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# Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

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SEPTEMBER 8, 1969

TEN CENTS

French Society  
In Crisis

By Tom Kemp

## Longshoreman Speaks Out



**"When  
you add  
everything up  
we are  
even further  
behind  
than before  
the contract  
wage gains"**

## LABOR DAY 1969

# NIXON, MEANY PLOT WAGE CURB

BY DAN FRIED

While government economists and the "experts" from the world of big business and banking argue as to how, when and how much the roaring inflation will be stopped - one thing is for sure, it's still hitting the working man hard in the pocket book. The official consumer price index rose at the rate of 6% in July. Food prices, which affect the workers more than any other budgetary item rose by 1% in July, with fresh fruit and vegetable prices 1.8% more than in June.

U.S. News and World Report, expressing the consensus of government and big business economists says that prices will continue to rise into 1970 while unemployment will continue to rise from the current 3.9% with a figure of 4% as a new "floor".

What this means for the working class is that Mr. Nixon will step up his measures to stem the inflation in order for the capitalists to reverse the balance of payments deficit in a world where each capitalist nation is fighting for its share of the market. This means that as inflation continues, the bosses and their men

( CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO )

**BERNADETTE DEVLIN  
IN AMERICA**



**woodstock—who paid piper?**

# LAUNCH WEEKLY BULLETIN DRIVE

## To Raise \$5,000 By November 1st.

The Political Committee of the Workers League announces that the Bulletin will go over to a weekly publication schedule starting November 3rd. A special \$5,000 Bulletin Publication Fund Drive will be held from September 1st to November 1st to finance the weekly.

The publication of the Weekly Bulletin is the culmination of five years of principled political struggle for Trotskyism as part of the International Committee of the Fourth International. At the same time the Weekly Bulletin will launch a whole new stage in the struggle for the revolutionary party in the United States.

The Bulletin has from its very origins fought for the working class. When other so-called socialists were running around with student power, black power, Guevarism and every sort of middle class nostrum, the Bulletin fought alone for the understanding that the working class was central to the struggle for socialism, that the international crisis was preparing a new period of class struggle in the United States and internationally, and that the task of socialists was to penetrate deeply

### THEORY

At the same time the Bulletin fought for the working class by fighting against every attempt to revise Marxist theory and practice, against every form of revisionism. Its consistent struggle for Marxist theory was and is its greatest service to the working class, its greatest strength. Today this struggle for Marxist theory will find expression in the publication of a weekly paper which will be part of the working class,

The weekly Bulletin will be like no other newspaper in America. It will reflect the struggles of the American working class. It will report news of trade union struggles found in no

other paper. But it will do more than this.

It will bring a program to these struggles, a program which can bring victory to the working class. It will bring the struggles of workers of other countries into the class struggle in the United States.

It will watch every move of the

plutocrats who run this country from Nixon and his millionaire cabinet to Edward Kennedy and his parties on Martha's Vineyard. It will expose the corruption of the bosses, the imperialist character of its international war on workers of other lands, the plans of America's rulers to attack the working class. It will

carry forward in each issue the struggle for Marxist theory and the class war against the revisers of Marxist theory in the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party and Progressive Labor.

Technical plans for the Weekly include the installation of the latest photocomposing equipment so that the paper will be the most professional-looking, lively socialist paper in the United States.

### DAILY

On September 27th the Newsletter, publication of the Socialist Labour League in England, will go daily. On November 3rd the Bulletin will go weekly. Both steps are part of the preparations of the International Committee of the Fourth International for the mass revolutionary struggles of the working class of Europe and America for power.

We have entered into a period when the Transitional Program can become the program of millions of workers led by mass revolutionary parties. We have entered a period when the Transitional Program MUST become the program of millions or the working class will be destroyed by fascism. This is why the Socialist Labor League has strained its every resource to produce a daily paper. This is why the Workers League has launched its campaign for a weekly paper.

### SUPPORT

The production of a weekly paper will only be possible because of the support and sustenance the paper receives from the working class. We need the help of our readers to make the weekly possible. Please send your contributions to: Bulletin, Rm. 7, 243 East 10th St., New York, N.Y. 10003.

### MESSAGE

For Meany and the capitalist interests behind the Times, the message of "Labor Day 1969" is to try at all costs to hold back the workers, to maintain the quiet of "classpeace" under which the workers get ground down by inflation, speed-up and unemployment. For the Workers League, the message of "Labor Day 1969" is that the U.S. working class is in fact entering into a period of great class struggle which will build a link between the younger generation of workers and the militants who led the fight to build the CIO in Flint '37 and throughout the country. The struggle must now go forward, centered around the demand for wage hikes to catch up with the loss of purchasing power; the FULL cost of living escalator bonus; the thirty hour week at 40 hours pay; union control over working conditions to end speed-up and safety hazards; the building of an independent labor party to fight the Johnsons, the Nixons, the Wallaces and all their Democratic and Republican friends.

### Workers League Is Formed to Bring Socialism to U.S. Labor

The Workers League is formed to bring socialism to U.S. labor. It is the only organization in the U.S. that is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It is the only organization in the U.S. that is based on the principles of the Fourth International. It is the only organization in the U.S. that is based on the principles of the Workers League.

**Bulletin**  
Hands Off the Chinese Revolution!  
conditional support to red guards

**Bulletin**  
bi-weekly organ of the workers league  
DRIVE WALLACE POISON OUT OF TRADE UNIONS

**Bulletin**  
bi-weekly organ of the workers league  
THERE WILL BE NO PEACE AS LONG AS BOSSES RULE

# nixon and meany plot wage freeze

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

in Washington will take steps to really keep the workers from catching up. The unions will be fought and the workers asked to "sacrifice" as unemployment mounts. The unemployment rate may rise way above the 4% "floor".

### LABOR DAY

This is what "Labor Day 1969" really means for the working class. For George Meany "Labor Day 1969" is not an occasion to plan a fight by the trade union movement against this inflation. Certainly Meany is concerned about inflation, more so than any other issue facing labor. But instead of a fight, Meany proposes a way out for the employers and Washington. In a rare "Labor Day" interview conducted by representatives of the press, Meany put forward his solution to inflation: "The only way you are going to stop it-- and I am not advocating this, but you are asking me and I can only go by my experience...is by controls. ... Legal controls. And we will not accept legal controls unless they control all forms of income, prices, dividends, profits and everything else."

If Mr. Meany is not "advocating" such controls, then we don't know what "advocate" means. It is clear that Meany wants a set-up similar to that of World War II when he and his cronies heading the CIO -- Murray, Curran, Bridges, Hillman, to name a few -- forced a wage freeze, and no

strike pledge on the union ranks. "Controlled" consumer prices skyrocketed while wages were held near rockbottom by Roosevelt's War Labor Board. Prices in January 1943 were 22% higher, by the most conservative estimate, than in August, 1939. During the same period, wages for ILGWU dressmakers increased only 10% and this was more than many other workers got.

Throughout the war, the bosses were allowed to raise prices and got richer, but the union workers had to fight for every penny against the efforts of their leaders, (both liberal and Stalinist labor bureaucrats) the bosses and FDR's government. These are the 'experiences' Mr. Meany is talking about. And these experiences have ALWAYS shown, both in the U.S. in the past and in Britain today, where the capitalists have tried to bring in a wage freeze, that the "controls" of the bosses' government are always used to try to hold wages down while the bosses, especially the monopolies, raise prices and expand profits.

Meany even goes so far in his interview as to suggest a way to get the U.S. workers to swallow wage controls. Meany advises that even the labor bureaucrats will not "buy wage controls UNLESS(our emphasis) it was a national emergency, unless the President said that our commitments overseas were such that we had to have this." Now, we know that old George is not really "advocating"

such a policy. He's just giving Nixon the rope to hang the working class.

No, Mr. Meany, it is not the trade union ranks who have grown "conservative" as you state in your interview. It is you and your crew of so-called labor leaders who are always looking for ways to help the bosses out of their difficulties while the rank and file in the unions are more and more standing up and fighting for wage gains to keep up with inflation, against speed-up and deteriorating conditions and for job security against conservative bureaucrats like yourself,

### AFFLUENCE

"Labor Day 1969", is not the way the New York Times puts it: "Affluence and Quiet". All is not so quiet and affluent. The Times pictures today's auto workers in Flint Michigan as all fat, satisfied and complacent, in comparison with the older Flint auto workers who 'conquered G.M.' in the stormy sitdown strikes of 1937. The Times, like Meany, doesn't like to see militancy and struggle in the trade unions so they paint a pretty picture. But the situation in the auto plants is far closer to 1937 than they think. The auto workers, like the ranks of many other unions, are fed up to here with rising prices and the coming efforts by the bosses and government are going to produce some explosive struggles that Meany and the Times would rather not think about.

The "affluent" auto workers the Times talks about have recently had

# BERNADETTE AND THE BRITISH TROOPS

BY PAT CONNOLLY

Fresh from strutting from the barricades of Bogside like a modern day Joan of Arc, Miss Bernadette Devlin, member of Parliament from North Ireland, flew into Kennedy airport on an errand of mercy, and in a hail of publicity.

Miss Devlin is here to raise a million dollars. She presents the struggle in North Ireland as a "Catholic" problem, and on this basis is appealing to Irish-American Catholics and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church for money for the "poor homeless Catholics". By making this a religious appeal to the most reactionary elements, she tries to completely obscure the class nature of the struggle in North Ireland, and to deepen further the divisions between Catholic and Protestant workers in Ireland.

In the street fighting of two weeks ago, young Catholic workers were fighting against the B-Specials, and the police, despite the pleas for "peace" from the liberals and priests leading the civil rights movement. At the same time Protestant youth were fighting the police, and attacked and looted Protestant shops, despite the appeals of Paisley and his right wing supporters.

Paisley who represents the same rightist force in Ireland as Wallace does in the U.S. got his training in fact in Wallace country. He attended the racist, fundamentalist bible school for reactionary preachers in North Carolina, Bob Jones College. Today Paisley uses his reactionary training to encourage division and disunity between Catholics and Protestants in the Irish working class.

## DIVISIONS

Miss Devlin presents the struggle as a civil rights fight for Catholics. While it is true that the basic democratic and civil rights of the Catholic minority in North Ireland are denied by the ruling class, the civil rights' leaders and the revisionists can see nothing else. The ruling class has played up and played upon the religious divisions that have traditionally torn apart the Irish working class precisely because these religious divisions are the basis for the imperialist division of Ireland, and because they are terrified of the thought of a united working class which would be capable of struggling for power.

All the civil rights liberals, Miss Devlin included, and all the revisionists have in one way or another supported the occupation of North Ireland by British troops - and how

could it be otherwise? Miss Devlin CALLED for British troops in Belfast and Derry before the Unionist government did! The British Communist Party in its paper, the Morning Star, kept urging the Wilson Government to send in troops to "protect the Catholics", and when troops were sent in with fixed bayonets, the Communist Party tried to cover up by saying that the House of Commons should have been reconvened to discuss the matter first, and to pass a civil rights bill for North Ireland.

## WITHDRAWAL

None of the revisionists have raised the demand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. They all accept the role of the British riot troops as arbiters between the Catholics and Protestants, the idea that the British army is there with fixed bayonets to protect the Catholic workers and to preserve order and calm. Make no mistake about it--the troops are there to preserve order--"law and order" based on the continued oppression of Catholic and Protestant workers, and the continued rule of the capitalist class.

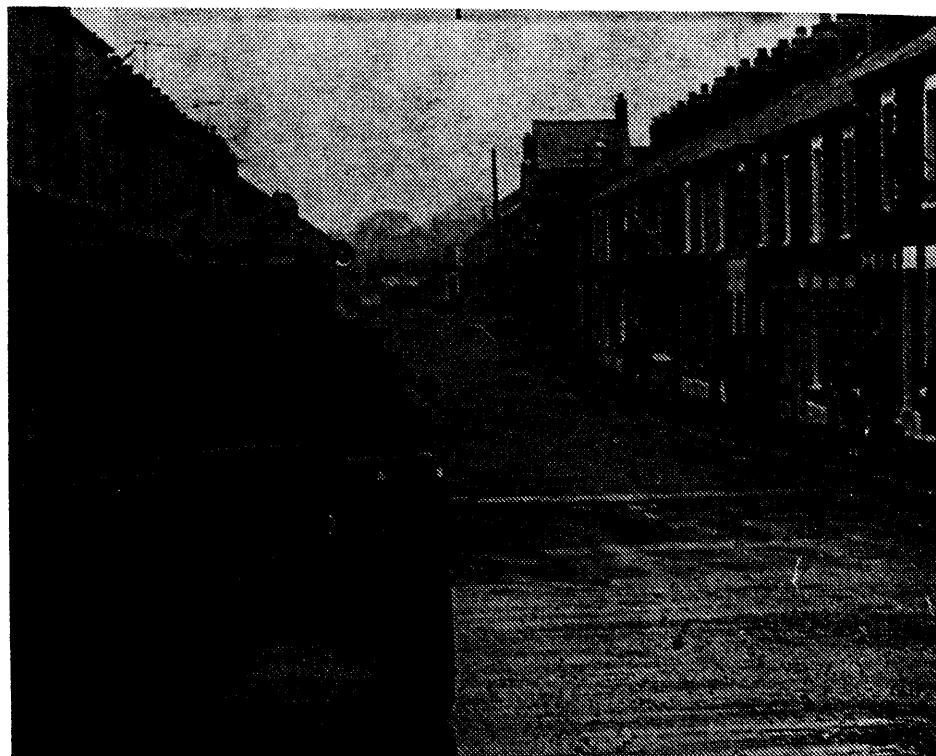
The revisionists in the U.S. such as the Communist Party have given uncritical support to rascals like Miss Devlin, posing the fight there as merely a struggle for "civil rights." The Daily World has this to say about Bernadette: "Miss Devlin at 22 understands TRUE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM better than many her senior in age." (our emphasis)

## SWP

The Socialist Workers Party is a bit more careful. The "Militant" of September 5th, which has a full page article on Ireland, complete with a drawing of Miss Devlin, and quotations from the New York Times saying she "advocates a united socialist Ireland", sees this as yet another civil rights struggle:

"Since last October, the Catholic community, which constitutes about a third of Ulster's population, has been conducting a vigorous struggle to win elementary democratic rights and to abolish social and economic discrimination."

There is not a word about the working class! Not a word about the necessity for unity between Catholics and Protestant workers! Not a word about the kind of program necessary to unite workers for the struggle to take power! And not a word about the necessity for the independent mobilization of the working class or



HOUSEWIVES LOOK ON APPREHENSIVELY AS AN ARMoured CAR STANDS PARKED IN A WORKING CLASS STREET IN THE HEART OF BELFAST'S PROTESTANT AREA.

the building of a revolutionary party in Ireland!

Above all of course, they do not call for the withdrawal of British troops. This is logical in a way, since it was the SWP which used as a slogan in the civil rights movement in America, "Bring the troops home and send them to Mississippi", capitulating completely to the liberal civil rights leaders such as Martin Luther King, who spread the illusion that the American government which was pursuing an imperialist war in Asia would act to protect Negroes in Mississippi. It is like sending a wolf to be a shepherd. It is consistent with their policy of turning to anyone but the working class, for the solution to problems facing the working class, anything to avoid the question of the independent mobilization of the working class.

## FAR

The final paragraph of the article in the Militant, far from drawing any of the necessary lessons from the struggle going on in North Ireland, said in part:

"Many Catholics welcomed the occupation, since it will help make perfectly clear where the responsibility for the misery of North Ireland

and the fratricidal struggle between oppressed Irishmen belongs: on British imperialism."

## CRISIS

They cannot see beyond the fight between Catholics and Protestants. The fighting along religious lines is only one form which the struggle is taking, and this struggle must be seen in its context. The real causes of the fighting in Ireland lies in the economic crisis in North Ireland, which is rooted in the crisis of British capitalism as a whole.

Unemployment in North Ireland is now 10%, and in Derry it is 20%. New housing is not being built for lack of funds, and old housing is rotten, decaying and overcrowded. Inflation soars, while wages remain constant and decline. It is within this context that Catholic and Protestants again begin to fight on religious lines. It is not simply a civil rights struggle. Catholic workers could be given the vote and a bill of civil rights and it would do little or nothing to alter the situation the Irish working class is facing.

## UNITY

The unity of the working class is what is required first of all in Ireland. The formation of common defense guards by Catholic and Protestant workers in Belfast Housing projects after bitter street fighting provoked by the Paisleyite reactionaries is one step. In Derry workers from the Protestant Irish Street district and the Catholic Cross Street district have organized common defense guards against attacks by Paisleyites and provocateurs. 9,000 shipyard workers in Belfast and 2,000 factory workers near the docks have met and agreed that there will be no fighting along religious lines.

The unity of the class around a socialist program is what is required to defeat the Unionist government and prepare the struggle for a united socialist Ireland. The first demand to fight for such unity is the unconditional call for the withdrawal of British troops from North Ireland. The Special Powers Act must be repealed, and all political prisoners freed. Disarm and disband the B-Specials! Immediate nationalization of the banks, the land, and industry, under workers control! For a workers and Farmers Government!

## Czech Workers Take On The Bureaucracy

BY MARTY JONAS

One year after the Soviet invasion, the Czechoslovak workers have shown that they are by no means defeated.

Though the Soviet and Czech bureaucracies tried their best to intimidate the workers and students, they had little success.

In preparation for demonstrations on the anniversary day of the invasion, August 21st, Soviet General Aleksei Epishev, chief political commissar of the Soviet Army and a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU, was sent to preside over the repression. Warnings were issued by the Czech Communist Party against "anti-socialist" provocation and leaflets. Mainly these moves were directed at the working class; it has not remained quiet in the last year.

The Czech working class has made its feelings well known to the bureaucracy. Resolutions have been passed in trade unions; workers have refused

the use of union halls to pro-Soviet meetings; printing workers have refused to print pro-occupation literature. When a Soviet delegation came recently to inspect the Avia factory complex in Prague, it was greeted by the workers with a shower of stones.

## BOYCOTTS

On August 21st, the workers of Czechoslovakia responded neither to the intimidation of the bureaucracy nor to the calls for adventurist confrontation.

Through boycotts of theaters, restaurants, transit, and newspapers, the workers showed their strength as well as their determination to get the Soviet troops out.

The imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucracy are both worried about the unrest among the working class --both in the imperialist countries and the workers' states. Most of

all, they fear the uniting of these struggles. The same forces of Stalinism which kept the French workers from coming to power in 1968, are occupying Czechoslovakia and attempting to crush any independent expression of the workers there.

## INTERNATIONAL

The International Committee of the Fourth International was the only party to oppose the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia as well as placing any trust in the "liberal" Stalinist group behind Dubcek. The working class can have no confidence in any variety of Stalinism. Sections of the Fourth International must be built in Eastern Europe around a program of the independence of the trade union and the building of workers councils leading to political revolution.

WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS NOW!

FOR A UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE!

# WOODSTOCK RETREAT TO SWAMP OF IDEALISM



A VERY REAL, MATERIAL RAIN SOAKED  
400,000 IDEALISTS

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

From the Isle of Wight in England to Tenino, Washington in the U.S.A. the frenzied middle class has been "doing its own thing". At the Woodstock Rock Festival, 400,000 youth indulged themselves in a virtual quagmire of mud, rock and drugs.

Those most "high" about these "rock fairs" are not the participants themselves but the forces behind the Pied Pipers--the capitalists. This is why every instrument of the capitalists, from their press to their police force have been gushing with enthusiasm. They have good reason, we might add.

Last year thousands of youth converged on Chicago to confront the politicians. This year many of the same youth turned from politics, from any fight to change the world, to the biggest escape yet--to sleep in an LSD stupor.

## REACTION

This is no accident. This turn away from politics is a reaction on the part of the middle class to the deepening crisis in the capitalist world, and to the decay of the social order. This reaction is not unique to our times. The decay of every social order--slavery, feudalism, capitalism, produces a series of decadent cults, "philosophies", and corruption. You have only to go back to your history books to study the decline of the Roman Empire to find orgies equivalent to Woodstock.

This decay is the result of the breakdown of an outdated system of production. It is reflected in the breakdown of the ideological cement--philosophy, religion, morality and political beliefs which held the society together and was used to justify the mode of production--the exploitation of the working class.

This is the meaning not only of the orgy at Woodstock but the orgy at Martha's Vineyard.

## BREAKDOWN

Chicago marked the demise of reformism--the traditional political position of the middle class--the political outlook which has historically tied the working class to the capitalists in "peace". The transmission belt for reformism into the working class is the middle class.

The breakdown of capitalism and with it reformism lays bare the basic material relations in capitalist society--the struggle between the employers and the workers.

The beginning movement of the workers throws the middle class into confusion and fear. The middle class protest movement and all the confrontations on the campuses, all of SDS' book waving has not stopped the increasing attacks by the capitalists on the working class or the students. This movement finds itself

politically bankrupt, and whole sections of it have now put forward the slogan "turn on and drop out."

This section of the middle class is running away from the clash between the two major classes. Thus they seek a solution in the "individual", in their "feelings". They live in the illusion that they will find the answer inside themselves. This is idealist rubbish!

"Newsweek" puts it very well: "Woodstock marked a turning inward not unlike the impulse that produced the beat generation of the Eisenhower 50's--a retreat by the young from politics into the sanctuary of their youth and their senses."

## IDEALIST

They begin not with a materialist outlook but an idealist one--that human nature is not socially produced

but can be changed by changing individuals. This leads to the logic of idealism which is solipsism--I alone exist and exist only through my sensations.

This is where drugs come in. They offer hallucinations and purely individual sensations and experience, solving your "identity crisis" within yourself and not within the society that in fact imposes this identity. Rather than changing anything, these "individuals" are reduced to animals.

The youth who went to Woodstock are living a dangerous illusion. In an extensive interview with the New York Times one young participant from the "comfortable middle class" said: "I just had a feeling that, wow, there are so many of us, we really have power. I'd always felt like such a minority. But I thought, wow, we're a majority--it felt like that. I felt here's the answer to anyone who calls us deviates."

This is the bankruptcy of an outlook based on "feelings". The middle class, and particularly the middle class that flocked to Woodstock has no power, absolutely none. The illusion of power is really nothing more than despair--it is the pathetic protest of the frustrated middle class individual who seeks a way out by escape. All those thousands who flocked to the rock fests cannot alter the power of capitalism one ounce. The festivals are an escape route for those who reject the revolutionary role of the working class.

## BUSINESS

Underneath all their pretenses to

non-conformism is the desire to keep things as they are--to defend this system. As one youth put it: "I really think that after all of us graduate, you know, there's still going to be business. Business is business and we will be running the businesses."

The "something" these youth were "demonstrating for" was all the absolutely rotten filth and decay of capitalist society. This is hardly "freedom" and "peace". The fact is that when reality in the form of rain hit the big dream up in Woodstock, it turned into one big mudhole. So much for dreams!

The alternative that was posed at these fests is really the alternative of the capitalist class--to drug the youth and the working class--to prevent them from taking up the fight to overthrow this system. This is why the cops did absolutely nothing to stop the use or sale of drugs. As Newsweek put it: "Sellers hawked their wares openly...Police did collar a few of the most flagrant pushers but mostly they stood by and watched."

The "cultural revolution" is bought and paid for by the capitalists not just for the hard cash they get, but for the destruction of the struggle against their system. The Pied Pipers are hired not to get rid of the pestilence of decay but to keep it around.

Youth have a vital role to play in the revolutionary struggles but they must be part of a disciplined party which bases itself on an objective and scientific analysis.

## Labor Bureaucrats Support Strike Breakers

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

NEW YORK--The complete political bankruptcy of the American trade union bureaucrats was paraded out in the open for all to see at the recent Central Labor Council meeting which endorsed Procaccino for Mayor.

In a case of lesser evilism gone stark, raving mad, Harry Van Arsdale and Victor Gotbaum fought it out over the issue of which candidate was the least anti-labor. No one had a good word to say for their own nominee only bad words to say about the other nominee.

The discussion centered on which of the candidates had thrown more labor leaders into jail. The Procaccino supporters recalled that Mayor Lindsay had jailed the leaders of the Transport Workers Union, the Sanitationmen's Union and the United Federation of Teachers. In addition it was noted that he had urged parents and students to cross the picket lines in the recent teachers strike.

As if to answer these accusations Martin Morgenstern of the Social Service Employees Union jumped to the aid of Gotbaum and Lindsay. While not denying Lindsay's record in jailing unionists, he added that Mayor Wagner had jailed leaders of the SSEU and the Governor Rockefeller had jailed Lillian Roberts of District 50.

## CREW

The only conclusion to be drawn from all this is that both the Democratic and Republican parties are the tools of the bosses and aid the bosses by jailing leaders of striking workers. This leads to the inescapable further conclusion that the whole crew gathered together at the Central Labor Council, including some who have spent some time in

jail, are as guilty as the Democrats and Republicans because they have for so long bolstered these parties by refusing to use labor's strength to build its own party.

It must also be noted that both Victor Gotbaum and his friendly sidekick Martin Morgenstern, according to the Daily World, "noted the significant progress their unions made in recent negotiations with the Lindsay Administration." One example of this "progress" is the SSEU contract which will progressively liquidate some 9,000 jobs in the department not to mention removing every safeguard over working conditions for those who remain. It is about time the SSEU rank and file dealt decisively with this character.

Since it is quite possible that Mayor Lindsay may win the election, we suggest the workers keep track of the following scoundrels who have been doing their best to get this jailer of unionists back into office. First and foremost is Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37, the representative of the bulk of Mayor Lindsay's employees. Next comes Gotbaum's friendly flunky, Martin Morgenstern of the SSEU. Then we have Leon Davis and the whole crew which runs Local 1199 Drug and Hospital Employees who have been rooters of Governor Rockefeller for so long. We cannot leave out that great "progressive" Harry Foner, President of the Furriers Joint Board, and even a business agent from Motion Picture Operators Local 306, Steve D. Inzillo.

## JAILING

Of course there is always the chance that Two Gun Procaccino who seeks to solve the problems of New York City by stealing the Conservative Party's program of jailing any and all who get in the way, will win. Can Brother Van Arsdale give

us any assurance that our law and order man will not do equally as well as Lindsay, if not better, in the jailing of trade unionists?

The list of those to be held responsible is long indeed. Special mention must be made of Brother Harry himself and Charles Zimmerman and the rest of the leadership of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, One of Zimmerman's employees, Louis Nelson, manager of Local 155, actually got so fired up as to say "Procaccino will make a good mayor". None of the other Procaccino supporters were so rash. Then there is Al Perry of Building Service Local 32J who made an impassioned appeal for law and order.

We cannot ignore the special role in all of this filthy mess of the Daily World, its veteran labor correspondent George Morris, and the Communist Party for which they speak. Those people, who claim to be "communists" and "socialists", cover the Gotbaum-Morgenstern-Foner supporters of Republican Lindsay by seeing their efforts as an "anti-Procaccino drive". It just so happens that the "anti-Procaccino drive" takes the form of urging a vote for Republican, strike busting darling of the silk stocking crowd, Mayor Lindsay. Class conscious workers can have nothing but scorn and hatred for this rotten amalgam of Gotbaum-Morgenstern-Foner and their Communist Party boosters.

## IMPEACH

On the Chelsea dock scrawled in huge letters is the slogan "Impeach Mayor Lindsay". We say this is a very good beginning. But the problem is that whoever replaces Lindsay will need impeaching as well. The only way forward is to impeach the whole crew, the whole class of bosses and politicians, by building our own party based on the unions.

France demolished feudalism in the Great Revolution and established the unalloyed rule of the bourgeoisie in a classical purity unequalled by any other European land. And the struggle of the upward striving proletariat against the ruling bourgeoisie also appeared here in an acute form unknown elsewhere. This was the reason why Marx not only studied the past history of France with special interest, but also followed her current history in every detail, stored up the material for future use and consequently was never taken by surprise by events. †

Engels, Preface to the Third German Edition of Marx's 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon', dated 1883.

**TO SUBMIT the special features of a particular country's development to Marxist social analysis is to recognise that they are the national expression of a world process.**

Without such a study, which reveals both what is peculiar to a particular country and what is common to all countries at a particular stage of economic and social development, it is not possible to prepare to intervene in the class struggle. Those who ignore the lessons of history and refuse to relate the present events to them are bound to be 'taken by surprise'.

French history has proved this over and over again since Marx's day, most recently of all, of course, during the General Strike of May-June, 1968.

In these articles it will be possible to do no more than deal in outline with some of the lessons of French history, particularly those of the Gaullist period since 1958. However, it is necessary to take the study back to the great turning point in French history, the 1789 Revolution which brought the bourgeoisie to power and thus proved decisive for the subsequent development of the country.

In the years of revolution, which opened up in the Spring of 1789, this bourgeoisie abolished the old feudal order based on the dominance of the landed nobility, overthrew the monarchy and deprived the Church of its lands and temporal powers.

This took place as a complex process in which the more moderate middle-class leaders were constantly being pressed further than they wanted to go by the peasantry's radical actions and the eruption of the urban masses onto the scene.

Deep divisions and bitter internecine conflicts broke out within the new rising class which were settled by the revolutionary tribunals and the guillotine. Even the most radical wing of the bourgeoisie, the Jacobins, were essentially defenders of property who, while at certain stages having to call on the masses, were unable to satisfy their demands.

A point was reached, therefore, at which the Revolution had to go back, finding a basis which corresponded to the material needs of the main sections of the property-owners and once again leaving the masses politically impotent. The final consolidation of the bourgeois state and the new property relations took place under Napoleon Bonaparte's rule (1799-1815).

Continuing and completing a task which the monarchy had been too bound up with feudal institutions to carry through, Napoleon established a highly-centralized state apparatus as the instrument of bourgeois rule. In its basic features the French state today directly continues the form it assumed at this time.

The bourgeoisie needed a strong state to consolidate its power and safeguard its property after a period of revolutionary upheaval and uncertainty which brought it into conflict with all the European states. This state directly confronted the hypothetical 'individual' of bourgeois theory as a result of the

# FRENCH SOCIETY IN CRISIS

**Historical Peculiarities of French Development**  
by Tom Kemp

## PART ONE

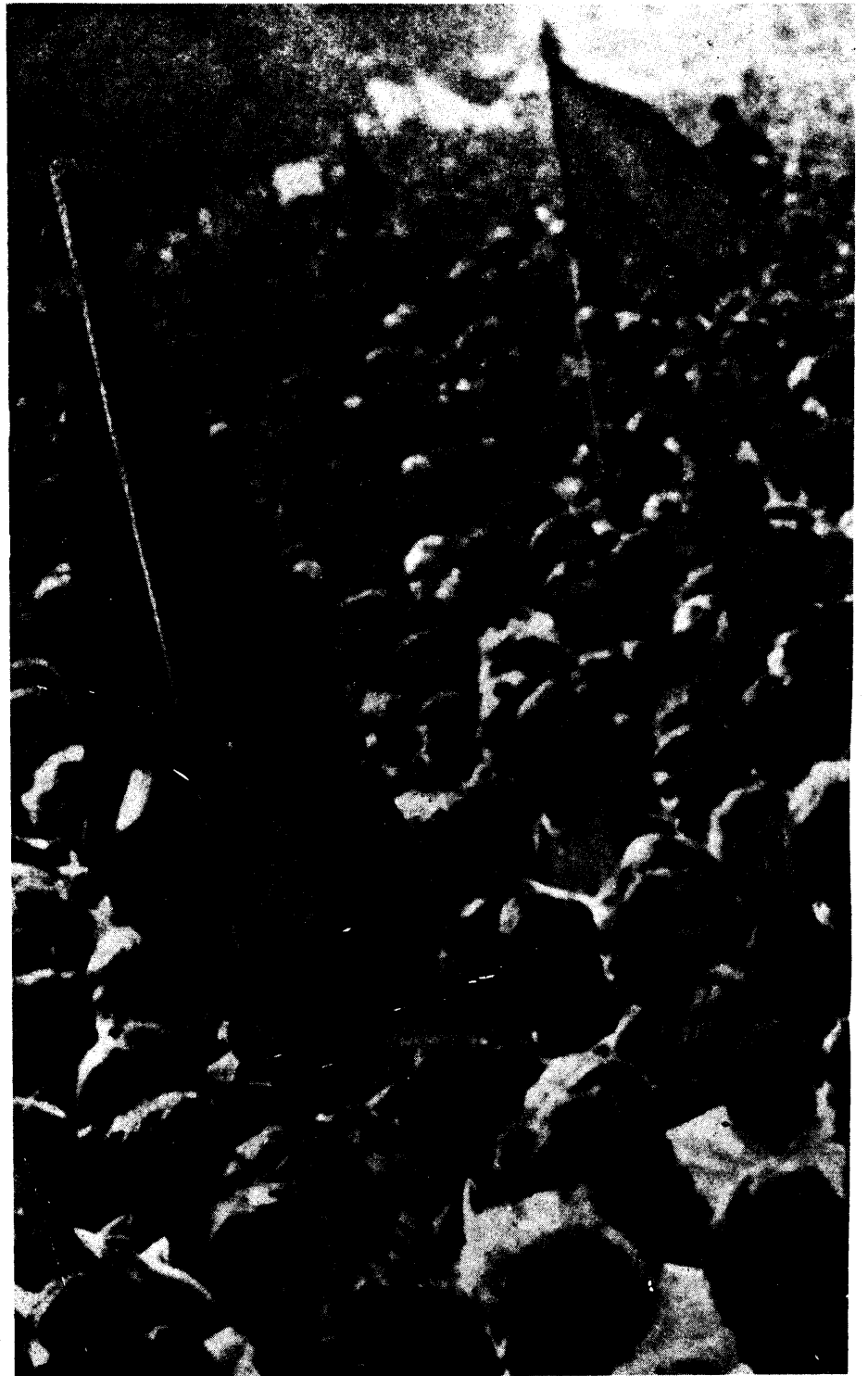
destruction of the old institutions of feudalism—the guilds and corporations, the juridical powers of the nobility, the secular authority of the Church. State offices were now 'colonized' by the new ruling class on the basis of 'the career open to talent.'

In the course of the revolutionary years the property of the Church, emigré nobles and enemies of the revolution was confiscated and auctioned. Bourgeois purchasers and speculators piled up great fortunes. Further opportunities for enrichment arose through speculation, hoarding scarce goods, contracting for the army and the like. The great bourgeois dynasties of the 19th century were established on this foundation of legalized plunder.

From the fortunes made at this time a new class of great capitalists took shape, the forebears of the '200 Families' said, in the 1930s, to control France's riches.

But the revolution also had taken place before France had taken many strides towards industrialization. The wealth of the bourgeoisie consisted mainly of real estate and liquid resources used in the financing of trade and government. The industrial wing of this class was still weak. Moreover, it was greatly handicapped not only by the slow development of the home market but also by British industry's dominant position in the world market. Industrial development in France, starved of capital in the first part of the 19th century, lagged behind Britain and was then to be rapidly overhauled by Germany.

Contrary to the intentions or interests of the bourgeoisie the peasants in and after 1789 had made their own revolution. Needing the peasants as a



base against the nobility and the monarchy, the bourgeoisie had to accept and endorse the results of the peasant uprising against feudalism. Thus a substantial proportion of the landed property remained in the hands of, or passed to, a class of peasant landowners.

Throughout the 19th century the bourgeoisie needed peasant support against the revolutionary threat from the towns. Therefore the land system was not fully attuned to the needs of capitalist economy and an excessively large part of the population was pinned to the land in inefficient small-scale agricultural units.

This hindered the recruitment of an industrial proletariat and limited the growth of the home market. So French industry was still further handicapped in competition with its British and later German rivals.

The preservation of a large peasantry, and its large agrarian sector meant that much industrial production continued to be carried on in the countryside or in small towns scattered over the rural landscape. Many varieties of petty capitalism—artisan industry and small-scale localized trading—were sustained especially in the small provincial towns.

Therefore, there existed a numerous stratum of small property-owners and professional people, essentially conservative in their social outlook. Together with the peasantry they made up the majority of the population and were carried into the 20th century as a rather inert social force. They stood in the way of a more rapid and advanced development of French capitalism, but the dominant sections of the bourgeoisie could not dispense with them. They formed the main counterweight to the growing urban working class.

So the French Revolution had paradoxical consequences. On the one hand it provided the bourgeoisie with a form of state power and a system of laws wholly adapted to the needs of capitalist property relations. On the other it established some blocks to more rapid change which therefore preven-

ted these favourable political and juridical conditions from being more fully exploited.

## Some features of French capitalism

Nevertheless, industrial development did make headway at a steady rate throughout the 19th century. Even so, France remained well behind Britain in aggregate industrial power and lost her leading position on the continent to Germany round about 1880.

Down to 1914 a rapid transformation took place in some sectors of the economy, especially in heavy industry. New mining areas were opened up; a modern steel industry was established; while in engineering and other technically advanced industries there was significant progress.

French industry tended to be weighed down by the existence of numerous small, often archaic units. Exports were mainly of the higher quality commodities rather than cheap, mass-produced articles for the rapidly-growing markets in the less-developed areas. Unquestionably a country of advanced industrial capitalism in 1914, France was facing growing difficulties in maintaining her relative position on the political scene.

The last part of the 19th century saw a remarkable export of French capital, mobilized by the big deposit banks which were established in this period. The source of these funds was, to a large extent, the rentier middle class and peasantry whose nature has already been described. There were rich pickings for the banks and financial houses in handling loans to foreign governments and other big borrowers. The Paris Bourse thus became second only to the City of London in international finance.

French foreign lending was much more directly political than that from

London. The government exercised control over the direction of such lending, seeking to shape it according to foreign policy needs.

After a period under Napoleon in which France had attained European hegemony, her political influence dwindled after 1815. The other powers imposed a restrictive peace to prevent a resurgence of French expansionism.

France was not able to play much of an international role again until the Second Empire (1852-1870). But the unification of Germany by Bismarck and the growth of German industrial power brought about the big setback of defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871). The French ruling class had to face the prospect of dropping back to the status of a second-class power.

To remain in the power game, to acquire the colonies which appeared necessary to enable economic expansion to proceed, French diplomacy had to find allies to compensate for France's growing relative weakness.

Two possibilities presented themselves: an alliance with Germany, some form of continental coalition which could only be directed against Britain, the main imperialist power, or an alliance with Britain against Germany, whose government was taking out a claim for European hegemony.

These options have determined the main differences about foreign policy orientation in the epoch of imperialism. The choice was an uncomfortable one. As a result of her victory in 1870-1871 the new German Empire had acquired two of France's richest provinces, Alsace-Lorraine. It was difficult to make an alliance with Germany acceptable to public opinion on their account.

On the other hand, 'perfidious Albion' was France's hereditary enemy and rivalry was kept alive during the scramble for colonies at the end of the century. French diplomacy sought a third way by an alliance with Tsarist Russia—also an enemy of Britain and estranged from Germany—which would confront Germany with the threat of a war on two fronts.

It was in the name of the Russian alliance, dating from 1894, that the savings of French rentiers, mobilized by the banks, were poured into the financing of the Russian military and administrative machine.

As the threat from Germany, now building a high-seas fleet and making a bid for world power, struck home in Britain the situation changed. Britain and France drew together against the common danger, settled their outstanding differences and entered into various political and military understandings.

The line-up for the First World War was thus decided, with France as the centre of an anti-German coalition, though not without lingering doubts in the minds of some members of the ruling class.

## Effects of the First World War & the depression

When the first imperialist war came, it strained French resources to the utmost. The eastern and northern departments which contained as much as two-thirds of heavy industry's capacity were overrun by the Germany army or in the battle zone. The drain on manpower was enormous. France could obviously not have stood up to Germany's power without Britain and then the United States.

The shock of the war and the revolutionary tremors which followed it precipitated a deep crisis of confidence in the bourgeoisie from which it has never recovered.

Continued industrialization during the war increased the weight of the proletariat in French society while post-war inflation weakened large sections of the middle class. Class relations, already taking on the shape of an open challenge to bourgeois rule by the industrial proletariat before the war, assumed now a still more antagonistic form.

Despite her position in the victor camp the war greatly weakened France, but the extent of this weakness was

concealed for over a decade. The 1920s were characterized by an industrial boom sparked off by the reconstruction of the devastated areas financed by government loans and bank credit. This continued as part of the world boom which came to an end in 1929.

But while industry grew, and with it the specific weight of the working class, the franc had fallen to less than a fifth of its pre-war parity. When stabilized in 1926 and 1928 it was undervalued in terms of other currencies. This gave French exporters and the tourist trade an advantage in foreign competition and sheltered France from the full extent of the world economic depression until after the pound devaluation in 1931.

After that the French economy felt the effect of the depression with full force. The fall in exports and tourist earnings was calamitous. Confidence in the franc at its new rate evaporated. Investment prospects, reduced by the heavy rebuilding and modernization of the 1920s, were clouded by a general lack of confidence in the future which swept through the bourgeoisie like a plague. Industrial and public investment virtually came to a standstill and the whole economy was caught in the grip of stagnation from which it was not really released until the 1950s.

All the old-fashioned features of the French economy now re-asserted themselves, and sharp conflicts took place within the capitalist class.

Each section, the most backward as well as the most advanced, tried to hang on to its established positions with government support. French production continued to fall when every other capitalist economy was beginning to recover.

When, in late 1935, some signs of recovery began to appear it was too late. The country was now in the grip of a social crisis which raised the spectre of working-class revolution before the shaken and demoralized bourgeoisie.

It was against this background that the May 1936 elections brought to office a Popular Front government which was immediately confronted by the mass strikes and occupations of factories by a working class determined to see its demands met.

This situation revealed the extent to which the Stalinist leadership of the Communist Party had passed to the defence of the social order. The intervention of its secretary, Maurice Thorez, and the efforts of the Communist Party apparatus were needed to bring the strike movement under control and prevent it taking a revolutionary direction.

The 1936 betrayal, concealed by the concessions which had to be made to the working class and by the fashion in which the situation was handled by the CP, did nothing to overcome the nervousness of the ruling class.

The rise of Nazism in Germany confronted it once again with the dilemma of the pre-1914 era. The close relationship with Britain had soon given way to suspicion and rivalry in the 1920s and the British government (notably through the Anglo-German Naval Agreement) seemed ready to make concessions to the Hitler regime.

Within the French ruling class the old differences over foreign policy re-emerged. The pact with Soviet Russia was made by a right-wing government, but large sections of the right preferred an accommodation with Germany, distrusted Britain and feared, above all, a revolution at home which had narrowly been avoided in 1936.

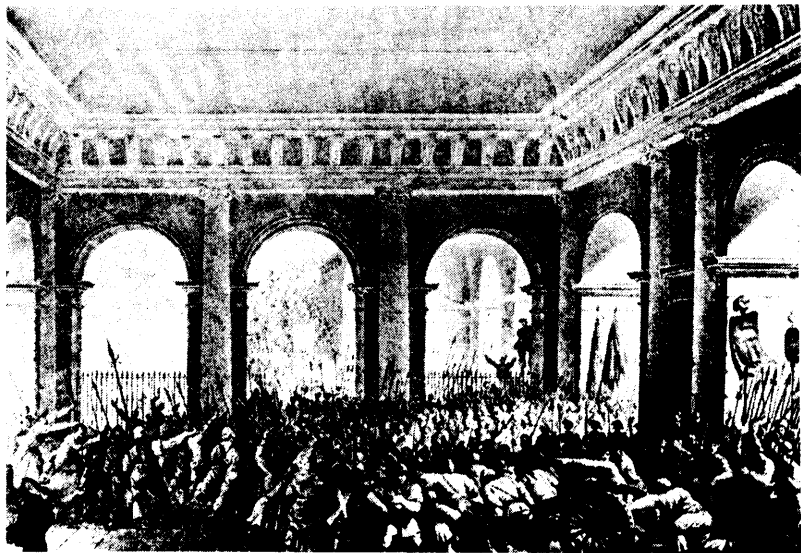
Hence, in the latter part of the 1930s the French bourgeoisie suffered a growing paralysis of will and an insurmountable crisis of confidence.

The economy was running down and essential investment was neglected. There was no real recovery from the depression even after re-armament had begun. Confidence in the franc remained at a low ebb.

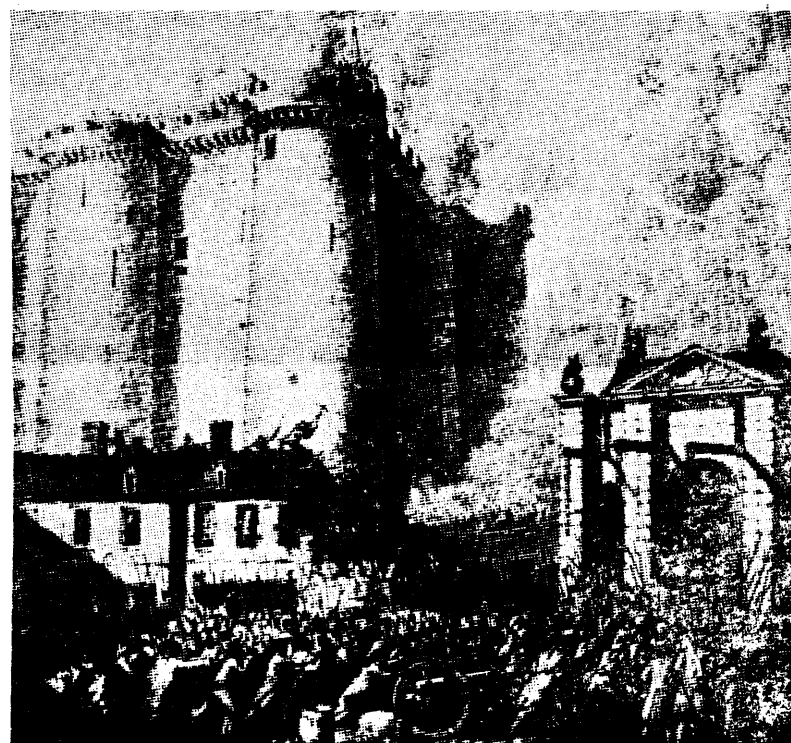
The view that subjection to Hitler's plan for Europe was preferable to 'communism' gained ground, not so much openly, but in private. The fear of a new war, still more disastrous for the stagnating population than the previous one, was a predominant factor. For the ruling class it was coupled with the fear that it could only have one outcome: the unleashing of revolutionary forces.

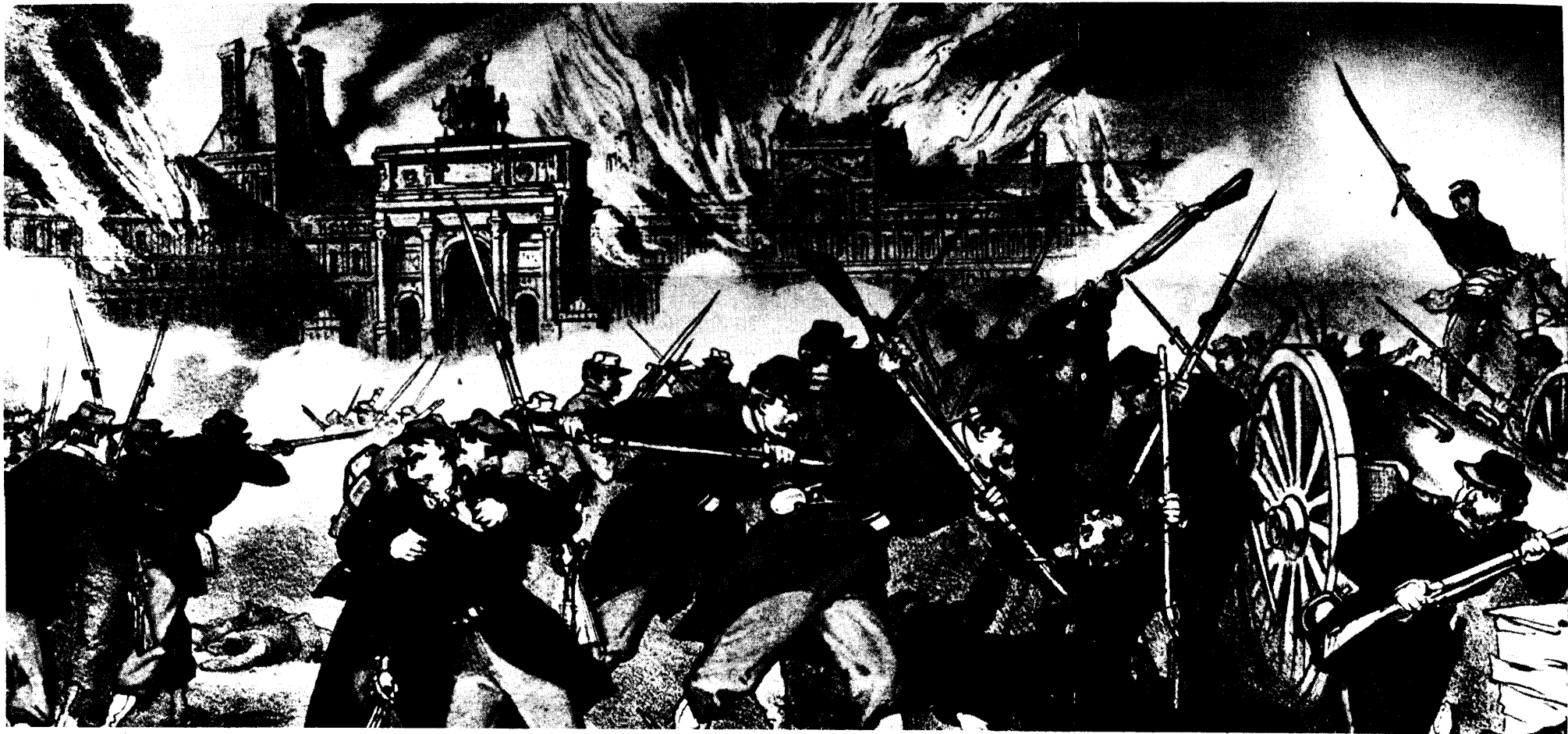
French re-armament and diplomatic preparation for the inevitable war with Nazi Germany was therefore half-hearted. Substantial sections of the capitalist class and the military had no confidence in victory and preferred a settlement at any price.

The breathing space of Munich was



Two scenes from the French Revolution which established the rule of the bourgeoisie. Above, the storming of the Royal palace of the Tuileries. Below, the masses assault the Bastille, prison of the hated régime.





greeted with tremendous relief. It proved short-lived, however, and France was drawn into the war following the German invasion of Poland in August, 1939.

## Some characteristics of the working-class movement

**IT IS VERY necessary at this point to describe certain features of the French working-class movement.**

The growth of a modern industrial proletariat in France was influenced by the preservation of a large peasantry, the existence of many small-scale units and the slow emergence of advanced, large-scale enterprises.

Socialist ideas entered France at an early stage and began to influence the working class by the 1830s, at a time when trade unions were illegal. These ideas were taken up mainly by workers in small-scale enterprises, i.e. by skilled artisans largely working under the old conditions. There was an attraction to Utopian schemes for preserving the small workshop type of economy which were opposed to the advance of modern industry. This strain, hostile to discipline and organization and, of course, to Marxism, made up an important component of the working-class movement in the 19th century and was a basis, later, for syndicalism.

The French class struggle in the middle decades of the 19th century assumed an extremely sharp character. Trade unionism was virtually excluded by the law. Working-class action thus took a mainly spontaneous, but political form. Workers made possible the overthrow of the restored Bourbons in 1830 and the downfall of Louis Philippe in February, 1848.

The conflict which rapidly ensued between the bourgeois republicans and the workers demanding a social republic led to the bloody 'June Days' in which thousands of Parisian workers were massacred by troops and middle-class volunteers. The Commune of 1871 repeated the same drama on a still larger scale.

In other words bourgeois and workers came to grips in bloody struggle which left ineffaceable marks on class relations.

The development was, in its own way, paradoxical. The French proletariat was numerically weaker and less concentrated in factories and big enterprises than England, but at the same time it was more politically conscious and had acquired a rich revolutionary tradition. In short, it was less reconciled to the bourgeois social order: its

organization took a political rather than a trade union form. On the other hand, its small workshop character and origin tended to tie it ideologically to the petty bourgeoisie, at least to that part which was in the Jacobin tradition.

Further, the French proletariat was very heterogeneous. It was recruited slowly from the peasantry over a long period. Many retained village links. Newcomers to towns often aspired to join the petty bourgeoisie and did not regard their position as wage earners as permanent. For such sections, therefore, the level of class consciousness was low. Only where there were mines or large-scale industry did a more homogeneous and class-conscious proletariat arise, able to build enduring organizations and provide a basis for working-class political parties.

Assisted after 1884 by legal recognition of trade unions the French labour movement then began to take on its modern character.

Unlike the situation in Britain, however, the Socialist Party and the trade unions developed on independent lines. Both were weakened as a consequence. The pre-1914 Socialist Party, a union of various tendencies, was directed towards parliamentary campaigning and was much influenced by middle-class radicalism, free-masonry and the whole environment in which the politicians and intellectuals moved.

Distrust of politicians and of the bourgeois state gave French trade unionism its special character before 1914 known as syndicalism. Independence of politics became a dogma which, while seemingly revolutionary, could quite well become reactionary.

The revolutionary syndicalists claimed to be working to bring about the overthrow of capitalism through strikes and sabotage culminating in a general strike in which the workers would take command of the factories. In fact the Confederation Generale du Travail (CGT) before 1914 bred a bureaucracy which had no real intention of carrying out such a programme. In any case the unions were numerically weak and appealed mainly to the more highly-skilled workers, many from small-scale enterprises. In 1914 CGT leaders, with a few honourable exceptions, placed themselves at the government's disposal in carrying out industrial mobilization for the war effort. In the same way the Socialist Party leaders joined the *union sacrée* ('holy alliance' of workers' and bourgeois parties for 'national unity' in the First World War) as ministers and supporters of the government.

These betrayals prepared the way for the split in the French labour movement, signs of which began to appear in the later stages of the war, and which was consummated at the Socialist Party Congress at Tours in 1920, where the majority proclaimed the formation of the French Communist Party. The trade unions also split, with a minority wing passing under communist leadership and the majority remaining faithful to the

*The burning of the Tuileries in May 1871, when counter-revolutionary troops from Versailles entered Paris and overthrew the Commune. Thus ended the first conquest of power by the working class in history.*

old-line CGT leadership.

During the war and in the 1920s important changes began to take place in the French proletariat. The war speeded industrialization in former agrarian regions. Many new recruits—former peasants and farm labourers, including many women—were brought into the working class. This was a new proletariat without habits of organization, but also without the conservatism which the organized workers had acquired.

Because of the slow growth in the French population, the mobilization of workers and the heavy death toll of the First World War, systematic attempts were made during and after the war to recruit foreign workers for French industry and construction work. These immigrant workers, mainly from the poor peasantry of neighbouring countries such as Italy and Spain, or from still further afield such as Poland, were not easy to organize because of language and other difficulties.

However, since they were the most exploited strata there was little chance of them being attracted to social democracy or the more conservative trade unions.

As the composition of the French proletariat changed, therefore, the opportunities for the Communist Party increased, while the social base of the Socialist Party tended to shift to salaried and lower middle-class workers, except in a few areas, like the northern coalfields, where there was a strong proletarian base.

These social changes probably explain, although only in part, the Communist Party's ability—despite its decline in the 1920s—to establish a strong working-class base in the following decade.

As a result, by 1936 it was able to appear as the principal working-class party in many of the main industrial areas and to establish a strong position in the advanced industries and big factories. In other words its strength lay in the strategically important sections of the class.

Its historical responsibilities and the consequences of its betrayals in 1936, 1944-1945, 1958 and 1968 are, therefore, all the more serious. But this story will be taken up later.

When the 'phoney war' of the 1939-1940 winter was followed in the Spring by the Panzer offensive, the French Army, and its British allies had no reply. Apart from some isolated units the general result was complete chaos

and rout, not through lack of material, but because no serious preparation had been made for the kind of war which the German Wehrmacht fought and because there was complete demoralization through all sections of the civil and military command.

Within a very short time, therefore, the French government decided to ask for an Armistice and this was supported by an overwhelming majority of

the 'Popular Front' parliament elected in 1936 (the Communists, of course, were for the most part in prison or in flight).

Under the ageing First World War Marshal, Philippe Petain, the Republic gave way to 'the French State'; the old bourgeois device of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' was replaced by 'Work, Family and Fatherland'.

The great majority of the French bourgeoisie now staked its future on the collaboration with Germany practised by the Vichy regime of Petain and Laval. In this way they hoped to safeguard their property and uphold the identity of the 'French State', as it was

now called, as the embodiment of their rule against the possibility of a complete German take-over.

In other words, most of the bourgeoisie, whatever their previous political position, decided by 'realism', i.e. the certainty of a German victory and the actual occupation of French territory, to opt for a settlement with Germany. Only a small minority at first did otherwise.

The gesture of the almost unknown and recently promoted Brigadier, Charles de Gaulle, in proclaiming, from London, an alternative—continued resistance based upon confidence in Allied victory—seemed largely symbolic. In fact, de Gaulle offered an alternative way of preserving the continuity of the state and of bourgeois rule should Germany be defeated.

Outlawed by the Vichy regime, with whose political principles he had much in common, de Gaulle's claim had no legal basis until, by actually assuming control of the state power, he was able to enforce it.

The experience of the defeat, the Armistice and the Occupation brought further divisions and tensions into French society. For sections of the bourgeoisie it continued to be a profitable time; they lived well and were safeguarded against revolution. To the end Petain was greeted by large and enthusiastic crowds wherever he went. However, he confronted a threat from those who wanted to set up a full-blooded fascist regime on Nazi lines, the out-and-out collaborators and, to a growing extent, the armed opposition of the resistance groups.

The Allied invasion and the 'liberation' was accompanied by partisan activity, largely under communist control, which was aimed both against the Wehrmacht and against the collaborators.

It took on the aspect of a civil war in which, as the old authority crumbled, the partisan bands became potentially contenders for power. Everything depended, in fact, upon what policy the Communist Party—and the Soviet Union—would pursue. There could be little doubt about that since, after initial hesitations, the Communist Party

had joined forces with de Gaulle's embryo state apparatus in Algiers before the 'liberation' began.

The possibility that partisan commanders on the spot, pressed on by the working class occupying the factories as their collaborationist bosses departed, would possibly not obey Party directives was very real both to the Communist Party leadership, whose instructions from Moscow were clearly to stifle any revolutionary tendency, and to de Gaulle and his supporters.

For the former the task was to control and ultimately to divert and disarm the partisan bands and check any working-class movement towards the taking of control of the factories. This task was successfully carried out in 1944-1945 to the tune of Thorez's slogan 'One state, one army, one police', as clearly a 'Marxist' demand to restore the state power of the bourgeoisie as there could be!

Unfortunately it was Marxism prostituted in a way peculiar to the Stalinists.

Meanwhile de Gaulle had to struggle tenaciously against his Anglo-Saxon 'allies' to get his claims to represent the legality of his form of state power

business).

Collaborators punished were mainly politicians, journalists, broadcasters and other propagandists: i.e. those who collaborated from conviction. Those who did it for money were permitted to keep their makings and takings; there was no inquiry into their source. (The well-known saying that 'money has no smell' was once again confirmed.) After all, it was no good restoring the bourgeois state apparatus if over half the bourgeoisie was going to be locked up.

So the early post-war years saw gross inequalities of wealth and particularly of consumption. Those who had profited under the Nazis went on to profiteer still more successfully with the help of the Allies. The masses were cold and hungry with rations often un-honoured or prices on the black market soaring out of reach of all but the rich. Thorez and his comrades, in charge of a Communist Party which claimed a million members, sang over this the refrain of 'Production first' and 'The strike is a weapon of the trusts'.

As Ministers at this decisive stage they performed a vital service in restoring capitalism, which de Gaulle recog-

Even with aid the problems were so severe and the ground lost so great that recovery seemed painfully slow. It was pardonable, until about the mid-1950s, to see the old pre-war trends of stagnation still predominant and the breakthrough to modernization was delayed. The home market grew slowly and the balance of payments suffered from chronic weaknesses.

Despite a succession of devaluations the franc remained over-valued and exports suffered. The war in Indo-China was a further drain. The different bourgeois factions formed changing, temporary coalitions which gave parliamentary life an increasingly unreal character. Few political reputations stood up long to the erosion of a period in office.

The whole party and parliamentary system became increasingly discredited. Gerrymandered election laws reduced Communist Party representation. De Gaulle remained in the wings, his own political movement (called the *Rassemblement du Peuple Français*) had a brief success and then went into decline.

The repercussions of the Algerian war, coming after the Indo-Chinese war, became increasingly apparent. They

stable ministries followed each other among growing public indifference and contempt. The Fourth Republic was in decline.

Opposition to the Algerian war grew, but it was left to conscripts, students and intellectual and middle-class groups; the Communist Party and trade unions confined themselves to a formal opposition and refused to issue any call to action to stop the war.

Politicians became increasingly dependent on the army, acting on the belief that a victory was possible over the liberation movement. This period was characterized also by attempts to curb press freedom at home through seizing opposition newspapers and by the army's reign of terror imposed in Algeria. This extended to the treatment of the large number of Algerian workers in France.

Although the French economy was now experiencing growth and the expansion of the modern sectors of industry, this only aggravated social strains. For a time, under the leadership of Poujade, a movement for the defence of small shopkeepers, artisans and peasants gained considerable strength. It reflected the anxiety of those sections facing pressure from monopolization. Growth of large-scale and advanced industries was still held back by the presence of large backward and archaic sectors.

A conflict between big capital and the interests of the petty bourgeoisie was inherent in the situation. Both sought government support and an incoherent body of legislation showed the successive attempts by the politicians to satisfy all sections. Bitter in-fighting between the parties also reflected sharp divisions within the property-owning classes prompted by modernization of the economy.

Inability to work out an overall policy which would reconcile the conflicting interests was a major factor in the decline of the Fourth Republic.

The growth of the French economy during the 1950s was part of an international expansion; France's position, relatively, continued to deteriorate with the revival of Germany. The balance of payments remained weak and the franc continued to be shaky and obviously overvalued on the foreign exchanges.

The August 1953 strikes and those of 1955 showed the continued combativity of the working class. The CP's electoral manoeuvres, the search for allies and the upholding of the line of the parliamentary road to socialism when parliament was increasingly discredited held back the working class and prevented its intervention.

In the Fourth Republic's last phase, however, the bourgeoisie was increasingly conscious that its political decline and decay invited such an intervention. The possibility of revolution 'from the left' was certainly implicit in the situation. So was the danger of a military coup led by the generals in Germany and Algeria.

Never had the military been so closely involved with the politics of French imperialism as they had been in Indo-China and Algeria. The prestige of the army was at stake. In Algeria the army had acquired a more or less free hand. The generals thus became increasingly self-confident at the very time when the politicians were becoming increasingly discredited.

The prospect of a military coup, though openly discussed in the press, may not have been so real as it appeared. Not only were the bourgeoisie and the politicians as a whole dead against it; there was also the possibility that resistance from the working class, and conscript soldiers themselves, would precipitate a civil war in which bourgeois rule would be at risk.

However, as the crisis of the Fourth Republic moved to its climax, the two possible dangers of proletarian revolution or of military dictatorship were implicit in the situation. This was the situation on the eve of de Gaulle's accession to power in 1958.



*Troops of the French colonial army withdraw from Hanoi in October, 1954 following the rout of French forces by the Viet Minh at the battle of Dien Bien Phu.*

recognized. He built up very methodically the means to effect a smooth transition from Vichy institutions to those of what was to become the Fourth Republic.

He was extremely conscious of two dangers: that France would become an Anglo-American satellite or a Soviet Republic. The task he set himself was to bring into operation the alternative which he had held out since his June, 1940 appeal of preserving bourgeois state power on the basis of national independence.

In fact, because this also suited the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy, he was able to enlist the support of Stalin against Anglo-American political pressures, just as he used the good offices of the Thorez CP leadership to stifle the partisans' revolutionary energies. This inestimable service to the French bourgeoisie made him quite suddenly, considering his previous obscurity, a prestigious historical figure.

Anyhow the situation of the French bourgeoisie, as well as of its state and its economy, was in an unenviable position when de Gaulle took over. In fact he gave up, and went into 'retirement', before it had extricated itself fully from its predicament.

## The post-war crisis of the bourgeoisie

At the end of the war the French bourgeoisie as a whole was largely discredited as a result of its pusillanimity before and during the war and its collaboration with the occupation authorities.

It had, of course, made profits from its deals with the enemy. Apart from one or two examples, however, economic collaborators went unpunished, because to begin to ask for a reckoning would have led to the decimation of the ranks of big business (as well, as of a great deal of small and medium-sized

nized in his memoirs.

Even so, French capitalism went into the peace under extremely unfavourable conditions. There had been virtually no important industrial investment since before 1931. During the war industry had been still further run down and in the closing stages there had been considerable destruction, especially of railways and rolling stock, bridges and roads and port and harbour installations.

A tremendous volume of investment was required to repair war damage and make good 15 years of virtual stagnation or regression. In other words, an immense task of modernization had to be carried out as well as reconstruction.

A series of measures included nationalization of public services and some sectors of industry and state intervention to co-ordinate and stimulate private industry's investment plans.

However, it would have been impossible for French capitalism to begin these tasks from its own resources. This made it imperative to seek outside assistance, first in the shape of loans and credit from the United States and then, from 1947, large draughts of Marshall Aid.

This was the only basis on which French capitalism could be restored once the Communist Party had removed the threat of revolution. Although the Communist Party carried on a vigorous campaign against the dangers of Marshall Aid, it was really complementary to its own policy. Once the bourgeoisie was given the opportunity to re-establish its pre-eminence and restore its economy it was normal that it should look for aid in the only quarter from which it could come. If it meant growing French dependence on the United States, that only meant that France remained a capitalist country.

The only alternative to what was called 'Marshallization' was a revolutionary policy: the time for that was in 1944-1945—before the bourgeois state had been placed on its feet again.

strengthened the army and the most reactionary forces in France, as well as in Algeria, throwing into relief the role of the army and leading to repressive measures against those in France who opposed the war.

As the 1950s wore on French society showed increasing signs of strain; the political system was on trial, the Fourth Republic had not fulfilled the hopes placed upon it.

Economic development, now moving into a phase of accelerated growth and modernization, actually aggravated the political tensions. Sections of bourgeois opinion felt increasingly that the institutions of the Fourth Republic were not a satisfactory vehicle for carrying through their economic policies. Governments were too transitory to grapple with the major problems such as the Algerian war. They gave insufficient guarantee of their ability to deal with the working class. The big public services strike in the summer of 1953 gave weight to such views; the impasse in Algeria even more.

## The decline of the Fourth Republic

The short-lived Mendès-France government was able to cut French losses in Indo-China and make peace on the basis of the Geneva Agreements. He was one of the few politicians to hold office in the period of the Fourth Republic without being discredited. In the eyes of sections of the bourgeois 'left' he remained a potential 'saviour'. The 1956 elections marked a shift to the left in the electoral body. Guy Mollet's government quickly proceeded to step up the Algerian war, notably by the passing of special powers for the army, which were supported by the Communist deputies.

By this time the rot had set in with a vengeance. A series of weak and un-

**TO BE  
CONTINUED IN  
FUTURE ISSUES**



# bridges plans sellout on container contract

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO -- After many months of secret negotiations the ILWU leadership has finally come before the ranks with a recommended container freight station agreement. This proposed contract will solve none of the problems facing longshoremen. In fact acceptance of these proposals will go a long way towards legitimizing the long range plans of the shipowners for attrition, wage cuts and civil war between dockers and Teamster union members.

Bridges hopes to prepare mass betrayal tomorrow by administering small doses of poison today. He accepts as fully legitimate and inevitable all the massive changes the employers want to bring about and his main problem is negotiating enough short term concessions to avoid any mobilization or preparation of the ranks for a real struggle.

At the heart of the proposed container station contract is the agreement that all the work of stuffing and unstuffing containers is longshore work and will be performed by ILWU members at container station facilities to be constructed on or adjacent to the dock areas. All other unions such as the Teamsters who have been performing container stuffing work will be excluded from such work in the future. In other words this agreement will cost the employers nothing. Any advantages gained by longshoremen will come directly out of the hides of other workers.

## CONCESSIONS

These "concessions" have not been gained for nothing. In return for the right to these container station jobs the ILWU has actually taken the unparalleled step of agreeing to a wage cut. Container station workers or utilitymen as they are called will receive several dollars a day less than regular longshoremen, an actual

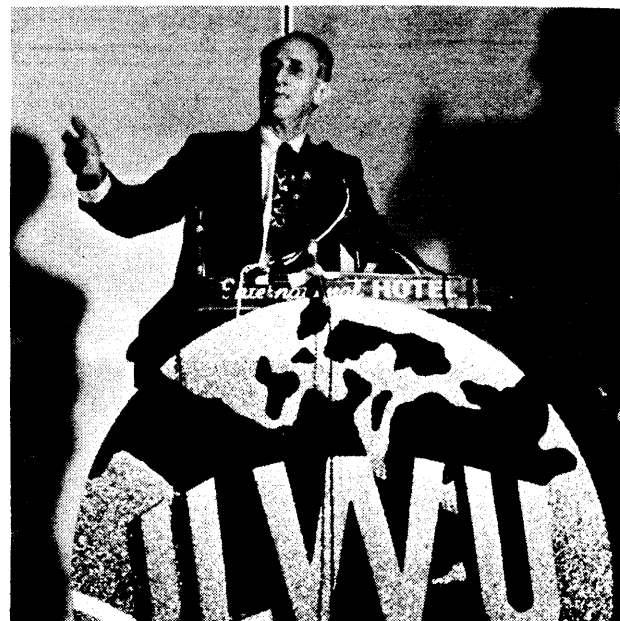
wage cut of over 6%. In addition the differential for night work will be slashed to a third instead of 50%.

Not only are wages to be cut but also other concessions are to be made on vacation benefits. These are no small concessions, but actually set a wage cutting precedent in an area that promises to become the major source of longshore jobs in the next period.

This is not all. Operations of the container freight stations will vastly alter the sort of working conditions that have been won on the docks. Freight stations will operate continuously with a stable work force of regular employees rather than workers dispatched from the hiring hall for each job. This will inevitably lead to a real drive on the part of the employers to undermine the power of the union by introducing speedup through a standardization and routinization of conditions of work. Many of the fine conditions on the docks relating to onerous work, flexible breaks and the power of the workers over their working conditions will have to be fought for all over again as the employers fight to bring about a factory like working atmosphere.

This agreement in no way covers military cargo and full loads coming directly from the factories and there is no doubt that as the containers really start to take over transport more and more cargo will be packed at the actual factory into containers for shipment, thus eliminating many longshore jobs. In other words under the pretense of defending dockers' jobs Bridges is really handing the employers all they need to go ahead and decimate the union in the next period. There is absolutely no provision to defend even these container station jobs against layoffs and the effects of factory stuffed containers.

Dockers must be absolutely clear as to the real meaning of these proposals. The shipowners are to be allowed to automate the docks as



HARRY BRIDGES

they please, eventually turning the loading and unloading of ships into a fully automated procedure conducted by a few men working with container equipment. In return for this longshoremen are offered the prospect of a wage cut and work at container stations which will in no way solve the real threat of the decimation of longshore jobs. To accept this agreement is to take a giant step towards legitimizing this entire perspective. This is the logic of the original M&M agreement carried to its ultimate betrayal.

## TEAMSTERS

As if this were not bad enough the proposed agreement now brings into the open with renewed fury the prospect of out and out war between the ILWU and the Teamsters Union. Already the IBT is threatening to shut down the entire West Coast rather than face the loss of thousands of jobs. The Bulletin has warned for a long time of the danger of this sort of civil war between the unions. Already the agreement to accept a wage cut at the container station is the fruit of this monstrous bureaucratic shortsightedness. The reactionary Bridges leadership has absolutely no perspective to deal with this.

The Workers League is fighting for a real alternative to these rotten labor betrayers. We say that the road of acceptance of wage cutting

and attrition is the road to defeat. Harry Bridges says that the only alternative to swallowing his betrayal is to fight to maintain the status quo. That is a lie, a bureaucratic lie from one who has absolutely no confidence in the power of the rank and file.

The ILWU must throw this proposed container station agreement back into the faces of Bridges and his friends in the PMA. Bridges must be given orders that the rank and file intends to see to it that not a single job is given up and not a penny is turned over to the PMA.

The Teamsters union has said that it will shut down the West Coast before it sees thousands of Teamster jobs eliminated. Now is the time to forge a fighting alliance with these workers to present the PMA with an absolutely solid united front of opposition. No power on earth can stand up to the might of the longshoremen and Teamsters fighting together.

## ACTION

We propose that the ILWU take action to bring about an immediate conference with the Teamsters Union. Not a behind the scenes meeting of bureaucrats but an open conference for representatives of the rank and file. The purpose of this conference must be to present the PMA with a united program and the threat of a united struggle. The two unions must make it absolutely clear that they do not propose to lose a single job or a single penny of wages. Only the workers have the right to the benefits of containerization.

The PMA must be forced to agree that not a single cargo handling job will be eliminated. Every teamster and every longshoreman presently employed must be guaranteed employment with elimination of jobs through attrition. Any reduction of work to be handled with a reduction in hours at no loss of pay. The question of allocation of these jobs to be a matter of negotiations between the two unions, that is all. This program for united struggle is the only alternative to the perspective of capitulation proposed by Harry Bridges.

VOTE NO ON THE CONTAINER FREIGHT AGREEMENT

NO JOB CUTS NO WAGE CUTS FOR ILWU-IBT UNITY AGAINST THE PMA

## SF Teachers Fight "Soul On Ice" Censorship

SAN FRANCISCO-- At the time this is being written Local 61 of the AFT is calling an emergency meeting to prepare a strike of San Francisco public school teachers.

The issue which on the surface has set off the confrontation is the stand of Max Rafferty and the head of the S.F. Board of Education, threatening the credentials of any teacher who dares to use the book "Soul On Ice" for the ethnic studies program. This was one of the texts recommended by a teacher's committee preparing a program in black studies. The teachers regard this as a violation of the right to academic freedom.

It is very significant that such an issue has set off this struggle. It is an indication of how deeply the teachers have allowed themselves to be trapped in the reactionary swamp of Black Studies and adaptation to black nationalism. This is also very apparent in some of their other demands calling for funds to conduct community-school conferences in order to meet the needs of minority students and demanding that principals be evaluated by teachers in order "to foster a cooperative staff spirit, and ability to positively project the school within the community."

## REACTING

It is clear that the teachers are

reacting to attack particularly by the nationalists by swallowing whole all the reactionary rubbish of communityism and Black Power. It is also clear that the teachers in their panic are permitting the real issues they and all city workers face to be obscured with middle class reformism.

The real issues are the financial crisis in education that is making impossible any gains in the quality of education and working conditions for teachers. Since their strike last year San Francisco teachers have seen every gain eroded and attacked. Class sizes are violated, grievance procedures are a farce, the school year has been lengthened and this year the teachers received an actual wage cut with a raise that failed to meet the rise in the cost of living. The teachers have raised these questions in their demands but have allowed themselves to become trapped in their efforts to seek solutions through such schemes as black studies programs. It is not that we are opposed to the right of academic freedom but rather that the teachers have permitted themselves to be railroaded into a situation in which they fight for the right to control a reactionary and bankrupt program.

We are entitled to ask how can the

schools in this decaying society possibly succeed in "positively projecting the school within the "community" when, as the newspapers were forced to admit several days ago, over 30,000 qualified applicants have been refused admittance to State Colleges for lack of places and funds?

The answer for teachers does not lie with Eldridge Cleaver in Algeria. It means placing themselves at the head of city workers in the struggle to turn back the wage cutting offensive of the city. It means using the power of their union to forge a movement of teachers that can fight with their students for adequate class sizes, sufficient places, and funds to open up educational opportunities to all youth and decent conditions in the schools.

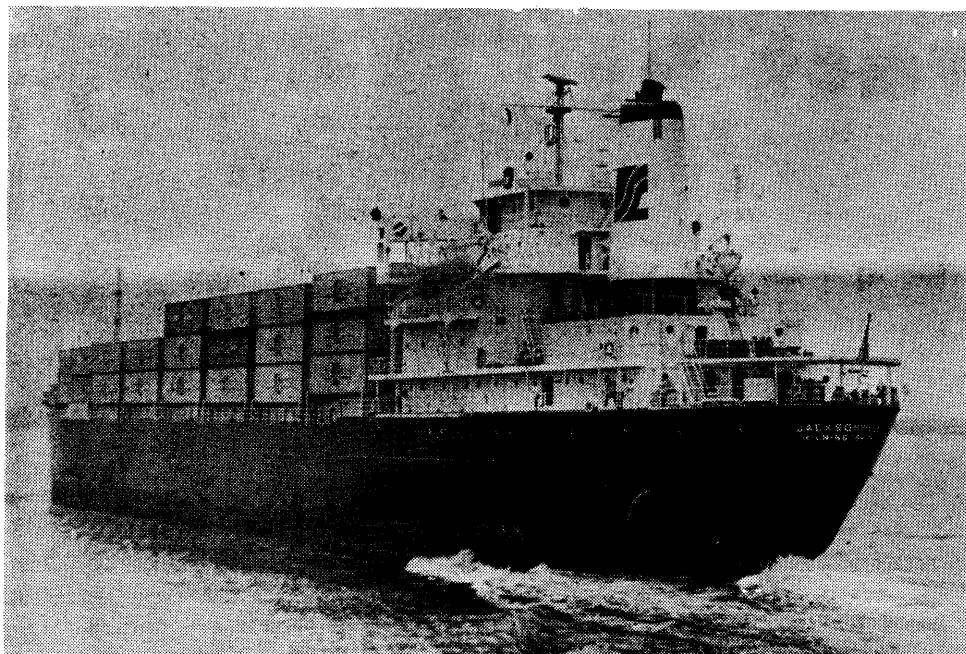
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# a brooklyn longshoreman speaks out



(The following is an interview with a Brooklyn longshoreman, a member of the I.L.A. who has worked a number of years on the piers. We invite letters from other longshoremen on the questions raised in the interview.)

## CONTAINERSHIP LEAVES CRISIS RIDDEN BROOKLYN PORT

**BULLETIN:** The hottest issue on the docks in the Port of New York (includes Manhattan, Brooklyn, Staten Island and New Jersey) is over the distribution of the container fund money to the longshoremen. What is the container fund, and when was it established? How much of this money has been paid out to the men and how much remains?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** I believe the fund was started after the 1964 contract, although they began using containers in Brooklyn in 1961. Money is paid into the fund by the shipping companies and is supposed to represent part of the tremendous savings made by the companies through containerization. The money is supposed to be distributed to the men but out of 2-1/2 million dollars in the fund, we have only received \$98 each and this was over one year ago. This is only a small pinch of the 2-1/2 million, probably equal only to the interest which the fund accrues. There is plenty left - I'm not sure how much because the ILA leadership handles this as "top secret" even though it belongs to the rank and file. I think it must be at least \$200 a piece that we have coming to us.

**BULLETIN:** Rank and file long-

RANK AND FILE GROUP ISSUED  
THIS LEAFLET ON CONTAINER MONEY ISSUE

shoremen have demanded that ILA President Gleason release this money to the men or face rank and file action in the form of a "container bonus holiday" - i.e., a wildcat strike. Is there much support for this sort of action on the New York docks? Does the rank and file movement extend throughout the Port of New York?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** There isn't too much support in Brooklyn, because there is a lot of fear, and much more isolation of groups of workers from each other. This makes it much more difficult to build support for rank and file action than in New Jersey where the issue is very hot and where there is a good chance of a wildcat. In Jersey, where the container facilities are much more developed, the workers are more concentrated in large groups and there is much more unity. The leadership of the movement there has developed to a great extent out of militant groups of black and Puerto Rican workers, but with support of white workers as well.

**BULLETIN:** Do you think it would be good to work toward a port wide committee of the rank and file militants to coordinate strategy and develop a program?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** Yes, that's a good idea, but you've got to be care-

ful of untrustworthy elements who might go shooting their mouth off.

**BULLETIN:** What has been the response of Gleason and Scotto to this demand?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** The leadership has put up notices promising that they'll fight for the money making it look like it's not entirely in their hands. They gave a date for the money--November 1st. But as far as I'm concerned, these are only promises and we've heard them before. The stalling tactics of Gleason and Scotto give them more time to maneuver and maybe get their hands on the money themselves.

**BULLETIN:** The introduction of containerization poses the threat of the elimination of jobs on the docks and the reorganization and possible elimination of entire ports - both in the U.S. and the other metropolitan countries. Is there any truth to the rumor that the Brooklyn docks will be phased out and all shipping diverted to the Jersey docks?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** More and more work is shifting to New Jersey. Manhattan is dying. It's dead. The men there are very worried about unemployment. There is much more room in Jersey for building container facilities. Some of these new facilities are being constructed in Brooklyn too and containers are used in Brooklyn also without the new container ships and facilities that we have in Jersey. Right now the only thing keeping Brooklyn alive are the foreign lines, most of which are not handling containerized cargo. But there are other changes which have cut the cargo handling time way down, in Brooklyn as well as other docks. For instance, coffee comes in as pre-palletized cargo. With this form of cargo handling they can move two pallets together, often exceeding the safety limitations weight.

**BULLETIN:** How do you feel about the last ILA contract? Did it provide adequate protection against containerization? How much has inflation eaten into the wage gains of the last contract?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** As far as containerization goes, it is definitely going to cut out jobs on the docks, 40 hour guarantee or not. But there have been many new men hired who may not get a 40 hour week guarantee unless they have first worked 700 hours. Despite the fact that there are many men available for work, the Stevedoring companies sometimes "abuse" the contract by hiring less than the required number of men for a gang. Instead of a gang of eight men, say, they hire 6 or 7 for a job that is considered "easy", thinking they can get away with it. Then they say there weren't enough men available - which is baloney, because they purposely didn't hire enough so they could pocket the difference between what the client pays and what the wages for the smaller gang are. The result is worsening conditions and harder work for each man.

New men are being brought in and in some cases they replace men with high seniority. There are rumors that some of these new jobs are "bought" at prices ranging up to \$500. These men can be more easily controlled by the bosses and the union bureaucrats and are used to scare the regular men, as a threat against "troublemakers" and wildcats. This helps the bosses to "abuse" the contract and to constantly aggravate workers to the point of quitting their jobs. This is how the companies try to get around the 40 hour guarantee. I had

never seen the clause in the contract that you showed me--(the clause which allows a man to be barred entirely from work on the docks if he is discharged by an employer) which shows that you always have to read the small print in the contract. The union leadership sends out copies of the contract, but they leave out what they want. And anyway, you have to have a lot of patience to read one of those contracts entirely.

The companies try to compensate for the cost of the 40 hour week guarantee but they would like to get rid of it entirely. They are at a loss. There is a rumor that they want to reopen the contract to dump the guarantee before it expires in 1971, but I don't think they will try this. We can expect a big struggle on this question though in the next contract.

As far as the wage gains these mean nothing. We've fallen even further behind since the wage raise because of the inflation, higher taxes and the new 2% dues that adds up to 35 to 40 dollars out of our checks every three months. This is a big chunk and is in addition to the 2¢ per hour that they take out that also goes to the union. Since the wage raise, the restaurants around the docks have all raised their prices. Sodas are a nickel more. A sandwich that was 65¢ is now maybe 85 or 90¢ and a plate dinner that was a dollar or \$1.10 now costs \$1.25. I used to be able to feed my family on \$25 per week. Now it's more than \$40. I grew up in poverty and I know what it is to go without eating for three days. I want something better for my family. When you add everything up we are even further behind than before the contract wage gains.

Part of the reason for the high prices and the bigger and bigger taxes is this lousy, stinking war in Vietnam on which the government is spending 2 billion dollars a month.

**BULLETIN:** Brooklyn dock Local President Anthony Scotto poses as a great liberal, as a friend of the working man, but is there real union democracy under Scotto? Do the rank and file feel free to openly disagree with Scotto?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** (Laughs) No. There's no freedom. It's in the union constitution that the leadership has control over unused votes. For instance, when the vote took place at the local offices on the 2% dues increase, it was necessary in order to defeat the proposal for the 2% dues to have a majority of the entire union vote against it. But since many men live far away, it was hard for them to get in and vote. So there weren't enough votes to defeat the 2% dues even though I know most guys were against it.

**BULLETIN:** A Congressional Committee has alleged that Scotto is associated with the Mafia. We believe that the government makes these charges in order to weaken the ILA and prepare for more anti-union legislation, not because it gives a hoot about the welfare of ILA members. But, in your opinion, is there any evidence of Mafia influence or corrupt practices on the Brooklyn docks?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** You can answer that yourself. But I'll say that there are stories of "accidents" happening to guys that are considered "troublemakers". I don't think that much has changed really from the "old" days that you mentioned as described by the Kefauver Committee.

But I agree with you that these Congressional Committees are up to no good. They want to weaken the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 11)

## DOCKERS NEWS

PUBLISHED BY AND FOR RANK & FILE LONGSHOREMEN

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1969

labor donated

### RANK & FILE DEMANDS:

WHERE IS THE REST OF THE CONTAINER MONEY?????

We have heard many rumors and lots of promises, after we voted in two elections to split ALL the container monies among the men!

We got one check; but where is the rest??? We have waited patiently for months for some word from Gleason's office, to let us know when we are going to get the rest of the money! We feel you are breaking our chops, Mr. Gleason! How long do you think we are going to wait?

WE WOULD LIKE TO INFORM YOU THAT THE RANK & FILE WILL NOT WAIT LONGER THAN SEPT. 1st!

We want you to say publically, by September 1st, HOW and WHEN the rest of the Container Money will be split!

You know, as we do, that the overwhelming majority of the men want the money split NOW! For that matter, many of the local leaderships are also on record to give the money to the men!

It seems to us that the only language you understand is RANK & FILE ACTION!!!

You have given the men no alternative other than to set up another date for another Container Bonus Holiday, after September 1st, if you don't speak out.

RANK & FILE SAYS:

GET READY FOR ACTION  
ON CONTAINER BONUS

# hospital bosses threaten layoffs, cuts

BY A HOSPITAL WORKER

NEW YORK--On August 29, St. Mary's Hospital in Brooklyn and Knickerbocker Hospital in Harlem announced that they may close down for lack of funds. Already there have been large cuts in city hospital services this past year, especially at Harlem Hospital, where despite protests the cuts went into effect. The hospitals warn that there will be more shutdowns in addition. Beth Israel, Bronx-Lebanon and St. Vincent's have already restricted the number of people that will be allowed to use the clinic services which will throw even more patient loads onto the poorly equipped and understaffed city hospitals.

At Beth Israel the bosses are preparing to lay off a section of the clinic workers and rumors are circulating that layoffs are imminent in other hospitals. At Gouverneur, a clinic for the Lower East Side affiliated with Beth Israel, the bosses are threatening a cut of 96 jobs. This small clinic is the only Health Center to service a huge working class area and was only put into operation a year ago.

## FREEZE

All hospitals have instituted a job freeze so that workers who leave for any reason are not replaced. Working conditions are deteriorating as workers are expected to take on the extra work. One maintenance worker said that the men in his department are doing the work of three or four men. At Beth Israel there are only three plumbers to deal with the entire center and the work load is tremendous. At the same time Beth Israel has raised its emergency room fee from \$7.50 to \$15.00!

One thing should be clear to every worker. The hospitals face a financial crisis due to the freeze in Medicaid funds and plans are being implemented to make the workers pay for this crisis.

The hospital workers of 1199 and the city hospital workers of DC 37

## ON THE BROOKLYN WATERFRONT

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10)

union. I agree that you can't get rid of corruption and win freedom for the ranks through the government. You only give the government more control over the unions which helps the bosses hold down the working man.

**BULLETIN:** Scotto has come out for the re-election of Mayor Lindsay and Lindsay in turn has hailed Scotto as a great friend of the workers who has done more for the Brooklyn Longshoremen than anyone else? How do you feel about this?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** It's hard to speak against Lindsay because of his help to minority people but of course your "friends" may also stab you in the back. But I don't think I'll vote for Lindsay or anyone. I'll tell you, I've never voted--only because there is no choice. It's like two pieces of crap--one smells just as bad as the other. I agree with you that neither Lindsay or Procaccino will give the working man anything. It's like this--Procaccino blames Lindsay for the financial condition of New York. But Procaccino was Comptroller all the time--that was just as much his responsibility. It's a big game.

**BULLETIN:** Lindsay, Rockefeller together with all the Democratic and

RALLY FIGHTS HARLEM HOSPITAL CLOSING. NOW VOLUNTARY HOSPITALS FACE SIMILAR ATTACKS.



face massive layoffs and a systematic attempt to undermine all the gains made by these unions. The hospital bosses "concern" for their patients and for the "community" is nothing more than concern for the lowest possible labor costs. The hospital bosses have planned this for years. When they gave the workers a \$100 minimum wage in July 1968 they knew that they could take it all back through raising prices and cutting jobs.

## PERSUASION

No amount of persuasion is going to make the hospitals more 'reasonable'. Workers want to know what the union is planning to do. One delegate who works in a lab went to the union to find out what he could do about a worker being given extra work under the job freeze. He was told: "Just don't kill yourself". The worker asked in disgust: "What kind of an answer is that?"

The union is presently quietly discussing the whole matter with the hospitals. They are hoping that if things are kept quiet and one doesn't

Republican politicians in Washington who have repeatedly supported use of the Taft Hartley against the ILA, have shown over and over that they are on the side of the bosses. How do you feel about the proposal that it is necessary for ILA members together with the rest of the labor movement to form their own party, a labor party controlled by the rank and file?

**LONGSHOREMAN:** Yes, a labor party is a must. But I don't see much prospect of it coming out of the ILA, and if it did Scotto would probably try to kill it by being President. You have to begin with forming "clubs" among the rank and file to fight on the economic issues and little by little bring in the understanding about a labor party. It's a long battle in the ILA to build a real rank and file movement. You can't go it alone. When you go out on an issue you've got to have rank and file support.

Today it's a lot easier to talk radical in the union or to be openly against the war in Vietnam. A lot of guys who would have just called you a "Commie" a few years ago won't now because they are so disgusted with the way working conditions on the docks and other things in the country are going.

look the problem in the face it will go away! Meanwhile harassment and grievances on the job are mounting and it is only a question of a few months before there is a head on clash. Workers are getting fed up with evasions, and worse, complete silence from the leaders of Local 1199.

The hospitals are not going to wait until July 1970--the contract expiration date of 1199 -- to launch an offensive against the workers. The fight is on right now. The way to prepare for the contract fight in July is to stop the job freeze, lay offs and shut downs by implementing the President's threat to strike the hospitals if lay offs take place.

Hospital workers in 1199 face a tremendous challenge in July 1970. Two years ago the workers won a \$100 minimum wage and by 1970 most of this will have been eaten away by inflation. The state has been attempting to put over a plan for state control of hospital rates, a plan by the way which only allows for a 2% wage increase a year!

## DIVISION

The criminal and callous shutdown of hospitals must be stopped. The union must begin the fight now for socialization of medicine to end the outrageous fees, the sky rocketing costs, the shoddy medical care for the poor. Only free medical care for all with an expansion of health services can solve the health crisis in the interests of the working class.

It is just at this time when workers face a major showdown with the hospital bosses that President Davis is fighting to prevent a merger of the union's two divisions, the Guild and union's two divisions, the Guild, representing the white collar workers, and the Hospital Division, representing the blue collar workers.

The Rank and File Committee of 1199 began the fight to unite the union last spring in order to prepare for the fight back against the hospital bosses' attacks. Hundreds of petition signatures were collected from rank and file members to put this issue before the union. This month 1199 members will vote on the question of unifying the divisions.

The unity of the two divisions takes on a special urgency now with the increasing attacks on the hospital workers. We urge all 1199 members to attend the September meetings and vote YES to unite 1199.

## LINDSAY FLIES WITH BRISTOL-MYERS

NEW YORK--Mayor Lindsay's trip as a guest on the private plane of a drug company doing business with the city should come as no great shock to class conscious workers. That this kind of thing is common practice was confirmed by the information that both of New York's Senators regularly fly on corporate planes.

What makes this incident of greater interest, however, was the destination and purpose of the Mayor's trip. He was flown to the 12th annual convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, held in Charleston, South Carolina. Lindsay made a major speech at the convention. And even though his trip as the guest of a firm doing business with the city obviously violates the city's own so-called Code of Ethics, SCLC President Rev. Ralph Abernathy was quick to come to the Mayor's defense. "We were extremely pleased," said Abernathy, "by the Bristol-Myers Company's last-minute offer of transportation to the Mayor's party."

## QUEST

Why was Lindsay the guest of honor at the SCLC convention? Charleston was the scene of the recent long hospital strike led by Local 1199B, part of the national organizing drive of Local 1199 in New York. The SCLC played a big role in Charleston and in eventually halting the struggle without victory in the drive for union recognition. The official version is that "soul power plus union power" won the strike. But the strike was not won, precisely because the union relied on preachers like Abernathy and liberal capitalist politicians like Lindsay.

Lindsay's policies are very clear. He represents an important section of the capitalist class, as his chumminess with the Bristol-Myers bosses shows. On behalf of these bosses Lindsay says to the minority workers, "Support me, ally yourself with me and what I represent. Your allies are liberals like myself, not the trade unions, not the white workers, not the skilled workers."

## SOUL

At a time when all workers are under attack and when Lindsay as Mayor of New York has to lead this attack, he naturally is all for soul power, he is for any policy or tactic which divides the working class. The one thing he is not for is the power of the working class united for struggle.

Lindsay was present in Charleston and Abernathy defends his private plane trip because they are working together, along with so-called left union leaders like Davis of 1199, to tie the workers to the bosses. The black hospital workers of Charleston as well as all hospital workers and other unorganized workers throughout the country can only succeed in their struggles by fighting against the bosses, including Lindsay, and for unity with the labor movement.

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# canadian cwa faces contract fight



UNIONISTS FIGHT ANTI-LABOR LAWS

BY A CWA MEMBER

It is within the background of increasing attacks on the labor movement by the Trudeau government that the Communication Workers of America Local C4 and C9 are forced to fight for their new contract. The deflationary measures implemented by Ottawa has hit the membership particularly hard. Since the last contract the cost of living has risen approximately 11% wiping out any wage increase that was made by the present contract.

The reactionary Rand Report which if implemented in Ontario will make any strike by the locals illegal. Since any strike by the locals could be classed as against the public interest. It is clear that to win a successful contract it is necessary to fight in a political way. This holds true for the labor movement in general and the Communications Workers could very well be the first in line.

EVIDENT

All this was evident at the contract meeting that was held on Monday, August 25th. Speaker after speaker spoke about the rising cost of living. This hits the CWA particularly hard because of the present wage structure which is 6 years for top rate to make ends meet. One member who is married and has two children explained that with just six months seniority it took two weeks pay for his rent and the rest for food with

nothing left over. He said he was willing to strike for a decent contract because there was nothing to lose. His views were echoed by many rank and file members and it was clear that there was a mood in the locals to strike if necessary if their demands were not met.

Unanimously approved were the demands that the Northern Electric Company pay 90% of a full medical plan and that the time should be cut down from 6 years to 4 years for top

rate. The latter policy has long been a means of cheap labor and has weakened the unity of the unions pitting the older members against those with less seniority.

ESCALATOR

The meeting also approved the demand for an escalator clause, that for every 6% rise in the cost of living index there should be an allowance of 1 cent. The demand is of extreme importance because as the crisis of Canadian capitalism deepens, Trudeau plans to put the cost of the crisis on the backs of the labor movement. An escalator clause would insure that wages are kept in line with increased costs. In other words the company pays not the union members. The fringe benefits are of extreme importance and in no way can be underestimated but at the same time they must be part of a whole package deal that includes a large wage increase.

It was over the wage increase that the greatest division between the bargaining committee and the rank and file took place. The request by the bargaining committee that no figure should be set for wages met with militant opposition from the floor. One member set a figure of 30% over a one year contract. Even

this was inadequate and was voted down by the membership. Faced with this opposition the bargaining committee reluctantly has now pledged that it will not accept any less than between 40% to 30% over one year.

MILITANCY

Because the leadership was starting from the strength of the company and not with the militancy and strength of the union it put them in a position not as leaders but as intermediaries between the rank and file and the company. The only demand that holds water is that if Northern Electric cannot provide a decent standard of living for its employees it and its parent company should be nationalized. This is why the present struggle over the new contract is of necessity a political one. With the fight for the contract it is necessary also to take up the struggle for the nationalization of the telephone industry in Canada and the election of an NDP government.

The next few months are crucial the rank and file have to be on their toes. They have to keep up and increase the militancy shown at the contract meeting to show the firm that they are prepared for a fight to the finish.

## Trudeau Plans Wage Freeze, Attacks on Unions

BY CHARLES HENRY

The new austerity measures announced by Trudeau marks a new stage and urgency in capitalism's attempt to solve its economic crisis at the expense of the working class and small farmers.

Since last year alone the reserves of the Canadian dollar fell just under a billion dollars amounting to almost half of all foreign holdings. From this it is clear that the Canadian economy is in a severe crisis and Trudeau's statement makes it clear who is to pay for that crisis. The elimination of 25,000 civil service jobs will add to the already high unemployment of 4%. According to some economists this would create more unemployment than the 1930 depression.

Medicare, education, welfare are all destined to be slashed under the new austerity measures. In short

in one swoop Trudeau aims at taking back all the gains that have been made by the working people of Canada since the post war period, to drive the standard of living down to the 1930 depression level.

FREEZE

Trudeau also plans to freeze wages through the Prices and Incomes Commission while prices continue to rise. This same measure was first introduced by the Wilson government in England. There it has been proved that the Prices and Incomes Board has been incapable of freezing prices or rather that it had no intention of freezing prices but its sole purpose was to freeze wages.

The labor movement must realize that these measures of Trudeau represent a new stage in the struggle for higher wages. Now more trade union militancy is not enough. Trudeau is creating the conditions under

which the trade union movement will be bound hand and foot to the capitalist state, under which for every worker on strike there will be four unemployed workers to take his place.

It is clear that Trudeau has been preparing these measures for a long time. The attacks on the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) in the last year are an example of the strategy of ruling class to attack the labor movement as a whole. First cripple the Trade Union Organization as the case of CUPE where they took away the right to strike and formed a company union and then follow up with lay-offs and attacks on working conditions. Obviously the government is setting a precedent for the rest of private industry to follow.

A struggle must be taken up inside the civil service unions immediately against any redundancies. Strike preparations must be made. The civil service employees must not be allowed to be put on the chopping block to pay for capitalism's crisis.

NDP

The rest of the labor movement must take this struggle of the civil servants as their own. The recent raising of the bank rate to 8-1/2% is designed to create full scale unemployment thus to weaken the labor movement's ability to fight back and to maintain wages. The civil servants today the whole labor movement tomorrow.

Now is the time to fight back. The Canadian Labor Congress must immediately launch a campaign to defeat these new attacks by the Federal government. The New Democratic Party should call for a reopening of parliament to propose a no-confidence motion in the Liberal Government. Also the leadership of the trade union movement must call for an NDP government pledged to the nationalization of all the basic industries under workers control, the abolition of all anti-trade union legislation, and a complete program to expand all the services such as education, welfare, and medicare.

A government for the working people not for the bosses!

## SOVIET DEFECTOR KUZNETSOV NEVER FOUGHT STALINISM



ANDREI D. SINAYVSKY

BY FRED MUELLER

The imperialists and all their spokesmen and defenders are building up the latest Soviet intellectual defector, Anatoly Kuznetsov. Kuznetsov asked for asylum while on a trip to London several weeks ago, and then promptly changed his name to A. Anatol.

The press is deliberately covering over the tremendous differences between the highly publicized pro-West-

ern defectors like Kuznetsov and Stalin's daughter, and the fighters against Stalinism like Sinyavsky, Daniel, Litvinov, Solzhenitsyn and Grigorenko. According to the imperialists, these are all fighters against the ruthless Soviet dictatorship. Some have simply been lucky enough to get out of the country.

This is a vicious lie from beginning to end. We are confident that none of those fighting in the USSR in order to defend the gains of the October Revolution want any sympathy from those who are murdering revolutionaries all over the world. The difference between Kuznetsov and Daniel, between Alliluyeva and Litvinov, is a class difference. There is no sharper difference possible.

PRO-IMPERIALIST

Kuznetsov and Alliluyeva are openly pro-imperialist. They never lifted a finger against the bureaucracy within the USSR. It is precisely among these most conservative and cowardly elements, who can remain a part of the bureaucracy for many years, that the imperialists recruit their defectors.

Let there be no confusion. Kuznetsov and Alliluyeva were a part of the bureaucratic caste, of its intellectual retainers and hangers-on. Militants like Litvinov and his comrades have broken completely from the bureaucracy and that is precisely why they are languishing in jail and exile.

Kuznetsov's record is so bad that even liberal writer Lillian Hellman felt obliged to criticize him. The bureaucracy has nothing to fear from people like this, but everything to fear from those who place themselves on the side of the working class internationally by taking a principled stand and defending the true history of the Soviet Union and Leninism against the Stalinist betrayals.

It is not enough, however, to place oneself against the bureaucracy. Revolutionary theory and a revolutionary party through which it is developed are absolutely necessary if the sacrifices of the Soviet intellectual dissidents are to be carried forward. This is the task of the International Committee of the Fourth International.