

# BUILD SOCIALIST YOUTH INTERNATIONAL!

## VICTORY FOR VIETCONG, RED GUARDS, ARABS

(The following statement is issued by Revolt to the International Youth Assembly being held in England July 29 through August 5th.)

Today the decay of capital, expressed in the vicious imperialist war in Vietnam and the imperialist action against the Arab people, mass unemployment, no job security, low wages and bad working conditions, had forced youth all over the world to look for a solution to the crisis it faces. In the United States black youth explode against the frustration and filth of the ghetto, in China the Red Guards battle against bureaucracy, in Vietnam young workers and peasants fight the imperialist invader, guns in hand, in England and in France the capitalist governments crush the aspirations of the youth in order to preserve their profits.

The only solution to this crisis is to begin to fight for an international revolutionary youth or-

ganization as part of building the World Party of Revolution, the Fourth International. Only such a new leadership of the working class can lead the working class to power and destroy the capitalist system which oppresses all workers young and old. We see the International Youth Assembly of Socialist Youth as an important step in this direction.

Revolt is the only youth organization in the United States which struggles to reach working class youth and to unite these youth in common struggle with the workers as a whole organized in the powerful trade union movement. Revolt stands in political solidarity with the Workers League, American supporters of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

We are Marxists, Bolsheviki, Communists, We believe that a mass working class youth movement can be built in the United States only as part

of a conscious struggle for Marxist theory, for dialectical materialism and against every empirical and pragmatic trend which represents the ideology and method of the ruling class within the ranks of the working class. We believe that a mass working class youth movement can be built in the United States only as part of the battle to construct a working class party. Such a party can only be built through full political participation in the building of the International Committee of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution.

Capitalism today is in deep crisis. The capitalists are forced to battle the working class in every corner of the earth. It will be in the struggles of the working class against this capitalist offensive that a new leadership for the class will be forged. **HOOVER** struggle will go over to the offen-

SSEU Fights  
Lindsay  
page 4

# Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

AUG 7 1967

INSTITUTION

Defend  
Arab  
Revolution  
page 3

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Ten Cents

### Johnson and Kosygin conspire

## The 'Spirit of Hollybush' is Spirit of Betrayal

by Dan Fried

In Glassboro, N.J., the leader of world imperialism got together with a man who purports to be the head of a 'socialist', a workers' state, Alexei Kosygin. They had a pow-wow. What Johnson later referred to as the "spirit of Hollybush" was reminiscent of familiar scenes of the U.S. labor movement--of FDR sitting down with 'Sidney' (as he condescendingly referred to Sidney Hillman) and discussing ways and means of keeping the workers in line; of U.S. Steel Corp. President Benjamin Fairless and United Steel Workers President David McDonald talking about good will, permanent peace in the steel industry and other shibboleths to cloak the sell-out of the workers.

Kosygin smiles and talks while the Stalinist bureaucracy he heads betrays the Arab revolution with impunity. A recent issue of the French weekly, *Nouvel Observateur*, contains an interview with a leading Moscow bureaucrat in which the anonymous bureaucrat revealed the capitulation of the Kremlin to the bloody Israeli blitzkrieg against the Arab people: "The discussions became very tense between the Egyptians and us. They reproached us with abandoning them in the hour of need. We replied that we had agreed to support them in the event of an American action, but not against the supremacy of Israel whose strength they had underestimated." The interview also reveals the refusal to comply with the Egyptian request for more aircraft during the fighting, stating that "...sending Soviet planes to Libya, a few kilometers from the American base of Wheelusfield, would have constituted a real provocation to Wash-

(Continued on page 2)



SOLID LINE OF WAREHOUSE UNION STRIKERS PICKET BEST FOODS PLANT IN SAN FRANCISCO.

### warehouse strike

## ILWU-IBT Ranks Wage Bitter Fight on West Coast

San Francisco - "Warehouse Year - 1967." That's what the ILWU calls it. To prove it, a joint strike of more than 25,000 ILWU and Teamster warehousemen has shut down hundreds of production and distribution warehouses from Bakersfield to the Oregon border. Tons of freight are piling up in the yards of the Bay Area trucking firms as truckloads of incoming goods cannot be delivered to picketed warehouses.

As this is being written, the strike, which is becoming increasingly bitter, is entering its 17th day and all negotiations have been broken off. A number of smaller independent houses have signed, but the warehousemen still face a solid block of employer associations. The lines are holding solid.

This strike reflects a significant development. As

employer combinations grow more powerful and more determined to break the strength of the unions, unity between unions on a rank and file basis becomes imperative. The main strength of the ILWU in warehouse is in the West Coast port cities. Attempts to move inland have been unsuccessful because the union was unable to bring its waterfront strength to bear, particularly against the Teamsters. Relations between the two unions have been marked by decades of bloody jurisdictional disputes.

With the rise of Hoffa to power a certain amount of cooperation developed. What started as friendlier relations between bureaucrats on top has now been translated into real solidarity on a rank and file level. Negotiations are being conducted by an ILWU-IBT Northern Califor-

nia Warehouse Council. The strike has been marked by joint meetings of stewards, coordination between locals, joint picket lines and joint action in persuading scabs to look for healthier occupations. Some feeling for what is going on can be obtained from the daily strike bulletin put out by ILWU Local 6 in San Francisco. A few quotes:

"Teamster-ILWU unity paid off again - this time in Emeryville. Local 853, IBT has a problem with scabs loading and unloading trucks at Eng-Shell warehouse. ILWU Local 6 reserve pickets arrived in a hurry - the situation was corrected!"

"Four brothers in San Francisco did what is probably the longest picket duty to date. They caught a car coming out of a hardware house with hot merchandise and took after him. They followed him all the way to Hollister, where

he was persuaded to keep on going south. When last seen he was aimed in the direction of San Diego, going fast."

"At Thrifty Drug in San Leandro the company tried to sneak in a couple of railroad cars -- members of railroad unions wouldn't run the train. So company railroad officials tried it -- but reserve pickets showed up from Local 6 -- and the train went that-a-way."

Unfortunately the solidarity and militancy of the ranks is not matched by the leadership. On February 25 a huge convention of warehousemen overruled the recommendations of their officers and demanded a three year contract with wage increases of 60¢, 50¢, 40¢, a cost of living escalator clause, no compulsory overtime, differentials for swing and graveyard shifts, double time for weekends and a number of important fringe bene-

(Continued on page 2)

**HOLLYBUSH**

(Continued from page 1)  
ington and we did not want war with the United States. This is Stalinism in action. Small wonder LBJ was willing to go to the summit with Kosygin.

And then there is Vietnam. Just to reassure Johnson that he intends to maintain the 'spirit of Hollybush', Kosygin stated, following a luncheon with DeGaulle (where he had apparently worked out a joint approach to the U.S. on the Arab-Israeli conflict) that, as the New York Times headlined it, peace in Vietnam was up to Hanoi. He obviously and deliberately refrained from denouncing the U.S. for aggression and even for the continuation of the bombing of the North, as he had stated in the past. Again it is no wonder that Johnson is pleased with Kosygin.

Kosygin clearly would sell out anything he possibly could in order to come to terms with U.S. Imperialism-- to attempt to usher in a "major long term improvement in relations between Washington and Moscow," as, according to NEWSWEEK, Soviet diplomats at the U.N. were "passing the word" on the significance of Glassboro. These are the fond hopes of the Soviet bureaucrats who want to sit down with LBJ and carve up the world just as Stalin did with Roosevelt. Kosygin's plans for peaceful coexistence over the corpses of workers and peasants struck down by Imperialism is a direct continuation of the policy of 'socialism in one country' initiated by Stalin against the opposition of the Trotskyist Left Opposition. Stalin's betrayal of the French, Italian and Greek revolutionary outbreaks in 1945 at the Yalta and Potsdam conference tables becomes Kosygin's design for

attempted betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution at the Glassboro summit in 1967.

Kosygin's aim for 'peace' with Imperialism is continually jolted by the class struggle. Evidently, the Vietcong guerillas, supported by perhaps 80% of the people of South Vietnam who are fighting to throw out the U.S. Imperialists as they previously fought the French, don't understand Mr. Kosygin's summitry--but they want an end to napalm and U.S. terror, and with it an end to centuries of poverty and foreign domination. Recent events in Vietnam indicate that the U.S. forces have suffered some of the worst defeats of the war both in the highlands near the Laotian border and in the Mekong Delta. In a battle in Long An province in the Delta area, in a very brief fight 48 American soldiers were listed as dead with another 143 wounded. NEWSWEEK reports that "though the Army spokesman in Saigon claimed that 250 Viet Cong had been killed, the men of Alpha Company candidly admitted that neither they nor anyone else had seen many enemy bodies on the field." No amount of padding of figures of Vietcong casualties can hide the fact that U.S. military victory in Vietnam will require a vastly increased U.S. expenditure with all the difficulties that entails for Johnson, given the growing resistance to the consequences of the Vietnamese war by the U.S. working class. An end to the Vietnam fighting which maintains U.S. domination of Southeast Asia intact, would give LBJ and the U.S. capitalists more room to maneuver in their battle to discipline the American working class. In this way Johnson wants to keep open the alternative of a negotiated



LBJ AND KOSYGIN SHAKE WHILE WORKERS DIE IN VIETNAM, SUEZ.

settlement in Vietnam with the aid of Kosygin. At the same time he opens up the possibility of strengthening an overt alliance, presently covert, with the USSR against China. Undoubtedly the testing of the Chinese H-bomb contributed to Johnson's interest in meeting with Kosygin.

**revisionists' role**

As the Newsletter, organ of the British Trotskyists points out, "Betrayal... has a logic of its own. If Kosygin and his fellow bureaucrats are today prepared to sacrifice the Arab people on the altar of international summitry, what about the East Germans, the Poles or the Vietnamese? What guarantee do they have that Russia will not abandon them if US pressure increases?" Stalinism continues to represent the most valuable prop of U.S. Imperialism in maintaining its world power. Everywhere it is necessary for

the working class to sharply oppose the Stalinist leaderships in order to struggle against the capitalist ruling class. This is abundantly clear in France and England as well as in the U.S. where the Communist Party seeks to channel the class struggle into the Democratic Party. Everywhere the Pabloite revisionists represented in the U.S. by the Socialist Workers Party and the newspaper The Militant, plays the role of evading or compromising the struggle with Stalinism. Indeed they pursue a policy of a bloc with the Stalinists in the 'peace movement' in the U.S. Needless to say, no one would ever guess that the Socialist Workers Party is for the victory of the NLF in Vietnam. Criticism of Stalinism except in the most academic manner becomes more and more rare in The Militant. The July 26 issue contains a lengthy article detailing Israeli aggres-

sion and terror against the Arabs with not one word about the role of the Stalinists in the betrayal of the Arab revolution. The July 10 issue, 10 days after Glassboro, says not a single word about this filthy get-together of the Kremlin and Washington leaders! The Militant is afraid of offending their new-found friends in the Communist Party.

**leadership**

Only an alternative leadership built in struggle against imperialism and its bureaucratic and revisionist agents can put an end to these betrayals and attempted betrayals. Only the International Committee of the Fourth International and its supporters are capable of calling these betrayals by their right name and therefore fighting to destroy the capitalist system as well as those who help it to survive.

**WAREHOUSE**

(Continued from page 1)

fits. By the time the Northern California Warehouse Council got through with this in April demands had been lowered to 45-35-35.

The contract expired June 1st. In a call for "flexibility" the leadership postponed the strike till June 12th over strong opposition. The 12 day period was used to sign a memorandum of agreement with a number of independent houses. Lo and behold, 45-35-35- had suddenly turned into 25¢ the first year and with the next year's raises subject

to the industry pattern. The cost of living escalator had disappeared, compulsory overtime continues and very little change was registered in fringe benefits. In addition there is no real protection against mechanization and speed-up.

Striking warehousemen are facing a 10¢ per pack increase in cigarettes, a 50% increase in state taxes, an increase in sales taxes and federal taxes and rising war inflation. In addition they will lose at least three weeks pay. That 25¢ isn't going to go very far. Without a cost of living escalator warehousemen will be lucky to stay even. "Warehouse Year - 1967" isn't quite what it was cracked up to be by the union leadership, which has been writing for months of the great gains it intended to register.

**labor's friends**

The ILWU press has been writing about the rising cost of living, the increasing attacks of the government and the bosses on the working class solidarity in the face of these attacks. Yet right in the middle of a major strike Local 6 writes, "Assemblyman John Burton of San Francisco's 20th Assembly District has offered his services to our efforts. He and members of his staff toured our picket

lines this week. We thank him for his offered help and interest. We have always supported John Burton based on his 100% pro-labor record and are pleased he saw fit to take time out from his busy schedule to come and see us." What rubbish!

If there is one thing that is clear to every striking warehousemen at this time it is that their strike has received absolutely no aid from the politicians. It was nice of Mr. Burton to visit men who haven't been paid in three weeks, but where is his campaign against the warehouse bosses? Why isn't he using every one of the facilities available to him in the press and on radio to publicize the strike and mobilize support for the warehousemen's demands? Where is Mayor Shelley whom the ILWU endorses for re-election?

The answer is clear. These Democratic Party fakers are doing absolutely nothing to aid the strikers and never will. The strength of the union lies in the solidarity of the strikers and their support from longshoremen, truckers, shipping clerks and the rest of the working class. The strike would be immeasurably stronger if it were backed up by labor representatives who could support politically what the workers are fighting for on the streets.

Harry Bridges was almost deported by the Democratic and Republican parties. Jimmy Hoffa was jailed by them and the bosses' courts. By supporting the candidates of these parties the ILWU-IBT leadership strikes a blow against its own rank and file.

**caucuses**

The warehouse strike makes clear that the militancy and solidarity formed on the picket lines must be turned towards the organization of rank and file caucuses. The unity forged between the ranks of the ILWU and the Teamsters can be extended to AFL-CIO unions. A mighty rank and file movement throughout the organized labor movement must be built. Rank and file caucuses can develop the strength to replace the labor bureaucrats to wage a real struggle for decent wages and working conditions. Demands

for an end to compulsory overtime and speedup, and for a cost of living escalator and other fringe benefits, as well as sizeable wage increases, will then be seriously fought for. Most important, these caucuses will see that the economic struggles of the workers must become political struggles. The offensive of the bosses and their government requires a political counteroffensive. Militant strike struggles must be combined with the campaign for independent labor candidates to challenge the bosses in the city, state and federal elections which remain their private preserve. Only independently organized rank and file caucuses can fight against the phony so-called political action policy of the union officials which amounts to supporting sweet-talking politicians who are beholden to our enemies and not to us

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# DEFEND ARAB REVOLUTION--SMASH IMPERIALIST AGGRESSOR

statement of political committee, workers league

The Arab-Israeli war represents a new stage in the struggle of the colonial masses for self-determination and against imperialist exploitation. The Middle East is an area of the greatest importance to the major imperialist powers. Strategically it is the link between the great continents of Europe, Asia and Africa with the Suez Canal as a major trade route. Economically it contains over 70% of the world's known oil reserves. Thus the imperialists are determined to use every technique at their disposal to keep the area under control and in the process are forced into a head-on collision with the aspirations of millions of Arab peoples.

The colonial masses all over the world, including in the Middle East, have been struggling to free themselves from imperialist domination and to begin their own national development ever since the end of World War II. The imperialists have sought to hold down the masses through the agency of national bourgeois and petty bourgeois leaders. These leaders straddle the masses on the one hand and the imperialists on the other. Their aim is to wrest enough economic aid and investment from the capitalists and from the Soviet countries to permit a modest national economic development. Such development is essential to their own development as well as allowing them to offer some hope to the poor worker and peasant masses of an end to the degradation they live under.

However the crisis of capitalism has developed to the point where the major imperialist countries can no longer give such aid in a meaningful way to the underdeveloped countries. In fact the reverse has been happening--the underdeveloped countries are being drained in order to maintain the profits of the imperialists in the developed countries.

These are the essential reasons for the collapse of the "left" bourgeois leaderships in the underdeveloped countries. One after another these governments have toppled under right wing coups: Ben Bella, Nkrumah, Sukarno. The imperialists are forced to rely on military puppets and on armed intervention such as in Vietnam.

This is why the left national governments in the Middle East--particularly Nasser in Egypt and the Syrian government--represent a threat to the imperialists. In the eyes of the imperialists such governments are not stable enough to resist the pressures of the colonial masses and thus its vital strategic and economic interests in the Middle East were vulnerable. Israel's war against the Arabs must be seen as a method of the imperialists to weaken further these governments and to prepare the way for a strengthened imperialist military presence in the region as well as right wing coups.

Israel's purposes in the war are equally clear and equally reactionary. The state of Israel was created only with the support of imperialism and it survives each day only because of this support. The Israelis dislodged over a million Arabs from land which these people had lived on for thousands of years. The oppressed Jews of Europe were

## INTERNATIONAL

(Continued from page 1)

sive, over to the direct struggle of the class for workers power. Thus we young American Marxists must participate fully in each struggle of our class against the exploiters wherever it breaks out.

### victory

Revolt is proud that together with the Workers League it has fought for the victory of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam and for the complete defeat and routing of the American imperialist troops there. Revolt is proud that together with the Workers League it has fought for the victory of the Red Guards in China against the class collaborationist bureaucracy and for carrying the struggle of the Red Guards beyond the limits imposed upon it by Stalinism. Revolt is proud that together with the Workers League it stands for the victory of the Arab revolution and for the crushing of the Zionist-imperialist predatory war against the Arab peoples.

Revolt recognizes that in each of these struggles it cannot abstain, it cannot remain neutral because of the inadequacies of the leadership of the masses. Rather it must intervene as a partisan of the working class in its struggles against the imperialists and in the course of this struggle battle to create a new leadership for the class, battle to build sections of the Fourth International.

Revolt seeks to relate these international struggles to the struggle of American working class youth and the American trade union movement. The very same crisis which forces the imperialist government to wage war on the Vietnamese workers and peasants forces them to also wage a



ARABS FLEE ZIONIST CONQUERORS.

brought to the Middle East to become the oppressors of the Arabs. Those who suffered under the Hitlerite conception of a master race transformed themselves into the master race of the Middle East. Jews who lived for fear of their lives in the ghettos of Europe now live in fear of their lives in the large ghetto called Israel surrounded in a sea of hostile Arabs. No momentary military victory can change this.

Prior to the current war the Israeli economy was in serious difficulty. Israel has never had a self-sustaining economy as it was always beholden to money furnished by the imperialists and from the world Jewry. Despite this aid the economy was in trouble and large scale clashes took place in Tel Aviv between the Israeli workers and the capitalist state.

For the Israeli capitalists the war was a method of turning the workers away from the struggle against them, for increasing economic aid from the world Zionist movement and from the imperialists whose interests they were faithfully serving and perhaps making some predatory gains.

We stand on the side of the Arabs against this Zionist-Imperialist predatory war. We stood for

## SUMMER SCHEDULE

Due to summer vacation schedules and the International Youth Assembly the BULLETIN is going over to a monthly publication schedule for the Summer. The next issue will appear on August 28th.

more subtle war against American workers and youth at home. The American ruling class is now preparing a new stage in its struggle against the working class in the form of anti-strike legislation. Through a policy of holding down wage rises while prices rise combined with increased exploitation on the job, the American capitalists seek to maintain their profits at the expense of the workers. At the same time American youth are left without a future except to go to war against their brothers and sisters in Vietnam. Education deteriorates, jobs for youth are scarce and any serious job training is scarcer. The exploitation of the Negro masses increases.

### bureaucracy

The crisis of capitalism has forced the bureaucratic forces which dominate the working class movement--the social democrats, the Stalinists, the American labor officialdom--to go over to open support of the ruling class in its war on the workers. Johnson and Kosygin clasp hands; Wilson imposes a wage freeze in behalf of the world bankers; DeGaulle conspires with the CP and the reformists to involve them in state control of the trade unions; even the left wing Mapam party in Israel finds itself implicated in a war of imperialist aggression against the Arab workers and peasants. Not one step forward can be made in the building of an international youth movement without a conscious struggle against bureaucracy and all its agents.

Most dangerous of all are those centrist political formations which pose as revolutionaries while in actual fact acting as agents of bureaucracy. In this period when the struggle for leadership is

the victory of the Arabs against the Israelis and today we stand for military aid to the Arabs to prepare them for the next Zionist-imperialist onslaught. As the tanks rolled on Damascus and the Suez it was the right and duty of the Arab workers and peasants to fight back and repel the enemy. Today every shot fired by Egyptians across the Suez at the Israelis is a blow for the Arab revolution and every shot fired by the Israelis is a blow for imperialist domination.

It is the duty of the Israeli workers to take a defeatist stand toward this imperialist-inspired war rather than resulting in gains for the Israeli workers has strengthened the hand of anti-labor rightist forces within Israel. Soon these forces will use the terror they unleashed on the Arabs against the Israeli workers.

The Arab-Israel War has exposed the true nature of the Soviet Union leadership. The Kremlin used all its influence to prevent Nasser from backing up his blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba with military action against Israel even though the conflict began with Israeli provocations against Syria. This gave Israel the opportunity to strike first and effectively wipe out the Arab air force thus deciding the fate of the war in the first hours of battle. The Kremlin refused to give air support or even further armaments to the Arabs during the war. Right following the war Kosygin runs to visit Johnson and confines his support to the Arabs to harmless oratory at the United Nations. The Arab masses cannot rely on the Soviet Union for real aid in its progressive struggle against imperialism.

The bankruptcy of the Arab bourgeois leadership is shown clearly by the course of the war. It is not just a matter of open imperialist stooge Hussein. Nasser must bear major responsibility for the military fiasco and for a policy of reliance on diplomatic maneuvers and the United Nations rather than on a real mobilization of the Arab masses. Clearly the struggle for the victory of the Arab revolution and the military defeat of the Zionists must be related to the struggle to build an alternative working class leadership for the Arab masses, to build sections of the Fourth International in the Middle East.

Currently the Zionists in the United States are running a furious campaign to rally American workers--particularly Jewish workers--to support Israel and Israel's predatory gains. The trade unions are sending millions of dollars to Israel. Jewish youth are being bombarded with propaganda to get them to leave the United States and enlist in the Israeli army.

Jewish workers and youth must see that in this way they are only making the situation of Jewish workers in Israel all the worse. They are aiding the enemies of Jewish workers the Zionist capitalists and aggravating a situation which endangers the very future of the Jewish people of the Middle East. The workers and youth should give their full support to the Arab masses and join in the struggle against the capitalists in the United States

most critical, groups who specialize in attacking those who struggle to build an alternative leadership are of the greatest service to the ruling class.

This is the particular role of the Pabloite revisionists, of the so-called United Secretariat in Europe and the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. These men showed their real colors in Liege when they blocked with the Stalinists and sought to prevent revolutionary youth from marching under a banner of defense of the Hungarian revolution on the 10th anniversary of that historic struggle against bureaucracy. In the United States the SWP revisionists collaborate with the Stalinists in limiting the struggle against the Vietnam war to pacifism and keeping it separate from the struggles of the American working class.

### struggles

The struggle for a revolutionary youth international cannot be separated for one moment from a day to day struggle against these pernicious agents of the ruling class. This is but another form of the class struggle itself.

We say:

VICTORY FOR THE VIETCONG!  
CONDITIONAL SUPPORT TO THE RED GUARDS!  
SUPPORT THE ARAB REVOLUTION AGAINST ZIONIST IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION!  
LONG LIVE THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION ON ITS 50TH ANNIVERSARY!  
BUILD FOR NEW OCTOBERS BY BUILDING A NEW REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL!  
LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL--  
WORLD PARTY OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

# SSEU Strike Defies Lindsay City Out to Destroy Unions

New York -- The lockout of NYC welfare workers, now in its fourth week, is being conducted by a city administration hell bent on starving the SSEU out of existence. Lindsay lures scabs back on the job with promises of doubletime for overtime work and praises for their bravery in the face of harassment. The commissioner tries to undermine the action, still 80% strong, with false press reports of a back to work movement. Pickets are arrested, manhandled and beaten by police who outnumber the scabs they protect. In the most vicious move of all the city assured the union that the 695 suspended case-workers, representing the bulk of the local union leadership, would be granted no blanket amnesties when the dispute is settled but would have to take their chances in individual hearings.

This particular attack on the SSEU is part of an intensification of an attack on all city workers prepared politically last Spring with the passage of RAT and Tri-Partite. City unions will either operate within the confines of this legislation or the city will seek their destruction. The SSEU's fight is waged in defiance of both pieces of legislation.

Tri-Partite, passed by the city council last June, provides that city unions may only bargain on wages, time and leave rules and fringes. Working conditions, job content and classification are now left to "management's prerogative." Loss of union control in these areas opens the way for the city's regressive economy program in city agencies. Tri-Partite gives the city the unfettered right to speed up, rationalize, transfer, reclassify, demote and lay off its employees at will. Almost all the demands that the union is fighting for fly directly in the face of this law; thus it is easy for Lindsay to say he will bargain on all "appropriate" issues.

The SSEU's action also undermines the city's drive to corral all city unions into the Office of Collective Bargaining to be set up under Tri-Partite in the Fall. Many big AFL-CIO bureaucrats, in return for jurisdictional favors and under the pressure of RAT, will soon merge their unions in the new city agency. By yoking their unions organizationally to the governmental apparatus they capitulate to the political attack on their members and become agents of the employer, whose task it will be to enforce Tri-Partite regulations in the unions. It is precisely the SSEU's refusal to play this reactionary role that compels Lindsay to fight the union to the death. Lindsay's ability to temporarily blunt and confuse the class

struggle in NYC with the Tri-Partite OCB gimmick is at stake.

## no program

The SSEU Mage leadership has only a superficial understanding of the nature of the attack that is being launched against it; thus it has no real program for victory. Mage is blundering into the fourth week of lockout with a try this, try that approach: Fill the welfare centers with clients! Step up the harassment of scabs! A few more dramatic arrests perhaps? A vigil at Gracie Mansion? Good idea. More press coverage absolutely essential! Oh yes, labor support, we need that too. This has been the Mage program. Without a doubt it is staff solidarity that holds the action together in spite of the lack of decisive leadership.

We say to the SSEU leadership: Call a mass rally of all city workers now at City Hall! Get heads of JCL6, the NMU to mobilize their workers behind it! Demand the same of every other labor leader in the city! At the same time go to every city worker directly. Mobilize SSEU staff to take hundreds of thousands of leaflets to schools, hospitals, car barns, docks and factories, every work location in this city. Use all financial aid to build the rally! Buy all the radio spots that can be afforded, plaster the city with posters, go to every union meeting that can be gotten into, put out a lockout newspaper! In short spew out a torrent of publicity on union busting, anti-strike legislation and Lindsay's whole campaign to yoke the unions into OCB so that he can roll back every gain they ever made. Link this to the SSEU lockout and focus the whole campaign at building the mass rally.

We do not say that this rally will guarantee victory. We are not in the business of offering gimmicks, panaceas, or part solutions. But behind this suggestion is the kind of perspective that Mage lacks. Only the independent mobilization of a united working class spilling over all the old jurisdictional lines and armed for political struggle can meet the intensified attack of the City and the whole crisis ridden capitalist system.

Thousands of city workers have been deceived into thinking that Tri-Partite is in their interest by the bureaucrats that helped write the law. These workers must be transformed into vicious opponents of the law if they are to support the SSEU challenge or even defend themselves against the assimilation of their unions into Lindsay's cabinet. Who will accomplish this transformation?

Thus the building of alternative leaderships in the unions

capable of waging real battles against the labor bureaucracy and the intervention of the state in the trade unions becomes the central critical task facing the SSEU membership and city workers generally. Those who undertake the building of rank and file committees must begin this work with a comprehensive understanding of the linked political and economic crisis that is developing in the U.S. and the rest of the world. Only with such a theoretical understanding can the immediate assault on city labor by Lindsay and Rockefeller be grasped in depth. And only then can a concrete program to defend the wages, working conditions and unions of city workers be formulated.

Rank and file committees must also go far beyond the perspective of pressuring existing bureaucratic leaderships to carry out the programs they develop. There must be a conscious relation of all concrete work in the struggle for power in the unions -- a struggle by the rank and file committees to become themselves the leadership and to become themselves the bureaucratic hacks out the door.

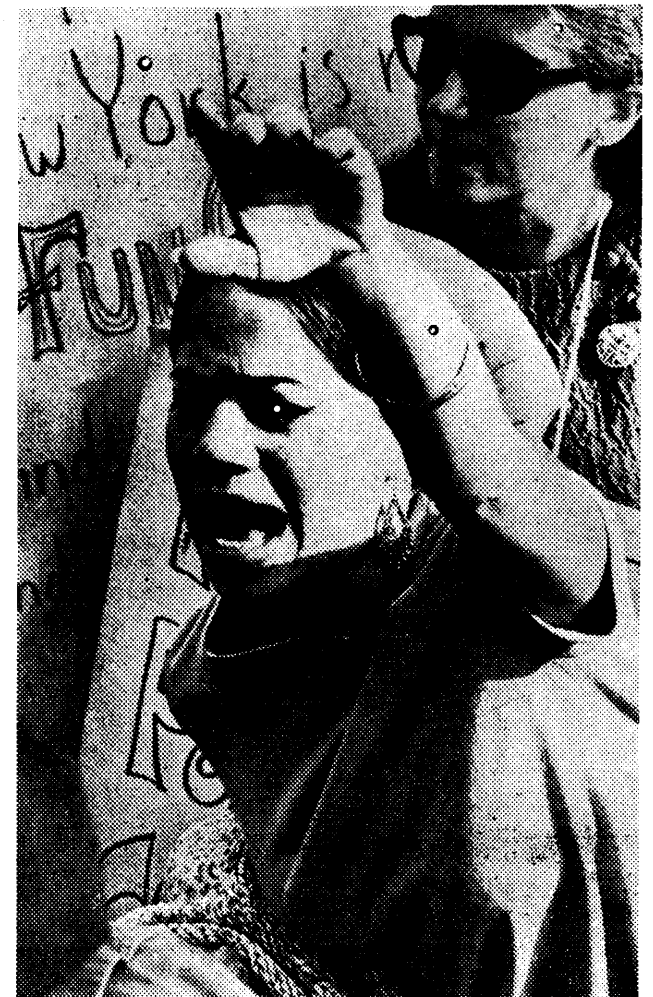
The struggle for power in the unions must be linked by rank and file committees to the struggle to pose an alternative

## WELFARE CLIENTS DEMONSTRATE

by Fred Calhoun  
New York, June 30--As part of a nation-wide demonstration against the inadequacies of public assistance, some 1000 welfare recipients marched today in the rain around city hall. Marchers carried signs demanding more money for food and clothing and shouted slogans protesting the city administration's decision to give poor people stamps to buy food with instead of hard cash. Unfortunately, the failure of the city wide coordinating committee to develop a real program for the participating "clients" was all too evident.

There was no evidence that this demonstration would be the beginning of a real campaign to tackle the enormous problems of the urban ghettos. What is needed are massive expenditures of federal funds to create jobs for the millions of unemployed with vast public works projects to tear down the slums and erect decent housing, schools, hospitals. Working mothers need day-care centers where they can place their kids, and children need real education and job training so that welfare will not be part of their future.

But these issues were not mentioned in the march, nor



STRIKER YELLS AT SCAB CROSSING LINE.

to the Democratic and Republican parties. These parties are leading the political offensive against city workers as well as the SSEU lockout clearly demonstrates. The trade union bureaucracy which actively betrays city unions to these parties by accepting OCB cannot be relied upon to build a party of the working class. Thus it falls to rank and file committees to develop a perspective for posing themselves as the embryonic alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.

Rank and file committees must apply themselves likewise to the task of uniting city

was the role of the trade union movement. Without the active participation of the workers, the problems of the ghettos will never be solved. Particularly deplorable, therefore, is the refusal of the coordinating committee to take sides in the lockout of welfare workers (SSEU). While the city is trying to solve its financial problems on the backs of the workers, clients cannot afford to be neutral. If welfare workers are being victimized, how can welfare recipients make any gains?

Nevertheless, SSEU did announce its support of the demonstration and about 100 case-workers took time off from their own picket lines to walk with the clients. But the union did not intervene. Very few of the workers even spoke to the clients they were marching with, let alone bring demands for the client groups to support the union.

Welfare workers must insist that the union develop a real program to improve the lives of the people they "service" -- not for more and better welfare -- but to ultimately destroy the system that keeps 8 1/2 million Americans permanently on the dole.

workers both organizationally and in concrete struggle. The refusal of UFT head Shanker to throw support to the SSEU when his members are facing the exact same struggle in September is an utter disgrace. But it is necessary to go to the roots of these divisions and understand for example, the divisive role played by the SSEU in remaining outside of the merged American labor movement. The leadership of the SSEU has finally learned that it cannot escape the problems of bureaucracy by isolating itself from a bureaucratically dominated labor movement. Mrs. Mage was absolutely correct when she recently stated that the SSEU has played out its role as an independent union. This understatement was made in conjunction with the SSEU's current bid to affiliate with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The unity of city workers could have best been served by a re-affiliation with DC 37 as AFL-CIO unions represent the bulk of city workers. Nevertheless DC 37 has shown no interest in affiliating with the SSEU at this time on any basis the SSEU would be likely to accept. Entry into the IBT is a vastly progressive step for the SSEU compared to its former isolation. However militants must steer clear of envisioning the affiliation as a basis for waging new jurisdictional battles with DC 37. We must have the opposite perspective, that of returning the IBT to the AFL-CIO.

Unfortunately affiliation with the IBT has been presented in the union as a panacea for the present crisis. What is missed is the difference between total victory, partial victory, a poor compromise or an utter rout will depend not on an upcoming affiliation but on our ability to mobilize city labor now. The SSEU will find itself in a much better position to wield influence inside the IBT if it enters on the wave of a victory than if it is chased in during the aftermath of a defeat.