "silent majority", mainly people who have had to work all their lives with little or nothing to show for it, to support this repression (and to vote Republican, of course).

All of this is a vicious lie. The Nixon Administration has attempted to ignore the problems of blacks as a whole while urging severe repression of the most radical black groups, in a deliberate attempt (Nixon's Southern Strategy) to tap the hidden or not-so-hidden racial prejudices of many white workers. The pathetically confused "Hard Hats" support Nixon, one of the country's worst anti-labor politicians, because of their fears of blacks and students whom they think are trying to take what little they have. This gives Nixon's right-wing, racist, anti-union drive some appearance of white working-class support. The dividing line between



Repression hits Black militant; Angela Davis arrested in New York City.

workers and students is a great asset to the capitalist employers, who, in many different ways, exploit both groups and profit from the lack of unity between them. Students and radicals are often wrong or misguided, but they certainly are not the cause of the workers' problems.

THE REAL ENEMY

Many workers resent the fact that students, who often come from rich families and have privileges which are denied to the workers, should be the ones to complain so much. This is understandable, but it shouldn't bother us that students "want something for nothing"

when the real problem lies with a society that maintains a privileged few at the expense of all of us. The ruling class gets everything for nothing, while the working class must work for them all their lives just in order to break even. Some students are indeed "impudent snobs" who are on their way to join the privileged few, but many others come from middle or working class families and will be workers of some kind after they graduate. Still others have renounced their privileged backgrounds precisely in order to join the working class to fight for an end to these privileges.

One thing is for sure: politicians like Agnew don't condemn "impudent snobs" and "long-haired freaks" out of any love for the working people. Agnew chides the establishment and caters to hard hats while sitting on the same platform with the DuPonts in Delaware. He hob-nobs with all the fat Republican money-men, and recently spoke at a \$250-a-plate dinner which brought in a million dollars! He speaks for a section of the ruling class, and his lies are designed to trick workers. When the time comes (it is not far off) he will be among the first to forget students ever existed and turn his guns on the workers.

A shift to the right and a mood of fear is gripping the U.S. The capitalist bosses are backing the right-wing politicians, and their plan is working. When the National Guard killed four students at Kent, Ohio last May, the President's Commission on Campus Unrest called the killings "unjustified" and "unexcusable". An FBI investigation at that time came to a similar conclusion. But now, the signals are coming through more strongly: a grand jury recently cleared the Guard of all blame, attacked administration "permissiveness", and indicted 25 students!

CANADIAN POLICE STATE

The situation in Canada shows where this will lead. There is still some democracy left for the rich up there, but for the rest of the people, Trudeau's declaration of the emergency law meant that anyone can be searched, arrested and held without charge, and without being brought to court for 21 days! The government can rule by decree, and over 6,000 troops were called into Quebec in the first few days and empowered to make arrests. 250 people were rounded up before this "law" was even declared in Parliament! One of those arrested was Michael Chartrand, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Federation of National Trade Unions, which is centered in Quebec, but has members elsewhere as well. Furthermore, the hunted French-separatist organization, FLQ, is composed mainly of young working men, not students, and finds sympathy for its cause amongst the working population of Quebec. It is the threat of working-class power behind a radical movement in Quebec which Canadian and U.S. rulers (who own half of Canada) fear more than just the threat of more kidnappings.

Student radicals used to think that their position was somehow special; that they could get away with violence on campus. Kent State shattered that myth. Many workers have similar feelings; that somehow the labor struggle is "legitimate", that a sanctioned strike is safe and secure, that their action is "protected". Nothing could be more dead wrong. It is only the great power of the organized working class that prevents the bosses from doing the same thing to us right now as they are getting away with against others.

The employers--with the giant corporations like GM and GE in the lead--desperately want

to be able to discipline labor. Taking more profits out of the workers' hides is their only way of curtailing their falling rate of profit, and becoming more competitive on a shrinking world market. The big bosses have been calling for an end to "inflationary" wage increases and ways to force "more productivity" from workers for a long time. They have Nixon's ear. The government and all the politicians, Republicans and Democrats, are puppets of these big capitalists. They will stop at nothing to enforce their will on labor, for they are locked in a life-or-death struggle which depends on it.

RECESSION DEEPENS

Furthermore, the economy is sliding into a depression, and the struggles will soon become sharper. Administration-paid liars tried hard, in the weeks before the election, to prove it wasn't so, but the facts tell us otherwise. Industrial production has been falling since 1969 and is now at a 2-year low. Inflation has continued upwards, however, with the result that real wages have fallen at the same time that unemployment has been shooting up, to a 7-year high point of 5.5% in September. Most of this was caused by lay-offs, as shown by an extraordinarily large decline in hours worked.

Although the hard times were still hitting the poor, black people and youth the hardest (unemployment for black youth hit a staggering 34.9%), masses of supposedly "privileged" adult white workers are also being tossed out of their jobs, such as Boeing in Seattle. Boeing workers have a saying, "The optimist is the guy who brings his lunch to work; the pessimist is one who leaves his engine running in the parking lot". Lay-offs are hitting everywhere, and whole cities are already feeling a depression. Many workers who thought they had security are finding out otherwise; a worker who has nothing but his labor power to sell to a boss will never be "middle-class", no matter how much he makes in good times.

In the face of this crisis, the labor movement is more disorganized and sold-out than ever. Not only are the union leaders going along with the repression against students, but these same leaders are also knuckling under when it comes to trade union issues. The railroad unions refuse to stand up to Nixon's endless dictates, Woodcock refuses to lead the UAW in an all-out fight against the auto monopolies, and Meany is snuggling up to the Nixon government, which Meany himself blames for the massive unemployment! The split in the New York AFL-CIO between supporters of Republican Rockefeller and Democrat Goldberg, with each side outdoing the other in under-handed tactics and gross opportunism, is the height of folly of a labor leadership which is totally out of step with the rank and file and the real needs of the labor movement.

Only by standing up to the bosses' attacks --and defending all the victims of persecution--can the labor movement prepare itself for the attacks that lie ahead. The United Electrical Workers have partially shown the way by passing a resolution defending the Black Panthers, but much more must be done. All labor must be mobilized to meet the repression head-on. Strike struggles must be waged against the lay-offs, and against the government and its dirty war in Indochina. The unions must be purged of venal, sell-out bureaucrats and reclaimed by their ranks. Most importantly, we must build a party of our own, controlled by us through our unions, to lead a working-class, political struggle for power. Only the workers have the power to win! ■

Workers' Action

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Corresponding Editors: East Coast: Janet Rogers, light industry; West Coast: Stan Gow, maritime.

Our Program in Brief

We are an independent group of working people and rank-and-file trade union members. We formed the Committee for a Labor Party, and publish Workers' Action, to help in the fight for better unions—militant and democratic unions—and for independent working-class political action. This is our program in brief:

1. END RACISM IN THE UNIONS. SUPPORT BLACK SELF-DEFENSE.
2. FIGHT SEXISM IN THE UNIONS AND ON THE JOB. END THE SOCIAL OPPRESSION OF WOMEN.
3. ORGANIZE THE SOUTH AND ALL THE UNORGANIZED.
4. END UNEMPLOYMENT — 30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY.
5. HUMANIZE WORKING CONDITIONS.
6. FOR A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING FOR ALL.
7. FREEDOM FOR STUDENTS AND YOUTH.
8. IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS FROM VIETNAM.
9. END ATTACKS ON LABOR AND REPEAL ALL ANTI-LABOR LAWS.
10. OPPOSE GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN THE UNIONS.
11. FOR THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE AND STRIKE BY ALL PUBLIC EMPLOYEES.
12. FOR RANK-AND-FILE CONTROL OF THE UNIONS.
13. ORGANIZE FOR WORKERS' DEFENSE.
14. FOR A FREEDOM-LABOR PARTY.
15. FOR WORKERS' POWER.

For a complete version of the program, and information about regular CLP meetings, write in or call. We need your support and participation!

STRIKE SELL-OUT

Cont. from p.1

-- FOR A SHORTER WORK WEEK AT NO LOSS IN PAY: End unemployment from layoffs and automation by making the bosses pay for more jobs.

-- 30 AND OUT AT FULL PAY; 20 AND OUT AT HALF PAY, REGARDLESS OF AGE: Full medical coverage for all members at company expense.

-- BROADEN THE STRIKE: Work actions and strikes at Ford and Chrysler. Call for sympathy strikes by other unions -- steel, rubber, glass, etc.

-- FOR MILITANT RANK-AND-FILE CONTROL OF THE UNION.

-- NATIONALIZE THE AUTO INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL: Open the books! If the bosses can't pay workers a decent wage, let the workers take control from their incompetent hands. We run the factories anyhow.

-- END RACISM IN THE SHOP AND IN THE UNION; SUPPORT SELF-DEFENSE.

-- OPPOSE GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN LABOR DISPUTES; OPPOSE ALL ANTI-LABOR LAWS: Nixon's "assurances" to Woodcock are a fraud and so is he if he repeats them. The government will step in whenever the bosses' interests are seriously threatened, either with compulsory arbitration (railroads) or armed force (postal

workers and Teamsters). Prepare now for a general strike against any intervention in auto.

-- FOR IMMEDIATE UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. TROOPS FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA: Despite flag-waving by George Meany, the Indochina war directly hurts American workers. The Government sends troops to Vietnam basically for the same reason it uses troops to break our strikes. Our Vietnamese brothers -- workers and poor farmers -- are revolting against their corrupt bosses and landowners and deserve our support. Organize political strikes against the war.

-- FOR A WORKERS' PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS UNDER RANK-AND-FILE CONTROL: The Democratic and Republican Parties are owned and controlled by the U.S. corporations and run in their interests. "Friends of labor" from these parties are really our enemies. We need a political party of our own to fight for demands like these and for the interests of all working people, unemployed, and minority groups. Armed with our own party and a program for workers' power, we can and will take over and run society for ourselves, ending the racism, wars, and exploitation which come from the bosses' selfish profit system. ■

FREMONT

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United Action Caucus and the Panther Caucus. Both have been struggling against the bureaucratic repression, and of course in this they must have the full support of all militant trade unionists. Beyond that, however, the UAC appears to be staking everything on the demand that the union win a wage settlement no less than the Teamster's \$1.65-an-hour settlement; if true, such a purely economic struggle will in the end prove to be a dead end, since it doesn't lay the basis for a political fight against the union bureaucracy. The Panthers, who have influence among the large number of militant black workers, have printed a good program in their caucus paper Focus (Oct. 1970) -- including demands against the war, racism and anti-labor laws and for the shorter work week, women's rights, organizing the unemployed, and others -- but a statement by Huey Newton in the same issue praises the lumpenproletariat workers displaced by automation as "the backbone of the revolution". This would

indicate the Panthers have written off the organized working class as the key to change and accept rising unemployment as the "backbone" of revolution -- a dangerous conclusion.

For Real Unionism

It is clear that in order to protect and strengthen the strike, a fight must be waged in the local to throw out the bureaucrats and restore rank-and-file control. There must be a fight to obtain frequent and democratic meetings, and elimination of red-baiting and the disarming of the leadership's goon squad. It is clear that any opposition must now be prepared to defend itself--there must be a United Self-Defense Guard organized by all militants to ensure that the decisions of the ranks are not crushed by a few gangster-bureaucrats. Militants must raise the demand to discuss exactly what the union is demanding, and demand a full mobilization of the union to win the strike--including the closing down of all auto plants in the industry. Finally, and most important, militant UAW members must raise the broader political issues called for in the Workers Action program to ensure that any victory in wages does not become a defeat later. ■

NEW ERA

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at a meeting of New Era workers, nearly all jobs must be considered temporary! The security-pension emphasis has turned "65" into more of a welfare agency than a trade union. The orientation program for new workers does not explain the necessity of unions, labor history as a whole, the militant past of "65", workers' rights as union members, the power of the strike, etc., but rather deals almost exclusively with pension and security and the "brotherhood" of District 65.

Union Protects Bosses

The claim is often made, and not only by "65's" leaders, that higher wages are the cause of companies' going out of business, and therefore extreme caution in wage and working conditions demands is necessary since obviously a poorly paying job is better than no job at all. Well, it wasn't wage demands which drove New Era Letter out of business. Since its take-over by Computer Analysis Institute 1 1/2 years ago, New Era has faced one crisis after another, some of them through management decisions almost too stupid to be believed (such as shutting down the lithography department, the highest profit section of any direct mail shop). In the Distributive Worker's coverage of the collapse, the authors state: "... it became a pawn in the financial manipulations of conglomerate promoters and, eventually, became insolvent." The proper attitude for any union in such a case is that any company unable to pay a decent wage should be driven out of business and if that results in fewer jobs there should be a cut in hours with no cut in pay to provide work for the jobless. And if the bosses really are driven bankrupt by their own earlier profit-taking, poor management, and the crises of their economic system, the workers who know how to run the industry better than they (and actually run it anyway) should take it over and run it themselves. Impossible? Yes, for "65's" leaders. Impractical? Well, it's going to look a lot less utopian as more and more bankruptcies, shutdowns, and layoffs throw even more workers onto the breadlines. It is the job of the unions to protect the workers, not the bosses. Protection of the bosses, caught in the dog-eat-dog anarchy of their own system, is no protection for the workers, but rather dooms their struggles from the start. "65's" claims of doing all they could for their members, given industry conditions, is particularly absurd in light of the fact that in many job categories, such as graphotypists and addressograph operators, non-union wages are just as good or even better than in jobs covered by "65". "65" has bent over backwards to keep the unionized companies in business by screwing their workers. They kept New Era alive -- until the recession. ■

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District 65:**NEW ERA CLOSES**

On September 25, 1970 one of the oldest and largest direct mail shops in New York City closed down. A victim of mismanagement and the general war-related slump, it laid off 330 workers in its collapse. The 100 or so workers at the New Era Letter Company which had survived the year's mounting lay-offs enjoyed the protection of one of the nation's most "militant" and enlightened union leaderships, that of District Council 65 of the National Council of Distributive Workers of America (NCDWA). On September 25 these remaining workers were informed that the company was bankrupt and that they would not receive pay for the preceding two weeks' work. A clear-cut case in which the liberal leaders, who had broken from the conservative AFL-CIO Meanyite organization, friends of "progressive" unionists like the UAW's late Walter Reuther, could prove their mettle. What did these labor statesmen do for a large number of their members summarily dismissed from already low-paying jobs and further robbed of two weeks' pay?

Workers Robbed

Well, the workers themselves did their best to recoup their losses. A lot of equipment is no longer in New Era's building -- a perfectly rational response, given the union's failure to organize a take-over by the workers of the entire plant until they were paid the monies due them. Instead, the union offered a plan by Frank Patten, vice-president of "65's" direct mail local for the banks to give back to the company the working capital they had eagerly seized to cover the firm's

debts. Left with no union alternative, the remaining "65" members in New Era in fact "voted to return to work, and put forth every effort to keep the firm alive. The decision was to work without pay for a few days while the Company tried to regain working monies which was seized by the Bank." (Direct Mail Reporter, October 1970)

On paper the New Era workers are in better shape than workers belonging to other unions marginally involved in the company. The Direct Mail master contract specifies that involuntarily liquidated (LAID OFF) workers are entitled to two weeks' severance pay for each full year. But the contract also specifies that "65's" severance fund is liable for 40% of the amount (in New Era's case, about \$160,000). Various reports on "65's" fund at present range from \$32,000 to zero.

District 65's difficulties in the face of the New Era bankruptcy are more damning in light of the fact that New Era and many other mismanaged, inefficient enterprises were for a long time kept in business not by the "business acumen" of their management but by lousy, low-paying contracts signed by District 65, which gave management a lot of freedom to mismanage until the roof finally fell in. The failure of "65" was not begun but merely consummated by the bankruptcy. Having organized only about 25% of Direct Mail shops in New York and firmly believing that decent wages would drive most union shops out of business, the leadership worked hard to compromise on such "minor" issues as wages, vacation, and sick leave.

A year and a half ago, "1199" of the Drug and Hospital Workers negotiated a \$100 mini-

mum, and "65" proclaimed that its members deserved no worse. Banners in meeting rooms proclaimed "To earn less than \$100 a week is poverty; to pay less than \$100 a week is criminal." Just before his re-election as mayor, John Lindsay was featured at a rally in which union leaders proclaimed that as of October 1, 1969, no member of "65" would earn less than \$100 a week. Now, over a year later, you don't hear of the \$100 minimum anymore. Success? Well, about 5% of the shops in the Direct Mail local now have the \$100 minimum; District 65 is signing contracts guaranteeing the minimum -- in 1972!

In order to solve the problem of unorganized shops undercutting union shops, the bureaucrats a year ago started a "massive" organizing campaign. They have organized 105 shops with 1685 workers, but a typical monthly organizing report (August 1970) as follows; 673 new union applicants, 83 covered by contract.

Union Or Welfare Agency?

How can "65" attract new members without a contract, let alone a good contract? The union makes one claim that it comes close to making good on -- security and pensions. Although gained at the expense of wages, "65" advertises these programs heavily and as such plans go they aren't bad. But in light of the New Era bust, how many workers can depend on being able to take full advantage of the program? The emphasis on the pension plan is especially grotesque in the Direct Mail local where, as Frank Patten recently said

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CWA LEADERS AID BELL

The Communications Workers of America (C. W. A.) in the Bay Area is a very active union. Not active in fighting the Bell System and Western Electric but rather busy trying to keep down the members who are bent on exposing the outright sellout tactics of their union bureaucrats.

The war on the militant members by their rotten leadership has given the company the green light to fire at will any employee who is not a model of the "Mother Bell" image. It's interesting to note that the new head of the Pacific telephone "Security Forces" is none other than the former Chief of Police of San Francisco. Also interesting is that whenever some employees get "out of hand" they are confronted by Personnel and told that a lie was found on their job application. They are told that it has been "discovered" that they were arrested for some political activity such as Anti-War marches, etc. These arrest records go back as far as the early days of the Civil Rights movement.

Opposition Crushed

There have been various caucuses and "collectives" formed which have stirred things up, but because of impatience, lack of program, and consequent failure to raise consciousness of what must be done and how, they have been easily and quickly squashed. An example of this is a case in San Francisco where members of a caucus attempted to bypass the union leadership and "process" a grievance for an employee. They arranged a meeting with the management to discuss the problem. In the meantime the company contacted the union and had the union officers there waiting when the meeting convened. The union bureaucrats immediately started action to bring charges of dual unionism against the caucus members and used that example to tag all their opponents as "anti-union."

The official "leadership" in the Bay Area are not real leaders but rather a group of men who are hanging onto the coattails of their International President. Some are merely scared of exercising any leadership at all. One president won't offend the company because he wants a management career. He is oblivious to criticisms or suggestions from the membership. Like the rest of the sellout phonies, he would have a member fired to avoid disturbances in "his" local.

Leaders For Sale

In his column in a local's newspaper, one president begs his supporters to come to a union meeting and support him against his opponents. He pathetically apologizes for adjourning the previous meeting because of what he terms disruption. He reveals that he adjourned the meeting to "protect" the membership from the actions of a "temporary majority," meaning, of course, that the people at the meeting wanted to do something he didn't like.

Another local president has been sitting on a "powder keg" of militant members for a long time. His local was composed of many progressives who wanted more than the usual local demands. To keep his position he has very skilfully pretended to go along with this semi-radicalism in order to save his job. He accepted one "radical" caucus under his wing as a phony show of "working together" for the good of all while at the same time selling them out. While maintaining a reputation of being anti-Beirne he accepted a suggestion from the militants that one of the "bargaining items" be a day care center. But he failed to point out that none of the local demands will be bargained unless International President Beirne and his puppet executive board suggests them or endorses them.

The political consciousness of the leader-

ship in the Bay Area is miserably low. They still endorse C. O. P. E. and the big businessmen of the Democratic and Republican Parties. They fall for the line of the President, Beirne, and act like community-minded unionists and endorse the dictates of Beirne's "friends" in the White House and Sacramento, who, incidentally, are better "friends" with A. T. & T.

A good example of following the Beirne philosophy of begging instead of demanding is a picture in a phone company publication of one of the local presidents signing up for his fair share of the "United Crusade." This same president refuses to consider instituting a movement for a labor party, a party of workers for workers, so that unemployment will cease and the need for charity will disappear.

The Future?

C. W. A. News states there are over 500,000 C. W. A. members. If banded together under real leaders this big union could show the way toward the solution of all workers' problems.

Instead of becoming disgusted and demoralized, the members in the Bay Area should band together and elect leadership that offers a real program like that of Workers' Action. Any C. W. A. member who sees the mess that his fellow members and the rest of labor are in should talk to people about doing something instead of falling back into the arms of "Ma Bell." The problems that the labor movement has today aren't accidental; they were deliberately created by Bell and other anti-union big businesses with the full cooperation of union bureaucrats. The bureaucrats were once militants but their vision was blurred--they turned yellow and got suckered into big business' trap. We cannot let this happen to us. We must fight with a program, a real goal for the future. ■