

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

**Fight For  
Trotskyism  
In Israel**  
Page 13

VOLUME SEVEN, NUMBER FORTY-THREE (203)

JULY 5, 1971.

FIFTEEN CENTS

**Stop The Vietnam War, Attacks On Labor**

HOOPER  
JUL 21 1971  
INSTITUTION

# BUILD LABOR PARTY FOR 1972 ELECTION

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## Unionists Speak Out On Vietnam Report

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# Bolivian Workers Threaten Torres Rule

BY MELODY FARROW

President Juan Jose Torres declared a state of emergency in Bolivia on June 22nd, against a reported plot to oust him by the right section of the Army.

The state of emergency comes on the very eve of the opening of the Popular Assembly, which was set up last January under the initiative of the POR (Workers Revolutionary Party).

The right wing officers are attempting to take over now in order to prevent the Popular Assembly from developing into a direct challenge to the government and to beat back the growing strength of the working class and peasantry.

Torres got the backing from most sections of the Army in his bid for power on the basis that demagoguery and promises would be the safest way to hold back the working class and preserve Bolivian capitalism.

## THREAT

At every point the mass mobilizations of the Bolivian workers and peasants posed a threat not just to the right wing but to Torres and the entire bourgeoisie.

At a mass rally last year where Torres addressed thousands of workers and youth he was constantly heckled with shouts of "The workers to power," "Arm the workers" and calls for socialism.

On May 1st 50,000 assembled in the Bolivian capital, La Paz, for the May Day demonstration. Torres and his ministers went

to the head of the march, but the workers refused to march with him.

They let the front of the march begin and only when it was far ahead did the rest of the people begin. Torres, totally isolated and rejected, was forced to return immediately to his palace.

The demand of the workers for arms poses the situation in Bolivia. (Continued On Page 12)

# British Labour Party Split On Common Market

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

Labour Party members opposed to Britain's entry into the Common Market overruled the party leader Harold Wilson and forced the convening of a special Party Conference in July to discuss the issue.

Final agreement on the terms of Britain's entry were reached last week between Britain and the members of the Common Market. British Prime Minister Heath is desperate to cement an alliance with the European rulers, aimed at consolidating capitalism in preparation for civil war against



POR marches in La Paz on May Day. Placards honored murdered leaders of the miners.

# Sams, Kimbro Get Life Terms

BY PAT CONNOLLY

NEW HAVEN—On June 23rd George Sams and Warren Kimbro, both of whom pleaded guilty to second degree murder in the death of Alex Rackley, were sentenced to life imprisonment.

But it was no ordinary sentencing, for these were not just ordinary "criminals." Sams and Kimbro were among the chief witnesses for the State in the prosecution of Panther leaders Ericka Huggins and Bobby Seale.

After a six month trial and a deadlocked jury, the charges were dropped against Seale and Huggins. Sams and Kimbro admitted killing Rackley, but insisted that they were ordered to do so by Seale and Huggins.

The judge, Harold Mulvey, appreciated the services rendered the state by Sams and Kimbro, even though Seale and Huggins were not convicted. He wished the two well, and added that he would "say a prayer" for them.

The judge also felt constrained to announce that he had "no choice" in the matter of the life sentence, which was mandatory under state law. Parole is possible after 20 years and the Board of Pardons can release them sooner than that.

## "ASSISTANCE"

Of Sams, Judge Mulvey stated: "Of course I am well aware that he has completely purged himself and has given out most of the details as to his involvement in this matter. He has of course been of great assistance to the state in the presentation of these cases and I am sure that it will be taken into consideration in another forum at another time."

The prosecutor who was not particularly noted for his sterling character during the prosecution of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins, announced: "I would be less than candid if I did not put on the record that when he (Sams) comes up before the appropriate board I will appear on his behalf."

## FRAME

Perhaps the only justice involved in the trial of the Panthers is this bit of poetic justice, that Sams and Kimbro who turned states evidence and did their best to railroad Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins to the gas chamber are the two who are going to prison.

But as both the judge and the prosecutor indicated at the sentencing, they will not leave their faithful servants in jail for long. No matter, of course, that they are the confessed murderers of Alex Rackley. The life sentencing is a formality, which can be gotten around by paroles and pardons. This really reveals that the main motive of the New Haven Panther trials was not to find Rackley's killers, but to frame the Panthers.

the working class. The Common Market is an essential part of Heath's strategy to throw millions more out of work and to divide and weaken the working class.

The vast majority of workers and small farmers are opposed to the Common Market because they know it will mean the destruction of their jobs and wages. Several union branches have already passed resolutions calling for a special Labour Party Conference to oppose the Common Market.

Such a conference where the trade unions will be represented, can become the focus of a fight not just against the Market but against the Tory government it-

self.

Labour Party leaders like Barbara Castle are not opposed to entry in order to defend the interests of the working class. Their alternative is to attack the working class through legislation against the unions and to use the cooperation of the union leaders to put down any rank and file rebellions.

The divisions in the Labour Party come at a time when the hatred of the British workers for the Tories has never been greater.

The fight against the Tories has taken a new turn with the resolution passed by 2,000 workers in the Upper Clyde shipyards in Scotland to occupy the yards if the company goes bankrupt.

One of the militant workers in the yards said: "We're realists on the Clyde. There's only one way to save our jobs—destroy the system. Occupation is possible...but to succeed the whole working class would have to be mobilized."

This means that the program of the Trotskyists in England, the Socialist Labour League, for nationalization of industry under workers control, the running of the system by and for the working class is a real question to the workers and is in fact the only way out.

## CP

The Communist Party in Britain has done everything in its power to prevent the massive movement in Scotland from becoming a political fight against the government. They actually refused to allow workers to carry slogans calling for the overthrow of the Tories.

Workers must now demand that the Trades Unions Council fight at the Labour Party Conference for a General Strike to force the Tories out and for a new election that would return a Labour Party pledged to full nationalization under workers control and for defense of the occupation of Upper Clyde.

## COEXISTENCE

The policy of peaceful coexistence means class collaboration and betrayal. Instead of fighting on behalf of the working class the Stalinists consistently and consciously offer to aid the capitalists if they will only do business with Moscow.

driven many thousands onto the unemployed and relief lines because they can no longer make a profit? Does it show how the crisis of capitalism forces these vicious attacks on the working class, which must be fought politically, through the fight to nationalize industry and the building of a labor party?

Of course not! Beginning with the conception of "peaceful coexistence," the Stalinists try to help the employers out of their difficulty, pointing to the restrictions on trade with the USSR as the reason for the economic troubles of this industry.

Thus the Daily World is highly pleased that a delegation of UE members met with Vermont's two Republican Senators to ask them to lower the trade restric-



# USSR Uses Mack Truck Deal To Bolster Capitalism

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Mack Trucks has reached an agreement with the Soviet government for the building of a truck-manufacturing plant in the USSR. It is estimated that this plant will require about \$750 million in machine tools.

The Communist Party sees this deal as a key element, perhaps even a model, in the fight against unemployment. The June 23rd Daily World reports approvingly that the United Electrical Workers (UE) has called on President Nixon to permit Mack Trucks to move ahead in implementing its agreement with Moscow.

Does the Communist Party seek to explain how the employers have

them to lower the trade restric-



Bulletin reporter interviews young worker in New York's garment center on Vietnam war.

# The Court Upholds NY Times

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

June 30—Today the U.S. Supreme Court by a vote of 6-3 upheld the right of the New York Times to publish its series based on the secret documents Pentagon study of the history of the Vietnam War.

This decision is a blow against Nixon's attempts to suppress the report which exposes the dirty work of the succession of Administrations, Democratic and Republican in this war and their lies to the American people.

Behind this decision lies the real fear of the working class which has had it with this war and with the government and which is not going to stand by while all its basic rights won throughout history are smashed.

Just as Nixon last week made clear to Congress that any law they passed for withdrawal would "not be binding," so now he will more and more step up his moves towards a Bonapartist dictatorship. This means that more and more the government will come into direct political confrontation with the working class.

Above all the release of the Pentagon papers has only increased the American working class' hatred of this war and the government.

The history of the Vietnam war as it is now leaking out of the Pentagon papers shows the failure of imperialism's strategy to defeat the struggles of the masses in Southeast Asia. At the same time they reveal the refusal of the capitalist class in the US to get out, understanding that a defeat in Southeast Asia would be a spur to the struggles of the working class internationally.

To this end the rulers of the US from Eisenhower to Nixon have cynically plotted provocations, coups to keep faithful and reliable servants in Sai-

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## Labor Speaks On Vietnam Report

Following the publication of the Pentagon study on Vietnam in the New York Times and other papers, Bulletin reporting teams talked with workers, asking their reaction to what has come out on the war, what it means, and why Nixon is suppressing the report. Steel workers in Pennsylvania, longshoremen at the Brooklyn and Newark docks, workers in New York's garment district, and hospital workers were among those interviewed.

I saw at the airport was a body being carried away and right away I just didn't want to go and fight.

"I've been reading about this in Newsweek. If what they say is true, Johnson should be brought to justice and Kennedy—his name should be smeared—and McNamara. They should hang McNamara. I read that he said that everything over in Vietnam should be destroyed and I know that Johnson has oil fields there. If they are going to take action against enlisted men they should go right to the top and get LBJ. I've lost all respect for the government.

"Another thing, it's a big joke that these are military secrets. They just want to hide the President's faults and injustices because he broke the laws and the Constitution. I can't respect the Constitution any more because it just applies to the rich people.

"Nixon should not be able to stop them from publishing it. The unions should definitely come out and attack the President if he does, and tell everything they know about what's going on. We should have a government for the people, or an annex to the government so the people can keep Congress in check and make sure they're not lying.

"What you say about a Labor Party, that would be beautiful. In this country, you can only get to the top if your family is there already. A friend of mine said that in five years there would be a dictatorship. I said, no that can't happen. This is America. But now it sure looks like it."

### New York Garment Worker

"Well, I knew all along that Nixon wasn't any good. But you take somebody like my mother, or somebody like that. She takes Nixon and Kennedy and so on very seriously. Something like this, to find out that all the presidents have been lying all this time, that would really shake her up."

"I think it's typical of the government when they try to hide what's really going on."

don't think we should stand for it. You know, Johnson was wrong, and the whole government was wrong and we've got to do something to change it."

"There is so much hunger going on. I was reading in your paper last week about what's going on in Pakistan. And you know, there is all that waste in the war in Vietnam, to kill off the Vietnamese, while there are people dying all over the world."

### Newark Longshoreman

"Well, first they start out by silencing the TV, and now the New York Times. I don't read the New York Times that much, but I figure that this is pretty important, because the truth is finally coming out and you don't find the truth in all the papers. Now they are trying to stop that paper. You guys had better watch out selling this paper, because the next thing you know they'll be on the corners trying to grab you too. I read this article on Scotto (in the Bulletin) and you're really telling the truth about him, and if you don't watch out, they'll do the same thing to you."

### New York Hospital Worker

"I was in Vietnam for two months in 1966-67. I was a field medic and I got wounded twice so they didn't send me back. I was against the war and tried to get a deferment on the grounds that I wasn't being told why I was going there. They have no right to manipulate people. When I asked why I was going, they just told us we're not supposed to think politically, we're just GIs. The first thing

### Bethlehem Steelworkers

"Well, I was in Europe during World War II. Back then, we all enlisted in the Army. If you didn't, you looked odd. Everyone was enthusiastic about the war. But now? Vietnam is an unpopular war. It's lasted too long. I'm against it. This report doesn't help things and Nixon knows it. He's afraid it will hurt the war effort.

I don't think I'd believe Nixon the next time he says he's not going to invade someplace, like North Vietnam. I'm not sure the newspapers should have printed the stuff. But Nixon shouldn't censor the papers like that. That's dangerous."

"Well, I'm against the war. The report just goes to show you what's really happening. This war is not doing anything for me. It's only helping Nixon and his friends. They are the ones who are profiting from the war, but our sons are being sent over there to get killed. Their sons are safe at home."

### Brooklyn Longshoremen

"They show a mother at home what happens to her son on TV, but they won't show on TV or in the papers why they got there. I think it's wrong you know, I think something has to happen, that we have to find out the truth, because that's the only way we can move now."

"Well, they're trying to throw out freedom of the press. I think they are against us, trying to silence us, to dictate to us and hide things. They're trying to set up a police-law state. I

## FARINAS APPEAL . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

He said the Induction Center was like Macy's and Gimbels, that one could picket outside but there was business to conduct in an orderly way inside. A man of average intelligence, he felt, can understand that in the process of inducting 100-200 people a day one is not able to single out each and every man and treat him according to his every whim and caprice.

In his rebuttals Sager stated that the defendant Juan Farinas wanted him to state something on the political implications of the case and that he, in addition, felt it was quite relevant. Farinas felt that he was being prosecuted by the Government for opposing the Vietnam War and for nothing else. This must now be understood in the light of the revelations about the war printed in the New York Times which the government is also taking legal action against.

The case was heard before Judges Wilfred Feinberg, Walter R. Mansfield and Leonard P. Moore. The first two judges also sat on the New York Times case with Feinberg voting for the Times and Mansfield against.

Following the hearing Juan Farinas issued the following statement in behalf of the Juan Farinas Defense Committee:

At the time of my induction in 1968 I made my position clear that the Vietnam War was an imperialist war against the workers and peasants of Vietnam and not in any way in the interests of the working people of this country. It was solely for expressing this opinion that I was prosecuted.

In the course of the trial I asserted: "There's a war going on outside and in this courtroom as well. I take sides in this war, with the auto workers, the rail workers, the postal workers, and all those fighting

the bosses." In my statement to the court at the time of sentencing I stated: "You and your government may brand me as a 'criminal,' but let me tell you this right now, no matter how much you may try to do it, in my eyes and in the eyes of millions of working people and youth in this country and around the world, YOU ARE THE CRIMINALS!"

Now it is revealed that from the earliest days this war has been perpetrated by a small minority which runs this country without the consent of the American people. This minority has lied time and time again to the American people ignoring and manipulating even Congress. When this is revealed even through their own newspaper they seek legal action to suppress these papers just as they sought legal action to suppress me.

Today it is clear the overwhelming majority of all American people are opposed to this war and want the United States out of it and now and unconditionally. This ruling clique however, continues and deepens the war.

They must be stopped and stopped now! It is the working people who can and will stop this ruling clique and the multi-billionaires they represent.

I urge all working people, youth and minority people to not allow this Court of Appeals to whitewash this attempt to suppress workers who oppose the war. Write immediately to Judges Feinberg, Mansfield and Moore, United States Court of Appeals, United States Court House, Foley Square, New York City.

This is an urgent task right now while they decide on this case. There is not a moment to lose. LET THE VOICE OF THE AMERICAN WORKING PEOPLE BE HEARD. WE WILL NOT BE SUPPRESSED!

# NY Taxi Ranks Force New Talks On Contract

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Mounting rank and file pressure in the New York City Taxi Union against the proposed contract caused major shakeups in the Local 3036 bureaucracy during the past week.

The Union Secretary, two Vice Presidents, and various administrative personnel openly split with President Harry Van Arsdale by announcing that they would not run with him in the November union elections, if he continued to push this contract.

They further held a meeting at Terminal Garage on Manhattan's west side, to try and rally support for their apparent run for the Local 3036 leadership positions.

In an attempt to divert attention, union representatives loyal to Van Arsdale, simultaneously pulled a safety check on taxicabs during the shift change at 55th St. Garage, just up the block from Terminal. A safety check is a virtual work stoppage, since it takes only one cab to halt the flow of traffic in garages, and virtually every New York City taxi has something wrong with it.

On Tuesday of last week, the Taxi Rank and File Coalition, which has led the fight against the new contract from the beginning, held a rally outside Eden Garage in Manhattan, to protest the firing of a militant who was agitating against the contract. Pressure

from the demonstration, plus mounting support from the men inside the garage forced the owner to rehire the young militant.

## ACTIONS

A similar demonstration was held on Wednesday at Ann Service in lower Manhattan, and a similar result, the rehiring of a fired driver, was accomplished. Such actions by the rank and file are tremendously important, since the union bureaucrats were actually by-passed in negotiations with the owners.

Late last week, Van Arsdale

# 6000 School Jobs Slashed

BY A UFT MEMBER

NEW YORK—On July 27, less than a week after the New York City Board of Education announced a budget cut of \$75 million and the slashing of 6000 jobs, the Board's new president, Isaiah Robinson, announced the Board's intention to pursue a get tough policy in the negotiations with the United



Victor Gotbaum makes a point during negotiations of SSEU-371 with New York City. As we go to press it is reported that Gotbaum has agreed to lateral transfers which will be a blow to both clerks and investigators. At the same time large money concessions have also been made by the union leadership. A deal is expected shortly.

finally called for renegotiation of the contract. With the support of his lieutenants dwindling, a wild-cat movement commencing, and rank and file pressure causing owners to rehire militants, it was the only thing he could do.

But the question is, what will be renegotiated? In fact the whole rotten agreement has to be thrown out, and a new pact centering around 200 dollars a week fought

for. Also, any new contract must include a full cost of living escalator, 60 per cent of the meter, half pension at 20—full pension at 30, and all benefits to be paid by the owners.

If the owners cry "poor," then drivers should demand to see the books (and as one older driver said—"both sets!"). If the owners in fact cannot stay in business, (Continued On Page 12)

Federation of Teachers coming up next year.

In his words "Each time you negotiate you start with clean sheets of paper and you start from zero." Specifically Robinson mentioned teacher preparation periods, class size and the More Effective Schools program.

The State Legislature has already passed bills making tenure more difficult

and endangering the funding of the UFT pension plan.

Also in this past year we have seen a massive open violation of the old contract in which thousands of regularly licensed teachers teach a regular full time program on a full term basis and get paid as per diem substitutes and receive no union benefits, no job security and no seniority. This is a blatant violation of the victory won by the union doing away with the regular substitute classification and providing that any full time teacher be appointed, and receive all union benefits and job protection.

While the Shanker leadership was doing its best to avoid a fight on the per diems, on appointments, and even on layoffs, it was very busy in Albany pressuring the same Democratic and Republican politicians the UFT supported and helped elect. These politicians voted against labor.

In response to these legislative defeats delegates of New York locals of the American Federation of Teachers, led by Shanker and the UFT, met and decided to restructure the present loose alliance of locals, the New York State Federation of Teachers, into "a more vigorous and united statewide organization" and to rename it the United Teachers of New York.

The strength of the union can only be dissipated, and will be politically helpless and dependent on politicians, unless it is combined with the fight for a labor party.

The present crisis of capitalism is breaking up the old cozy relationship between labor bureaucrats and Democratic, liberal politicians and we must actively campaign for the only road forward for workers—an independent labor party.

# WELFARE BILL IS SLAVE LABOR

BY KAREN FRANKEL

Nixon's Family Assistance Plan (FAP) was passed by the House of Representatives last week. It represents one of the most vicious and reactionary pieces of legislation that has come out of the Nixon Administration.

It involves the complete federal takeover of the welfare system, and its division into four parts. The result will be the virtual wiping out of social services, along with 140,000 jobs nationwide.

While the whole plan will mean increased automation of the system, and the elimination of jobs, it calls for forced labor on the part of all those deemed "employable."

The Department of Labor will head up the work programs for welfare "employables." Public

service jobs will be set up with the stipulation that no one shall receive less than 3/4 of the Federal minimal wage, which is \$1.20 per hour.

This is just one more attempt by the employers and the government to chip away at the gains won by the working class in terms of wage standards, to break the hold of the trade unions on the public service jobs.

## RIGHT

Furthermore, it is a direct attack on the fundamental right of workers to freely sell their labor. This right was won with the victory of the industrial North in the American Civil War.

Mothers with children over the age of six, and in 1974, children over the age of three, are considered employable as well, and will have to take any job the go-

vernment gives them, or starve. There are virtually no provisions in the bill for day care facilities.

FAP involves an attack on the standard of living of all welfare families. Nixon demagogically boasts about the \$2400 per year guaranteed income for a family of four. But he does not say that this is an income ceiling and that localities have the option of lowering the grant.

It is clear that Nixon, anticipating more and more unemployment, is out to create a welfare system which will absorb millions more families at the lowest possible cost to capitalism.

The old reformist, liberal conceptions of "social services" and job training are being thrown out the window in favor of more practical and economical means of preparation for massive unem-

(Continued On Page 12)

# Polio Epidemic May Hit Thousands

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—The Health Department recently issued a warning that a polio epidemic could very well strike the city this summer. Thousands of children here have not had immunizations.

A generation ago before the discovery of the Salk vaccine thousands were crippled by this disease. Now even with the vaccine the same threat is raised as the capitalist system is unable to provide even the semblance of health care for the majority of people. The exorbitant fees for private physicians, the cutbacks in medical services, the closing of clinics and the general decay

in an already archaic system of medical care have only increased the problems.

While many children are immunized in school, records are not kept or not transferred to other schools so that the Health Department reports "somehow" many children miss their shots. At the same time many children from poor and working class families never receive any health care until they get to school and then they get only the immunizations.

The clinics are overcrowded and understaffed. There are only 87 health stations manned by 135 nurses and 150 assistants to serve a population of over 8,000,000.

Most of the children struck by polio in the recent period have been 2-3 years old.

This very critical situation exposes the absolutely criminal character of medicine under capitalism. What advances have been made by science are not accessible to the masses of people. It raises sharply the fight for socialized medicine and free health for all as part of the fight of the working class against the employers and the government, for a labor party and a workers government under which industry and science will be organized to provide for the needs of the working people, not the profit of a few.

# Yablonski Murder Suspects Charged

BY MARTY JONAS

After more than a year since the assassination of United Mine Workers (UMW) dissident leader, Joseph (Jock) Yablonski, the government has announced the apprehension of several of the plotters and is closing in on the rest of those who were responsible for Yablonski's murder.

The government says that the prime suspect's testimony repeatedly refers to a "Tony" who ordered the assassination. The head of the UMW is Anthony ("Tony") Boyle.

Among those ready to be charged with the crime is Silous Huddleston, head of Local 3228, District 19, UMW, and former body-guard for Boyle.

The question that must be asked is why after a year, during which the government knew of the culpability of every single one of these suspects, does it suddenly choose now to come forward with these apprehensions and with evidence that will probably firmly link Boyle with the crime?

The answer lies not in their concern for finding Yablonski's murderer but out of the government's need to intensify their attacks on the trade unions. Two weeks ago 85,000 miners went out on strike. While the strike was termed "unauthorized" it was inspired by the leadership when the courts ordered Boyle removed from the board of trustees of the Miners Welfare Fund. The strike began in West Virginia and Kentucky where Boyle has most of his support but then spread to six states.

## EXCUSE

This was not a strike that can be laid simply to loyalty to Boyle. The ranks struck against the interference of the government in the affairs of the union, against the harassment of Boyle as a prelude for attack on the UMW.

The government intends to use the corruption of the UMW leadership and the Yablonski murder as an excuse for smashing the UMW, in the same way they used the scandals and corruption in the Teamsters Union to jail Hoffa and weaken the union. The recent strike was the first that Boyle ever called.

The government has no concern over Yablonski's death other than as a weapon against the UMW. The ranks must take this matter into their own hands and set up an independent workers committee to investigate the murder and those who had the most to profit from it. The decision to dump Boyle must be made by the workers, not by the bosses.

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# Steel Caucus Formed To Fight Abel

BY STEVE CHERKOSS  
USWA LOCAL 1845

VERNON, CAL.—A caucus of rank and file militants at the Bethlehem Steel plant here was formed recently to fight against the attempt by the Abel leadership of the United Steelworkers (USWA) to fasten a sellout contract on the steelworkers.

The USWA Committee for a Decent Contract composed of Black, white and Chicano workers, is issuing a leaflet as part of a campaign to take the struggle for a decent contract into the Local 1845 meeting on July 13th.

After a lively discussion at the founding meeting of the caucus, the Committee adopted its basic program which is spelled out in the leaflet.

**WAGES:** \$1.00 an hour across the board increase the first year, with an additional 50¢ an hour the second and third year; full cost of living escalator the first year. The Committee sees the wage question as the number one issue with Abel trying to impose the can-aluminum pattern averaging little more than 75¢ over a three year contract.

**JOB SECURITY:** A 30 hour week at 40 hours pay as the central struggle against unemployment in the industry. End the no strike clause, the right to strike over grievances; end racism, no more discrimination against Black and Latin workers in upgrading or working conditions.

**PENSIONS:** Thirty and Out—Retirement after 30 years regardless of age at \$500 per

month. This is a must for all workers who know that after 30 years in a mill you have really had it.

**NATIONALIZATION:** Nationalization of the steel industry without compensation to the steel barons and operated under workers control is required in the interests of both steel workers and the rest of the working class.

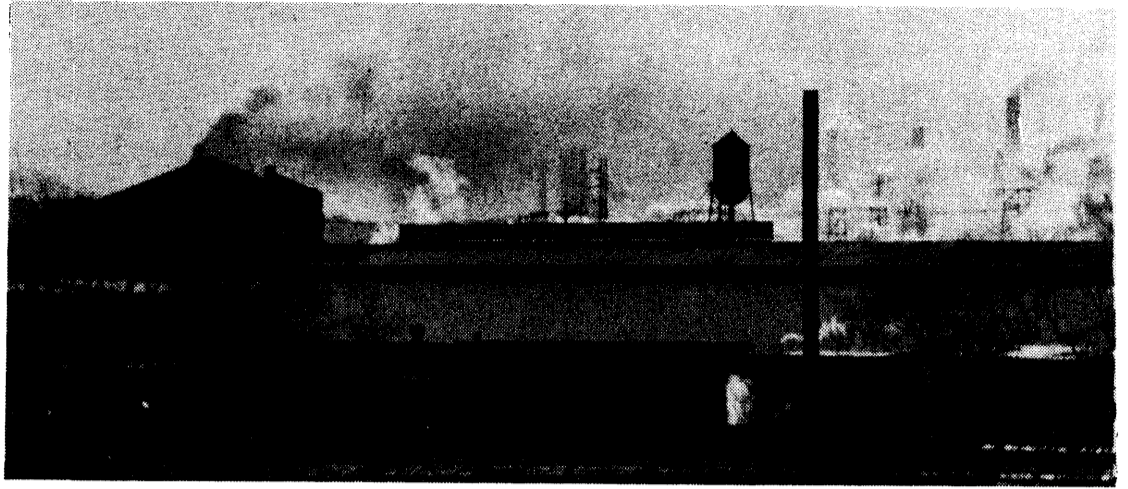
**LABOR PARTY:** The working class needs its own party based on the unions in opposition to both the Democrats and Republicans who stand behind the steel barons and the rest of the employers.

## LEAFLET

The leaflet urges adoption by the local of this program, no reliance on Abel and the preparation of wildcat action if necessary to stop a sellout.

It demands that the entire industry be shut down, not just the big nine, in order to stop the government's plans to maintain 25% of production in the event of a strike.

The Committee raises the demand to meet any government intervention against the steel strike with the call for a general strike of all labor.



## HARCO Threatens To Close

BY ED BERGONZI  
HARRISBURG, PA.—Steel workers at the Harrisburg Steel Company (HARCO) face the loss of their jobs following a company announcement that it will be forced to shut down operations if the Federal Government regulation relaxing import restrictions is maintained.

According to company officials, the new regulation which would allow foreign competition for its products, steel cylinders, would create a situation in which HARCO will be gradually dissolved.

HARCO is the largest producer of steel cylinders in the nation and employs approximately 1200 workers. At least 800 will lose their jobs if the Harrisburg plant shuts down and another 400 at their Erie, Pennsylvania,

plant will also be threatened.

With this situation facing the ranks, the union leadership is already playing a sellout role, allying themselves with the HARCO bosses in an effort to pressure the government to resume import restrictions.

Thus the union bureaucrats are giving welcomed assistance to the bosses and seeking to direct the anger of the ranks into reformist channels.

Following a meeting of steel boss W.A. Peerson with union officials, a letter calling upon the ranks to write their congressmen and senators to protest the imports policy was drafted and distributed. The letter suggests that steelworkers "urge your union to exercise its influence (in Washington) on this matter."

The union bureaucracy is directing the ranks into the utter betrayal of depending upon steel

union lobbyists and Democratic politicians. They peddle illusions about the united fight with the bosses against the imports policy as if the new regulation was some kind of mistake.

But the bosses have made it crystal clear where they stand with regard to maintaining operations and employment. One high ranking steel company official was quoted in the Harrisburg Evening News as saying, "Safety is more important than jobs." By "safety" he is referring to the quality of the cylinders produced.

However the real meaning of the statement is inescapable and immediately exposes the rottenness of the union leadership. The bosses are more willing to attack the ranks with unemployment to maintain "safety," a mere euphemism for profit. Meanwhile the union leaders cosy up to the bosses at a time when steel workers all over the country are being laid off left and right.

The ranks at HARCO as well as steel workers all over the country who face unemployment must follow the example of the Scottish shipyard workers who, in the face of their companies' bankruptcy have pledged to occupy the yards and run them under workers control. Steel workers must build a leadership that will fight against layoffs with the call for nationalization of the entire industry under workers control and for the building of a labor party.

## Deny Benefits To Ranks Laid Off By Bethlehem

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BUFFALO—Bethlehem Steel Corporation has announced plans to lay off 90 workers and suspend 150 more here. The suspensions are the result of a one week shutdown of the hot strip mill and galvanizing mill at the Lackawanna plant. The 90 layoffs come from a reduction in operations of the cold sheet mill.

As the coming strike in steel draws closer attacks on the

workers become more intense. In Albany, the Appellate Division, Third Department ruled that workers at the Lackawanna plant of Bethlehem were ineligible to collect unemployment because the workers refused to accept transfers to other departments. The transfers would have resulted in a 15 percent wage cut and loss of seniority. The average wage of these workers is \$2.76 an hour.

A Buffalo steel executive said that "July will be bad for the steel industry." Bethlehem already has shut down five steel-making open hearths and a blast furnace. Republic Steel has cut operations in half. The steel industry, which is facing a "bad" month is preparing for an all out offensive against workers in the form of layoffs, suspensions and shutdowns.

The government fully backs

these attacks by unleashing vicious attacks of their own on the benefits these workers should be receiving.

Steel workers at Bethlehem as well as those throughout the nation must prepare to strike when the contract expires in July for \$2.00 an hour wage increase and a full cost of living escalator and the 30 hour week for 40 hours pay to beat back the employers' unemployment plans.

## SPARROWS POINT STEELWORKER EXPOSES LAYOFFS



Bulletin sells at Sparrows Point.

The following is an interview with Bill, a Baltimore steel worker. He is 24 years old and is now working at the Bethlehem Steel Sparrows Point plant as a mechanical helper. He has been working at Sparrows Point for the past five years and is a member of Local 2610.

**BULLETIN:** What is the basic problem facing the workers at Sparrows Point?

**BILL:** It's layoffs. They've just shut down eleven furnaces; that's the whole Number 3 open hearth mill. I was over there today and it looks like a ghost town. In my department alone they have laid off 14 helpers and from what I hear, I'd say they have cut back around 10 millwrights down to burners.

They've closed other mills over the last 10 years. Number 1 mill was closed about 8 or 10 years ago, and Number 2 mill shortly after that.

There have been rumors that they are planning to build 2 more Bof vessels. But that's all they are so far, rumors.

**BULLETIN:** Why did Bethlehem pick this time to close the Number 3 mill?

**BILL:** I believe that they did it to put the union at a disadvantage. When a man is laid off he is going to be hurting, and management feels that the workers won't strike. They figure that the men would be inclined to vote no against a strike.

**BULLETIN:** What do you think about the no strike clause?

**BILL:** Well I think it's useless. If you're not allowed to strike then the union serves no real purpose. All it can do is look after little personal disputes.

**BULLETIN:** How do you see the fight to get back the cost

of living escalator?

**BILL:** I think it's very important, because losing the escalator is what has put us back so far in wages. The thing to do now is to get everyone a comfortable income and put them on a cost of living clause.

**BULLETIN:** Has there been stockpiling here at the Point?

**BILL:** Yes, there's definitely been stockpiling. I haven't seen it all. Over around the tin mill there are quite a few coils laying around. Quite a few.

**BULLETIN:** Do you think a shorter work week would solve the problem of layoffs, like 4 days for 5 days pay?

**BILL:** Definitely. Not only layoffs here, but it would also bring a lot of new people off the street. Like the 13 week vacation was supposed to do.

**BULLETIN:** What do you think of Nixon?

**BILL:** I'd rather not say.  
**BULLETIN:** Over the past

year, an increasing number of government officials have been calling for a general wage freeze, especially a number of so called liberal congressmen. What do you think of this?

**BILL:** Well, I think they'd have to set an example for us which none of them are willing to do. You know they're jacking up their own pay all the time. I'd say I wouldn't enjoy that because then we would all probably have to use wooden tokens at the grocery store.

**BULLETIN:** What do you think of the war?

**BILL:** I'm against it. Definitely against it. In fact my sister just got word yesterday that her fiance is missing over there. It's not only that, it's that so many people I've known have died in Vietnam. It's more like a chess game than anything else. You know we're just the pawns, right?

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## NPAC Must Call For Convocation Of Labor

The decisions taken at the recent Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice Conference in Milwaukee represent a serious danger to the American working class. Right at the time when the New York Times' disclosures expose the bankruptcy of all wings of both capitalist parties, the PCPJ prepares to join with the National Peace Action Coalition in what amounts to a rescue operation for bankrupt American capitalist politics.

All factions at the PCPJ Conference were united in their hostility to Trotskyism. When the Workers League spoke for independent class action against the war and attacked Stalinism this created a tremendous furor in the meeting. When the Workers League finally got the floor again to put forward a motion in defense of Bangladesh all factions conspired to table the motion before it could be discussed or voted upon.

At the same time the majority forces of the PCPJ around the Communist Party were prepared to unite with the SWP and NPAC precisely in order to further Stalinism's class collaborationist policies. An opposition of May Day Tribe people, assorted Maoists and anarchists opposed this as collaboration with the "Trots." These vicious forces are as hostile to the working class as the forces around the CP. But their hostility takes the form of petty bourgeois adventurism instead of liberalism as a substitute for the independent action of the working class.

Of central concern was the intervention before the conference of Abe Feinglass, Meatcutters union; Moe Foner, Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Union; David Livingston, District 65, National Council of Distributive Workers. These union bureaucrats met with representatives of the PCPJ and NPAC and worked out an agreement for a "working unity of all organizations opposed to the war to build a series of massive anti-war actions in the streets this summer and fall." At the same time Democratic Party Senator Vance Hartke has actually joined the NPAC Steering Committee.

What this all means is a new coalition of the labor bureaucracy, the CP and SWP, and the liberal section of the capitalist Democratic Party around a program agreeable to all concerned—a program which does not go beyond liberal protest. However, what the Vietnam reports make clear is that the United States Government could care less about protest.

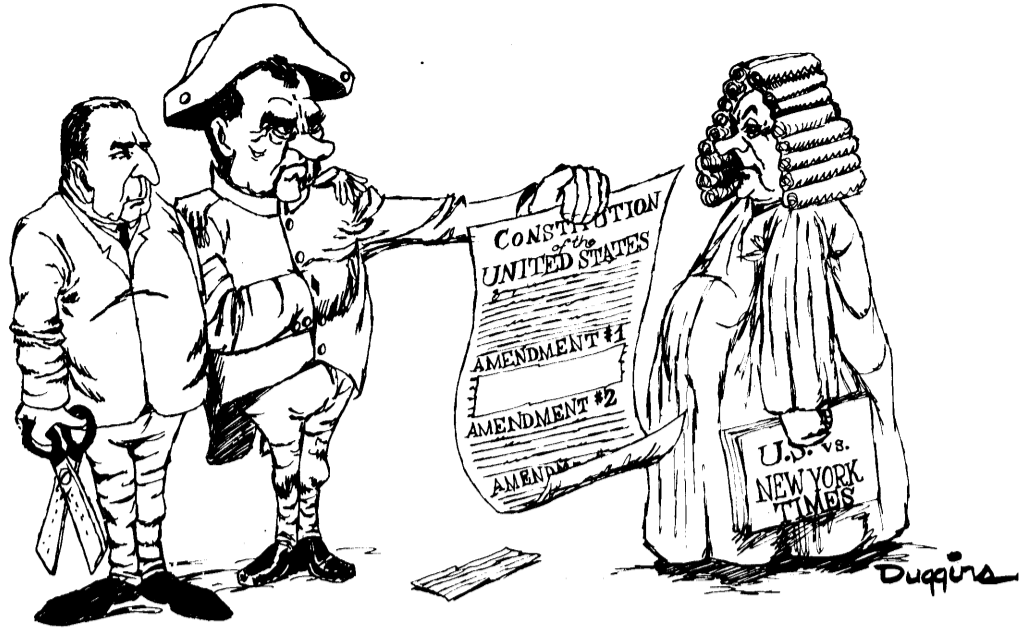
The Communist Party, driven by its hatred of Trotskyism, formed an amalgam with various ultra-left petty bourgeois revolutionist forces who agreed on the question of Trotskyism. However, the SWP, long since broken with Trotskyism in practice, carried through the construction of a coalition in the peace movement on a Stalinist political basis with an important section of the Democratic Party and the labor bureaucracy. This is why the CP must now seek a road back into NPAC.

What the CP understands is that demonstrations in the fall of 1971 will be the central form of preparation for the national elections in 1972. A coalition of forces around the Vietnam question can lay the basis for a political coalition in 1972. Even if the SWP were to bail out of the logic of the coalition it builds in 1972 it will have already done its dirty work in constructing such a coalition in 1971.

Underlying all these maneuvers is the collapse of the Democratic Party under conditions of growing defeat for the United States in Vietnam and the sharp wage offensive of the American labor movement at home.

What is required right now is to take up the fight for the construction of the labor party. This fight must begin NOW for 1972. At the same time the struggle against the war can be brought into the strike movement of the trade unions—a strike movement these labor bureaucrats are doing their best to head off.

It is possible to break up this coalitionist move at the coming NPAC Conference. We call upon all militants to repudiate this policy of building a class collaborationist coalition around Hartke. We urge NPAC to call RIGHT NOW for a convocation of labor, minorities and youth to construct a labor party for the 1972 elections. At the same time NPAC must fight for a general strike of the American trade union movement against this war about which they have been lied to and which the vast majority of American people oppose.



## What we think

### Chou, Chiang May Join To Bury Asian Revolutions

The recent discussion between U.S. newsmen and Premier Chou En-lai of China is the latest step in a policy of ever closer relations between China and the United States imperialists. Significantly he met with reporters from the New York Times, the voice of eastern big business interests and itself a multi-million dollar corporation; Newsday, a conservative newspaper from Long Island, and the Wall Street Journal, spokesman for American finance capital.

While the discussion centered on Taiwan its meaning went way beyond that. While Chou En-lai does not expect any immediate concessions on Taiwan he no doubt holds this out as the long term goal of China for which it is willing to pay a high short term price. Could Chinese pressure on North Vietnam and the NLF for a deal in Vietnam be part of the price China would be willing to pay for eventual acceptance of Chinese hegemony over Taiwan?

That this could very well be the case is indicated in Chou En-lai's reference to Chiang Kai-shek. He stated: "Chiang Kai-shek is opposed to the so-called two Chinas and is also opposed to one China and one independent entity of Taiwan. In the past we have been allied with Chiang Kai-shek and we became hostile to him, but on this question we have our common point. There can be only one China. So a way can be found."

If Chou En-lai can find a common point with even Chiang Kai-shek, the murderer of the Chinese masses for over 30 years, then "a way can be found" in Vietnam as well—at the expense of the Vietnamese masses. After all Chou En-lai was the architect of the Geneva Accords deal which ended French domination of Indochina only to allow American domination to take its place and thus lay the basis for the present war.

Chou En-lai knows what he is talking about when he states: "In the past we have allied with Chiang..." Chou himself played a special role in this respect from the earliest days of the CCP. It was Chou En-lai himself who in 1927 said the following about Chiang Kai-shek's army: "Go into this national revolutionary army, strengthen it, raise its fighting ability, but do not carry on any independent revolutionary work there." In this Chou was echoing Stalin's policy which led to admitting the Kuomintang into the

Third International as a "sympathizing section." Chou En-lai pursued this line in Shanghai right up to the moment Chiang Kai-shek's "revolutionary army" swept in to murder the Communists and workers. Chou had to sneak out of the city in the middle of the night barely escaping with his life.

Chou En-lai was to continue to play the role of carrying forward Stalin's line within the CCP as one of the young men closest to Moscow. At every opportunity for collaboration with Chiang, Chou was the man brought forward. Chou's next major role in relation to Chiang



Chou En-lai

is described by Harold Isaacs: "Chiang Kai-shek, for his part, was finding it increasingly awkward to carry out his policy of propitiating the Japanese while simultaneously attacking his internal enemies. The issue was brought to a head late in 1936 when Manchurian troops in Shensi refused to carry out an ordered attack against the Communists and demanded the chance to turn their guns against the Japanese. When Chiang flew to Sian that December to make his commands effective, he was ignominiously kidnapped and anti-Japanese demands were served upon him. His life was saved only when Communist emissaries, headed by Chou En-lai, stepped in to offer him their cooperation if he would oppose Japan. Chiang reluctantly agreed and was released." Later he was to renew his war against the CCP.

In 1945 it was Chou who conducted most of the futile negotiations with Chiang over a coalition government. When this broke down and the CCP was forced into a fight to the finish, Chou became Premier and Foreign Minister of the new government in 1949. As we have noted, in this capacity he negotiated the Geneva Accords in 1954.

It must be understood that in

each of these ventures Chou was supported all the way by Mao Tse-tung and in fact was only carrying out Mao's and Stalin's policies. It is just that Chou has always been the man in the Mao leadership most equipped for class collaborationist turns and policies.

When Chou now says he is in agreement with Chiang on one point and refers to past alliances it is important to note the point of agreement. It is a nationalist point! It is Chou, Mao and Stalin's nationalist policy of socialism in one country which has always laid the basis for collaboration with elements like Chiang and the U.S. imperialists who stand behind Chiang.

Chou's recent dinner engagement with the Wall Street Journal and other papers emphasizes the traitorous role of Stalinism and that this Stalinist leadership in China as well as the USSR can not be trusted to defend the workers states. They do not exclude even a new working relationship with Chiang. This could only mean the opening up of the Chinese workers state to counter-revolution.

It was Trotsky who first fought Stalin's policy of collaboration with Chiang and it is Trotskyism today which offers the only alternative to Stalinism. Chou's dinner chat shows once again that the break the Chinese made in 1949 with class collaborationism was forced upon them and was not based on any principled reevaluation of past collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Today they more and more return to this collaborationism.

All those superficial impressionists who thought the Chinese leadership provided some alternative to Stalin's policies short of Trotskyism and the construction of conscious Marxist parties in all lands have contributed to perpetrating policies which today support the murder in Bangladesh and the murderous policies of the coalition government in Ceylon. The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese leadership are not the same thing. Each day they come more and more in conflict with each other. Only Trotskyism is the true defender of the Chinese Revolution against imperialism. Only Trotskyism is the true defender of the Vietnamese revolution against imperialism. Only under the banner of Trotskyism can mass parties be built in the metropolitan countries including the United States.



# STEEL LESSONS OF THE PAST PROGRAM FOR TODAY

## 1. BIG STEEL, LITTLE STEEL BY DAN FRIED & STEVE CHERKOSS

AT THE HEART of today's struggle of rank and file steelworkers against the steel monopolists and their government backers of both parties in Washington must be an understanding of the history of the struggle to organize steelworkers and to defend their basic wages and conditions which today come under such sharp attack.

The struggle for steel is the struggle of the entire working class, especially of the workers in the mass production industries. The lessons of this history—of the victories and of the defeats are the lessons for the entire organized labor movement which must be learned in order to throw out the bureaucrats who dominate the USWA (United Steel Workers of America) and the rest of the U.S. trade union movement and replace them with real workers leaders armed with a Marxist understanding. This is necessary for the defense of the unions against new attacks, which aim to throw the workers back to the conditions that prevailed following the bloody defeat of the steelworkers in the famous "Homestead lockout" of 1892.

The Homestead strike of 1892, the great steel strike of 1919, the victory over "Big Steel," and the "Little Steel" strike defeat in 1937—and all the battles in steel since then all show the pervasiveness of the class struggle, the continual war of the workers and the employers.

### THE HOMESTEAD DEFEAT

At the Homestead works of the Carnegie Steel Corporation, where the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers had a contract for about 800 skilled workers, the great multimillionaire "philanthropist" Andrew Carnegie who headed the Company decided to do away with union representation following the contract expiration. As he put it in a note to his man who did the dirty work, Henry Clay Frick, "These works will necessarily be Non-Union after the expiration of the present agreement". (1) Frick's first line of attack was the importation of a force of 300 armed Pinkerton "detectives" whose job it was to terrorize the strikers and prepare the way for the entry of scabs. But the

workers gave them more than they bargained for and in a pitched battle which lasted more than twelve hours drove them off. While only three Pinkertons were killed, the martyrs of Homestead numbered 7 in the battle to organize steel.

Frick used the outbreak of violence as the basis for the demand for the intervention of the Pennsylvania militia of the National Guard. As always, the "protection" of the Guard was of course protection for scabs. Using the control of the lying, labor-hating press, intimidation of strikers and restriction of picketing by the Guard, the exploitation of the division between the skilled and unskilled (who had no union at all but had supported the strike), the Company was able to break the strike after four and a half months.

Following the Homestead defeat, an absolute dictatorship reigned in the western Pennsylvania mills of Carnegie and its successor, US Steel—a dictatorship under the most bitterly anti-union executives this country has seen—until "Big Steel" was broken when USS signed the historic agreement with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in March 1937.

Fifteen years later the men at Homestead lived just this side of bare survival. Most of them worked a standard 12 hour day, with a 24 hour stretch every two weeks when they switched shifts. The completely open-shop conditions meant that the workers at Homestead in 1907 got a wage of \$1.65 for 10 hours and \$1.98 for a 12 hour day, as compared with the "organized common laborers" in the bituminous coal mines who got \$2.36 for an eight hour day. (2)

### THE GREAT STEEL STRIKE OF 1919

The most important effort to organize the mass of the steelworkers prior to the battles of the CIO in the thirties, was the great steel strike of 1919 which was part of a world wide upsurge of the working class following the First World War and the Russian Revolution.

The central demand of the 1919 strike was for an eight hour day, a six day week on the basis of a wage sufficient to sustain "an American standard of living." At that time a large majority of the men in the mills worked a 12 hour day, often with the 18 to 24-hour turn at the end of every two weeks.

The organizing drive for steel was given nominal legitimacy by a resolution of the 1918 AFL convention

which was introduced by William Z. Foster of the Chicago Federation of Labor. As happened so many times afterward, the leaders of the AFL were themselves unwilling and incapable of taking such a drive seriously. However, Foster together with his associate, Chicago AFL President, John Fitzpatrick indeed meant business. Foster became the "organizational genius" behind the drive in steel. Foster and Fitzpatrick represented an industrial union tendency within the AFL which was a federation of craft unions, each with a fierce jurisdictional parochialism. As such, craft unionism didn't give a hoot about the vast mass of the American working class, the unskilled production worker.

Samuel Gompers presided over the AFL and ran it in the manner of holding together this association of jurisdictional loyalties, shutting out most of the industrial workers. Nevertheless, Gompers was willing to go along with Foster's ambitious plans, so long as Foster didn't disrupt the basic structure of the AFL. But this was indeed the weakness of Foster's approach. He refused to break with Gompers, attempting to bring industrial unionism into being, without in fact organizing an industrial union which would unite all the workers in the industry and overcome the insidious rivalry of skilled and unskilled workers and of the various crafts.

Foster himself had been a general organizer for the Railway Carmen and was deeply influenced by the syndicalism of the IWW. Later, Foster was to come into the newly formed Communist Party and take the leadership of the Party's trade union work, following the Stalin line and ending up as Chairman of the Communist Party. But at this earlier period, he had little use for "ideology." Foster always exemplified pragmatism, even of the left-wing variety in the U.S. labor movement. As James P. Cannon, a co-leader together with Foster of the early CP and later the main founder of American Trotskyism put it:

"Fosterism was simply a method of working in the AFL by adaptation to the official leadership....Gompers, who knew Foster's past and was no fool, thought that Foster's work and adaptation could serve Gompers' aims....given the forces and the machinery to work with, Foster was a trade union organizer without a peer. In each case however, his work was permitted and controlled by other forces which Foster had to serve." (3)

The June 1919 AFL convention reported that more than



100,000 steelworkers had been signed up in the various craft unions. Undoubtedly the drive was getting a terrific response from the previously ignored unskilled and semi-skilled workers, many of them immigrants from eastern Europe who had for so long been looked down on by the AFL. Following a 98% strike vote and the setting of a strike date, U.S. Steel Corp. Chairman Gary sent back his reply, which was that U.S. Steel believes that the "open shop" "best promotes the welfare of both employees and employers" and that they neither believed in nor would they in practice discuss any business with any labor union. (4)

Despite all efforts of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson to get Gompers to postpone the strike, this was impossible, regardless of whatever wishes Gompers may have had. About 275,000 workers downed tools and struck the American Steel Trust in the first nationwide steel strike on September 21, 1919. At its high point nearly 350,000 steelworkers were on strike and this was considered 90% effective. Steel in Chicago, Youngstown, Cleveland, Johnstown and Wheeling was totally paralyzed, and cut down to 75-85% in most of the Pittsburgh area.

The counterattack of the ruling class was fierce on every front: anti-strike propaganda of the press and the Catholic church, ads in the newspapers and other propaganda with vicious attacks on the strike as anti-American, as a "plot" by the "Hun", reds, Bolsheviks, and so forth; the launching of a red-baiting, smear campaign against Foster; phoney back to work rumors and campaigns; widespread police terror against strikers. Naturally, the attack included arrests and jailings of strikers and union leaders and other forms of "legal" intimidation.

More than anything else, it was the discord, disunity and even open defections among the 24 participating unions that proved the undoing of the strike. The jurisdictional battles fortified by racial antagonisms broke the unity of the strike. The one "industrial" union among the 24, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers which was more like a "job trust" for some of the skilled workers, were open strikebreakers. After nearly two months, the bosses were able to get steel production back up to 56% to 60%. Soon thereafter, the men returned to work with no concessions, with the bosses policy of refusal to even talk to unions still the rule.

Foster's refusal to break definitively with the craft form and the AFL bureaucracy destroyed the tremendous efforts of the masses of rank and file steelworkers. Foster sought the reasons for the defeat: "official pessimism, bred of thirty years of trade-union failure in the steel industry, hung like a mill-stone about the neck of the movement in all its stages." (5)

But that "pessimism" of which Foster so correctly spoke, was the outlook of the petty bureaucrat—jealously guarding the supposed interests of his craft through wheeling and dealing and avoiding struggle like the plague. The base of the bureaucracy was in the narrow layer of more privileged workers, the "aristocracy of labor." The bureaucracy therefore was profoundly "pessimistic" and contemptuous of all talk of organizing the mass of the unskilled workers.

Foster's idea to achieve the results of industrial unionism without sacrificing the craft unionism of the AFL, was a concession to this very "pessimism" which flowed from Foster's pragmatism, his contempt for theory.

"He hoped to avoid the ancient dispute in the AFL between industrial and craft unionism by a temporary federation of all the national and international craft unions in any way associated with the steel industry...." (6)

Despite his organizational genius and the very important work that Foster did in pointing out the danger of racial division to labor organization, his leadership reflected both the strength of the mass movement of the strike but his weakness was perhaps the most important element in its defeat. The job of organization of basic steel had to be put off until the next great upsurge of the working class in the 1930s.

#### JOHN L. LEWIS

This time, it was not possible to bridge the gap between "craft" and "industrial unionism," between the old line AFL bureaucracy and the new struggles of the industrial working class. The conflict was fought out in the AFL, which split down the middle. Out of the rupture, the CIO, Committee of Industrial Organizations, was formed under the leadership of John L. Lewis following the 1935 AFL Convention. The primary target of the newly emerged CIO was steel—"Big Steel", the United States Steel Corporation.

But the organization of the CIO was itself the result of a long process of struggle within the womb of the AFL. One of the key elements in this process was the evolution of the United Mine Workers and its President, John L. Lewis.

Lewis, from his origins as an organizer for the United Mine Workers until the day he died, was a pragmatist who was more than anything else concerned with the "success" or "failure" of the trade union movement, particularly of the United Mine Workers of which he was president for 40 years, and "President Emeritus" for another nine. Lewis never probed to the roots of the successes and fail-

ures and as a result he himself always had a profound belief in the viability of capitalism, even when ranged in bitter struggle against the capitalist ruling class.

But Lewis was deeply troubled by the disastrous decline of the UMW during the 20s, following the defeat of the 1919 steel strike and the isolation of the UMW as practically the only industrial union in the U.S. The UMW membership declined from 402,700 in 1924 to 150,000 members in 1932. Every "victory" in the mine fields was turned into a defeat when the coal operators violated the contract.

At the same time, the AFL membership, which was over four million in 1920, was declining at the rate of 7,000 a week by 1931. It fell to a low point of 2,127,000 in 1933.

The renewed organizing drive of the UMW itself, reflecting the new winds of struggle in the industrial working class, was one of the first struggles which culminated in the great sitdowns in auto and rubber and the founding of the CIO a few years later. Lewis was forced to turn toward the organized miners or face complete obliteration.

There is no doubt that Lewis looked at the struggle to organize the mines—the re-building of the UMW which was in a complete shambles—as a first step in a far larger plan to organize the rest of the mass production industries. He approached the drive in a different manner than the AFL unions, not only in terms of pulling everyone who worked in the mines into the single industrial union, but also in terms of the men and resources he threw into the organizing drive—the "entire treasury of the UMW" according to Irving Bernstein, 100 staff organizers and many volunteers. (7)

The response of the miners to the campaign, which centered on the demand for a six hour day, 36 hour week, a base pay of \$5.00 per day, and the dues checkoff, was phenomenal. In two months, 300,000 new members were signed up. But Lewis, going out of his way to avoid a strike, and working with Roosevelt to obtain a settlement, held back this strength of the miners and seriously compromised the demands, winning an eight hour day and a forty hour week, with a daily base pay averaging from \$3.75 to \$5.63 in the "Commercial Mines". The "captive" mines, owned by the Steel companies were to be organized later. In the middle of the UMW organizing drive, Congress passed the NRA (National Recovery Act), including section 7A which legalized collective bargaining and union recognition.

But, as always, the workers could only get what they could win in struggle. Liberals and those who pushed the Roosevelt myth of FDR as a great friend of labor liked to believe that the organization of industrial unions was a gift from Roosevelt. But in reality section 7A, signed in June, 1933, even though it was seized upon as the basis for organizing drives by a number of unions, was a grudging concession to the mass strike wave that had begun at the close of 1932 and which included the UMW organizing drive. Section 7A was an afterthought, written into the Act as a concession to the pressure of AFL President William Green, according to Secretary of Labor Perkins.

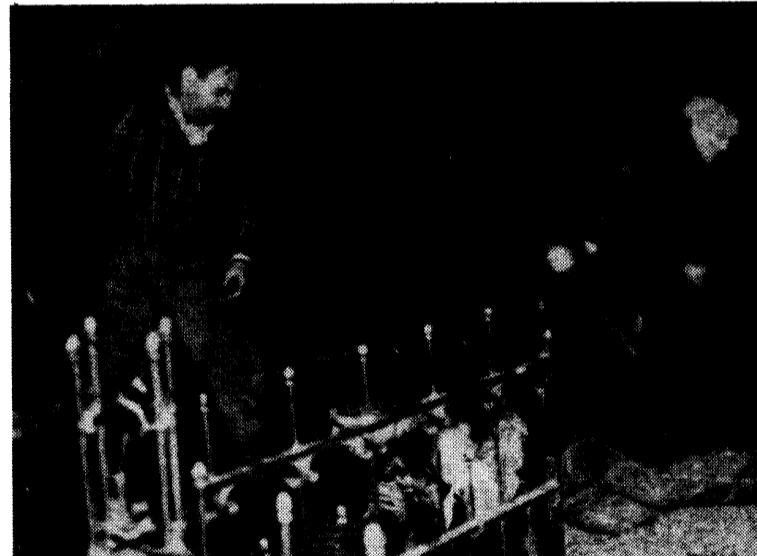
The organization of the commercial mines was just a prelude to the organization of the captive mines, which in turn Lewis saw, and the Steel bosses correctly feared, was simply a prelude to the organization of steel itself. Again the movement Lewis unleashed to organize the captive mines went far beyond him and partially out of his control. Under the pressure of Roosevelt, who wanted Lewis to get the men back into the pits at all costs, Lewis finally agreed to a "temporary truce". The truce immediately blew apart, and many miners defied Lewis' back-to-work orders. The miners were still determined to gain union recognition from the union-hating steel barons who for forty years had sworn they would never even talk to a union.

The strike gained strength. On September 17, 1933, 30,000 pickets were on duty outside virtually every captive mine in Western Pennsylvania. In early October, some 75,000 miners were out, and Roosevelt feared that the continuation of the strike would cripple production of all basic industry. Under his auspices and once again with the cooperation of Lewis, a settlement was finally agreed to which allowed an NLB (predecessor of the NLRB) election to take place to designate slates of representatives, rather than unions per se as the exclusive bargaining agent for the miners, as well as the dues checkoff.

Lewis, as we have said, had earlier conceived the mine campaigns as a jumping off point for steel and the mass production industries. He had realized that "coal was only a link in the vast industrial chain" (8) that the UMW could not stand alone in a sea of unorganized mass production industries. Lewis claimed later on that he privately proposed "a tremendous organizing drive" to William Green early in 1933 and that Green objected that it would be costly, and furthermore that the AFL craft unions had never been able to organize the mass production industries. Lewis naturally answered that this was an argument for industrial unionism, to which Green answered, "Now, John, let's take it easy."

With the advantage of hindsight and with his characteristic immodesty, following this discussion with Green, Lewis wrote, "I went to bed and the next day I began to plan the CIO." (9)

The cornerstone of Lewis' plan was the organization of steel. During the battle for the captive mines, reports flowed into UMW headquarters that the men in the mills were eager for organization. This sentiment was fed not only by the organizing drive of the UMW, but by the growing strike wave sweeping U.S. industry—the great Minneapolis Teamsters strike led by the Trotskyists which was to lead to the nationwide organization of the over the road drivers; the



**LITTLE STEEL STRIKE:** (Page Seven) Police carry out bloody charge on workers resulting in infamous "Memorial Day Massacre." (Above) Philip Murray, the man responsible for the unpreparedness addresses

Toledo Auto Lite strike and the San Francisco Maritime strike which culminated in a general strike, all took place in 1933 and 1934.

While workers were moving in the streets without waiting for Lewis or the top leaders of the AFL, Lewis was taking forward his battle among the AFL bureaucrats. In particular he pressed his plan to organize steel, stating at the 1935 AFL convention:

"We are assured the way is now open for an aggressive campaign of organization in the steel industry. What kind of a campaign—a campaign to organize them in fifty seven varieties of organization? ...If you go in there with your craft unions they will mow you down like the Italian machine gunners mow down the Ethiopians..." (10)

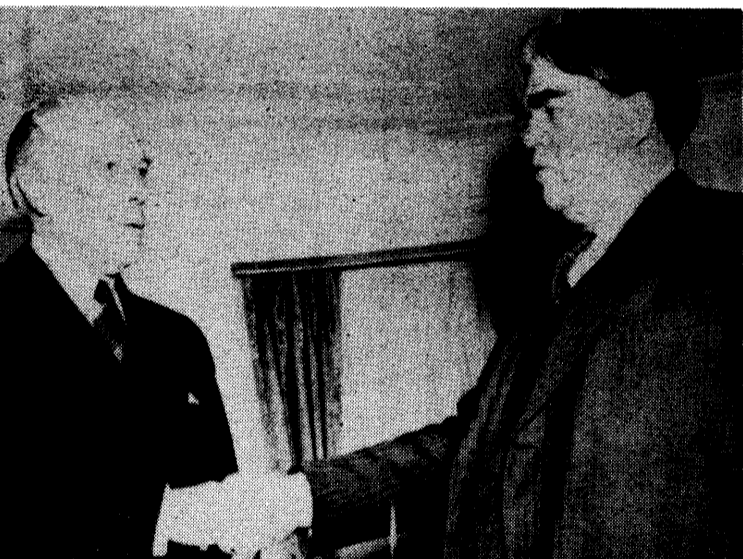
#### THE ORGANIZATION OF BIG STEEL

Lewis had gone along with the AFL leaders for one year, since the 1935 San Francisco convention, but along with the leaders of six unions including the Mine Workers, he split to form the Committee of Industrial Organizations (CIO) following a lengthy debate at the 1936 convention.

Meanwhile steelworkers, eager for organization, were entering the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, a union which had been a hollow shell prior to the new upsurge. After a great deal of maneuvering between the CIO and the AFL to which they were still affiliated, the ancient bureaucrats who ran the AAIST agreed to a merger with the CIO in the setting up of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. For Lewis, the AAIST had

been no more than a form that was useful for him to work with. He made it clear that the organization of steel would take place "either with or without... the Amalgamated Association."

The SWOC began its organization drive in the summer of 1936. Before long the SWOC which was run entirely from on top by Lewis' appointee Phillip Murray of the UMW, had 433 organizers in the field, had opened 35 regional offices, began publication of the newspaper *Steel Labor*, based on a policy of no dues. Two and one half million dollars was spent in the first year of the steel drive, most of the money coming from the United Mine Workers.



strikers at Republic Steel near Youngstown, Ohio. (Left) Scabs beat up strikers at Republic Steel in Cleveland, Ohio. (Right) John L. Lewis shakes hands with Myron C. Taylor, chairman, US Steel.

The United States Steel Corporation had attempted to block the unions by setting up a network of what they thought were well planned company unions called Employment Representation Plans. But these ERPs themselves now became the arena for the development of militant leadership which made real union demands. The result was a full scale battle between US Steel and the SWOC for control of the ERPs, with the SWOC faction gaining more and more strength on the basis of the demand for a 40 hour week and a 25% wage increase. Meanwhile, 125,000 steelworkers had been signed up in SWOC by January of 1937.

A shortlived boom was developing in the economy, creating a favorable situation for the organizing drive in steel which was at the center of the boom. The index of production of steel, based on a figure of 100 for the 1923-25 period, rose from 66 in June 1935 to 119 in July 1936 at the beginning of the SWOC drive, to 143 in December 1936. (12) The prospect was for fat contracts for US Steel for British war production, if production could be maintained.

For Myron Taylor, newly appointed Chairman of US Steel, a secret "contingency plan" to recognize the union without a strike took shape. With the great wave of sit-downs that had brought organization to the rubber industry now sweeping General Motors in the massive Flint sit-downs, Taylor and his banker associates in the House of Morgan, felt that "the handwriting" of industrial organization "was on the wall." Taylor's plan developed into a series of secret meetings with Lewis in January, 1937, just one month after the auto workers had begun their sit-down in Flint.

These negotiations culminated in the first contract with the United States Steel Corporation, announced on March 2, 1937. "Big Steel" capitulated without a strike, granting union "recognition" but NOT the union shop. This was the same formula as in the General Motors settlement. In addition the contract provided for: 62.5¢ an hour (\$5.00 per day) wage; eight hour day, 40 hour week, time and a half for overtime; a very weak seniority clause and a four step grievance procedure.

Workers, union organizers, and officials in all industries including staff members of SWOC were taken by surprise with the agreement. The leaders of the other steel giants, including "Little Steel" (Bethlehem, Republic, Youngstown, Sheet and Tube, Inland and Weirton) were stunned and indignant over what they considered a betrayal by Taylor.

The Big Steel agreement, announced on March 2, followed by one month the General Motors agreement on February 11, 1937. Taylor was anxious to avoid the "GM experience." In *Labor's Giant Step*, Art Preis points out that:

"The House of Morgan also had reason to believe that Roosevelt was preparing to swing the country more and more in the direction of war preparations. Why risk the loss of British orders and the chance to bid on U.S. contracts by forcing a strike that might well end with the workers squeezing out even bigger concessions than Lewis was willing to accept." (13)

Taylor clearly preferred to do business with the bureaucracy represented by Lewis and Murray whom he considered "responsible", rather than a rank and file that might make Flint look like a picnic. He correctly realized that Murray and Lewis' role was to hold back the struggle of the workers to the "acceptable" limitations of the capitalist system.

The wave of sit-downs which rocked U.S. capitalism was thus the primary weapon, although not intended as such by the CIO leaders, in the organization of Big Steel and all the smaller firms that came to terms with the SWOC in the Spring of 1937. The sit-downs in the GM empire at Flint were neither planned nor led by Lewis. The leaders were mostly young radicals who had not yet been corrupted by Stalinism, although most of them were already under the influence of the Communist Party. Despite appeals from Michigan Governor Murphy for Lewis to call off the Flint strike, Lewis admitted that he was powerless even if he had wanted to do something. Lewis, with his penchant for making headlines and for grandiose statements, refused to accede to the demand that he order the men back to work under threat of strikebreaking by "liberal" Governor Murphy's troops, with his famous statement:

"Tomorrow morning I shall personally enter General Motors plant Chevrolet No. 4. I shall order the men to disregard your order, to stand fast. I shall then walk up to the largest window in the plant, open it, divest myself of my outer raiment, remove my shirt and bare my bosom. Then when you order your troops to fire, mine will be the first breast that those bullets will strike." (14)

The victory at GM opened even wider the flood gates of the class struggle. Almost half a million workers participated in sit-downs in the U.S. by the end of 1937. In the month following the GM settlement, there were 247 sit-downs. The sit-down strike was particularly effective if you could unite the bulk of the workers in a plant, because it made it difficult for the police and troops to provoke violence and because strikers were on the inside and strikebreakers on the outside. As a result, only 25 out of more than 1,000 sit-down strikes were broken by the police in 1936 and 1937.

The sit-down was an international phenomenon, appearing in a number of countries—Yugoslavia, Poland, Greece, Spain and India in 1934 and 1935 and sweeping France where more than one million workers sat down in 1936. The sit-down had implications beyond the framework of capitalism, challenging as it did the right of the capitalist to even set foot on his own private property. It was only one step from here in the thinking of millions of workers that they could eliminate private ownership entirely and own and control production themselves, in the interest of all of society, i.e., socialism.

The implications of the strike wave for the capitalists was that their system would be doomed provided that a genuine revolutionary party based on Trotskyism could develop out of the strike wave and bring the workers to power. Despite the fact that the Stalinists, who above all wanted to maintain an alliance with liberal capitalism through support to Roosevelt, were able to maintain control of the most advanced sections in the labor movement, a growing section of the capitalist class was preparing to push back the strike wave with the help of fascist terror if Roosevelt was not able to do the job for them.

But for the moment, the workers had won a victory over Big Steel. Within a month of the agreement, the SWOC had organized over 50 companies; by the end of April, 1937, 280,000 workers were members of SWOC with 37,000 joining the union in the week of May 3-8 alone. By May 15, 110 companies had come to terms, including Allegheny, Crucible, Wheeling, Pittsburgh, and Sharon, in addition to USS.

Jones and Laughlin, one of the largest of Big Steel's competitors, surrendered to the SWOC after a brief strike on May 12 which shut it down tight as a drum-head for two days. J & L agreed to an NLRB election which resulted in the signing of a contract identical to USS except that now the union was the exclusive bargaining agent, not just the agent for its members.

#### THE LITTLE STEEL STRIKE

The apparent ease of victory over Big Steel and the strengthening of the union which followed appeared to come from the top, without the real mobilization of the workers, except in the case of the J&L strike. A sense of false confidence was spread by Murray and the other SWOC leaders which disarmed the workers in the face of the kind of struggle that was developing in Little Steel. Following the Big Steel agreement, Murray had predicted complete unionization in a "mopping up" operation.

Indeed, the workers had reason to be confident, but not on the basis of Murray's reliance on politicians and unionization "from above" with the SWOC run almost like a one man dictatorship, but rather on the basis of the Flint sit-downs which had brought mighty General Motors to its knees.

For Murray, the "complete unionization" of steel may have been a "mopping up" operation, but for the Little Steel bosses under the leadership of Republic's notorious labor hater Tom Girdler, it was an all out war to smash the union. Girdler and the others were part of the group of capitalists who adhered to the "Mohawk Valley" which was a "how to do it" scheme for smashing unions. This formula was modeled after the methods used to smash a strike in May 1936 at the Remington Rand Corporation, and is simply a codification of the methods used to break the steel strike in 1919 and employed to one degree or another by the bosses whenever faced with a mass strike. It consists of the manipulation of the press and other propaganda means to isolate and demoralize the strikers, the development of a "loyal" scab force, of vigilantes and other extra-legal terroristic groups to attack the strikers, and the police, troops and other institutions of capitalist "justice" using all their resources to protect the vigilantes and scabs. (18)

The Little Steel bosses planned to take advantage of the flabbiness of the union which was weak at many plants by provoking a strike which actually began with a lockout at Republic's Massillon, Ohio mill on May 20, 1937.

Little Steel's tactic was to grant the wage and hour provisions of the Big Steel contract, which they had done in March, and to prepare for war to stop any kind of union recognition. Girdler claimed he would rather shut down and "raise apples and potatoes". Girdler together with the other corporation heads had stocked millions of dollars worth of arms and ammunition in preparation. He retained a New York public relations firm and in May he bought 43,800 copies of a pamphlet called "Join the CIO and Help Build a Soviet America." (19)

Despite the lack of preparation by the leadership for the strike, the workers initial response to the strike call which was issued to 75,000 workers of Bethlehem, Youngstown Sheet & Tube, Republic and Inland, was overwhelmingly enthusiastic. But the subsequent terror launched against the strikers ended in one of the bloodiest defeats in American labor history. Strikers were arrested, beaten and murdered by the combined attacks of police and fascist thugs, from Pennsylvania to Illinois. All told, 18 strikers were murdered.

The responsibility lay with the leadership, in particular the Murray-Lewis policy of reliance on New Deal politicians. The strike at the Johnstown, Pa. Cambria works of Bethlehem was a good example. In the midst of a civil war situation between strikers and armed vigilantes organized by Johnstown's Mayor Shields, Pennsylvania Governor Earle, a stalwart Rooseveltian New Deal Democrat, declared martial law. The workers were forced to stand by while state troopers reopened the plant which had been closed for a week, and more and more scabs were herded into the plant.

Ohio's Governor Davey, another New Dealer, sent the National Guard in to finish the job that deputies and vigilantes had begun in Youngstown, Warren, Niles, Dayton, Massillon and Cleveland. What the apologists for Roosevelt and the Democrats do not want to tell is that this systematic strikebreaking took place after the officers of the National Guard held a conference with the Republic Steel Corporation executives. (20)

In Youngstown, after the strikers, "at the behest of the pro-Roosevelt Stalinist, in this instance had welcomed the guardsmen as heroes, the Governor had announced that the 'right to work is as sacred as the right to strike.'" (21)

In the same manner, Roosevelt himself, sacred hero of the Stalinist Communist Party as well as the AFL and CIO bureaucrats, spurned the bureaucrats' pleas to "save" the strike with his statement, quoting Shakespeare, "A plague on both your houses!"

The bloodiest day of all of the strike was on May 30 when Chicago's New Deal Mayor Kelly's police opened

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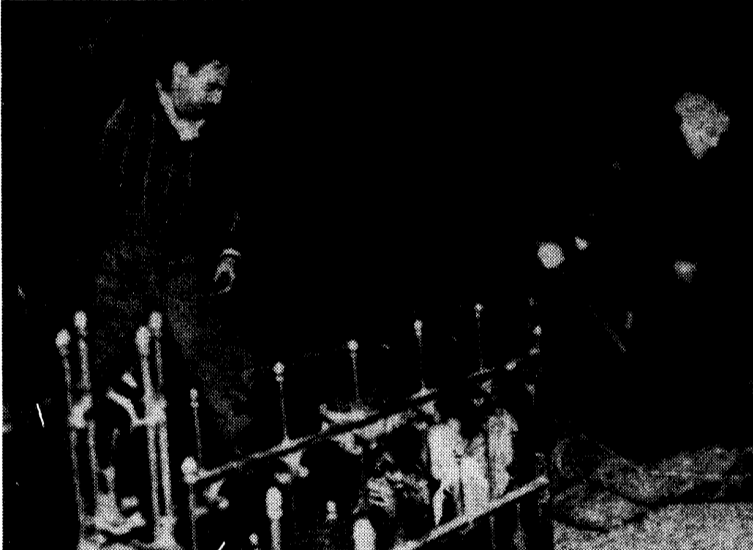
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fire on a crowd of 1500 Republic Steel strikers who were marching toward the plant to hold a protest in defense of the right to picket which had been reduced to a token. The result was the Memorial Day Massacre which made Kent State look like a Sunday School picnic. Ten lay dead or fatally wounded, all shot in the back, another 40 had bullet wounds, also in the back. One hundred and one other people were injured by cop's clubs, including an eight year old child.

A Paramount cameraman managed to record the massacre, but the newsreel was hushed up and shown in to the LaFollette investigating committee. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch of June 16, 1937 reported what the film showed:

"...groups of policemen close in on these isolated individuals and go to work on them with their clubs. In several instances, from two to four policemen are seen beating one man. One strikes him horizontally across the face, using his club as he would a baseball bat. Another crashes it down on top of his head and still another is whipping him across the back..."

"A man shot through the back is paralyzed from the waist. Two policemen try to make him stand up, to get him into a patrol wagon, but when they let go of him his legs crumple, and he falls with his face in the dirt...He moves his head and arms, but his legs are limp. He raises his head like a turtle and claws the ground..."

"There is continuous talking but it is difficult to distinguish anything with one exception—out of the babble there rises this distinct ejaculation: 'God Almighty!'"

"A policeman, somewhat disheveled, his coat wide open, a scowl on his face, approaches another who is standing in front of the camera. He is sweaty and tired. He says something indistinguishable. Then his face breaks out in a sudden grin, he makes a motion of dusting off his hands, and strides away. The film ends." (22)

A victory in Little Steel fought out along the lines of the earlier victories at Toledo, Minneapolis and Flint would have required a break with the capitalist politicians, the opening up of a struggle to organize a real labor party with the taking of power by the working class being posed. But the defeat, based on the class-collaborationist politics of the CIO leadership, backed to the hilt by the Stalinists, meant not only the postponement of the organization of Little Steel for four more years. It also meant a new lease on life for capitalism based on strengthening the labor bureaucracy and the Stalinists.

#### LESSONS OF BIG STEEL & LITTLE STEEL

The Little Steel defeat reflected the basic contradiction in the CIO—the unleashing of the great power of mass struggle, of working class against capitalist class that culminated in the great Flint sit-downs, was held back and betrayed by the leaders who were able to dominate it. The CIO bureaucracy in alliance with the Stalinists who were entrenched on every level in the SWOC were thus able to prevent an explosion in steel far greater than even in auto by subordinating the struggle to Roosevelt and the state apparatus. Little Steel was the beginning of the retreat of the CIO without which Roosevelt could not have taken the working class into the slaughter of World War II. This was more and more becoming a necessity for U.S. imperialism as well as the capitalist powers of Europe and Japan, in order to preserve the capitalist system which was everywhere teetering on the brink of disaster.

All the myths that Roosevelt was able to solve the crisis of capitalism and provide for the betterment of the working class through the New Deal, were just that—myths. The defeat of the Little Steel strike coincided with another economic downturn, the so-called Roosevelt recession. By 1938 unemployment in the U.S. reached an all time high with more than eleven million workers out of a job.

But the plans of the ruling class under Roosevelt required the putting of the labor movement into a strait-jacket and a movement away from even the limited concessions of the earlier period. This meant a defense of the super-profits of the war industries which included almost all of the major corporations and a war on all militants in the working class movement. The high point of FDR's attempt to housebreak the labor movement was the witchhunt and prosecution of the 18 Trotskyists under the Smith "gag" Act in 1941.

The prosecution of the Trotskyist leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, included its Chairman, James P. Cannon and the key leaders of the 1934 Teamster strike and subsequent organizing drive, Farrell Dobbs, V.R. Dunne and Carl Skoglund. The prosecution of the Trotskyists, who led one of the first great industrial union organizing strikes of the thirties, paving the way for Flint and the organization of the UAW, was the result of a deal cooked up between FDR and Teamster President Daniel J. Tobin.

Following the Little Steel defeat, the leaders of the SWOC which included not only Lewis and Murray, but CIO-SWOC General Council Lee Pressman and numerous Stalinist staff members, obliged Roosevelt by reining in the organizing drive in steel and other sectors of the CIO. The efforts to organize Little

Steel ground to a halt—the organizing staff of the SWOC was reduced to about one quarter of its original size.

The Little Steel defeat was based on the reliance on the Roosevelt Administration and New Deal mayors, governors, police forces, state militias, national guards, and capped by the continual spreading of the illusion that FDR would intervene on the side of the strikers. The Stalinists of the Communist Party played a key role in this betrayal, especially through their role in the local leadership throughout the steel belt. Besides the already mentioned appeal for the intervention of Governor Davey and the National Guard in Ohio at the initiation of the Stalinists, the Stalinists were among the union leaders who told the Memorial Day demonstrators in Chicago that "Roosevelt, the Wagner Act, and Chicago's own New Deal Democratic Mayor Kelly had 'guaranteed' the right to peaceful picketing.

The Stalinist line put forward by the Communist Party of the Popular Front and which took its most open, strikebreaking, counterrevolutionary form during World War II, was a continuation of the policy of the middle and late thirties—the support to "democrat" Roosevelt and his program of "collective security", known internationally as the Popular Front. The betrayal of the Little Steel strike and the mass movement of the CIO by Stalinism was the American counterpart of Stalinist betrayal of the French General Strike in 1936 and the sabotaging of the Spanish revolution in the name of the Popular Front.

By virtue of their false appearance as militants and "communists" the Stalinists were able to play a role in channeling the militancy of the workers into class collaboration with the employers and Roosevelt in almost every union of the CIO in which they had an alliance with the dominant bureaucracy. This was expressed sharply in the role of Stalinist Harry Bridges, whom Lewis had appointed as West Coast CIO director in October 1937. In April 1938 Bridges proclaimed the slogan, "You can't strike against the government" and later, in 1940, offered a "five-year peace plan" no-strike pledge in the maritime industry in exchange for a compulsory arbitration setup. The Stalinists were in the forefront of the drive to re-elect Roosevelt, introducing a resolution to that effect at the 1938 CIO Convention. The Stalinists had earlier found it necessary in order to channel the militancy of many workers into the Roosevelt camp, to set up the so-called American Labor Party in New York State, which ran Roosevelt in the 1936 election.

It is impossible to understand the role of Stalinism in the labor movement without taking into account the role of radicals in the organization of industrial unionism and the contradictions inherent in Stalinism itself. Radicals—syndicalists like Haywood, and St. John of the IWW (Wobblies), socialists like Eugene V. Debs who led the Pullman strike, and the Marxists of the early American Communist Party had always been in the thick of the struggle to organize industrial unions. This was the significance of William Z. Foster's role in the great 1919 steel strike. People like Gompers and his hacks in the AFL could never have led a struggle like the 1919 steel strike.

In the opening of the drive to organize the mines in 1933, Lewis turned to the radicals, chiefly the cadres of the Communist Party which had at that period played a role in the organization of the unemployed and of "red" unions, for the necessary energy and idealism to get the CIO organizing drive under way. Without these young radical organizers, Lewis was like a general without an army. The organizers who came into the thick of the class struggle from the radical tendencies were joined by thousands of newly radicalized workers in leadership of the heroic battles that built the CIO. This was strikingly illustrated in Flint where the local leaders who devised and carried out strategy that defeated General Motors were all, including the Reuther brothers, socialists or communists of some kind.

But the leading role of the radicals was a two-edged sword. The strangulation by Stalinism of the Communist International as a revolutionary movement, reflecting the rise of the Soviet bureaucracy and the degeneration of the Soviet workers state, was brought in to corrupt the zealous and courageous young organizers influenced by the Communist Party. The Communist Party usurped the name and authority of the Russian Revolution, of Lenin and the Communist International in order to insure the continuation of "democratic" capitalism.

In order to do this the Stalinists had to wage a life and death war against Trotskyism which arose to defend the principles of class struggle and Leninist internationalism.

The struggle of Trotskyism vs. Stalinism, far from some esoteric exercise in pedagogy was in reality the struggle for leadership of the American working class and was decisive in whether the movement symbolized by Flint would, under the leadership of the Trotskyists, come to the fore, or whether the Stalinists, reflecting the Little Steel betrayal, would become the main prop of the labor bureaucracy.

James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism and National Chairman of the Socialist Work-

ers Party, described the political conception behind the Trotskyist leadership of the Minneapolis strike:

"The policies of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived or out-manuevered, as so many strike leaders of the period were, by this mechanism known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups. They put no reliance whatever in Roosevelt's Labor Board; they weren't fooled by any idea that Roosevelt, the liberal "friend of labor" President was going to help the truck drivers in Minneapolis win a few more cents an hour. They weren't deluded even by the fact that there was at the time in Minnesota, a Farmer-Labor Governor, presumed to be on the side of the workers. Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity. Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war." (22)

But the Trotskyist leadership never fought against the Stalinists in the CIO on the class struggle basis of the Minneapolis Teamsters strike. Cannon later acknowledged that, "except in a few localities we let the great movement of the CIO pass over our heads".(23) Of course, for the Trotskyists to immerse themselves in the movement of the CIO, on the basis of the perspective of the Transitional Program—of the socialist revolution, would have meant an all out fight for leadership of the militant workers against the Stalinists. It was this kind of fight that the SWP failed to take up following its great victories in Minneapolis, and in their stubborn resistance to a struggle to expose the Stalinists and win over some ranks of the C.P. which Trotsky urged upon them in the 1940 elections.

The dominance of Stalinism and the failure of Trotskyism to take leadership was paid for by the working class which was used as cannon fodder in the world war. The steelworkers in particular were left with the legacy of a victory without a strike in Big Steel and a defeat with a strike in Little Steel, the bureaucratic operation of the SWOC from on top by Murray, in alliance with the Stalinists which meant there was not even a formal union setup with conventions and elections until 1942. This legacy meant that the labor bureaucracy and the Stalinists were able to fasten a wage freeze on the working class which the workers suffered with until the 1946 steel strike and the great post-war strike wave.

Above all, as we have seen and as we will see further in our understanding of the post war period and the period of struggle we are in today, the success and defeats of the steelworkers can only be understood in terms of the struggle for Marxist leadership. In the thirties, it was the Trotskyists alone who stood for the formation of a labor party against Roosevelt, who in the post war period took the lead in the battle for a labor party and who, today pose the urgent fight for the formation of a labor party in the new struggles to defend the historic gains of the union movement.

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# ART

JEANNIE COOPER

# Russian Art Of The Revolution



**RUSSIAN ART OF THE REVOLUTION**  
The Brooklyn Museum June 14-  
July 25, 1971

The years of revolutionary upheaval in Russia, 1905-1921, gave birth to perhaps the greatest and most influential artists in the fields of painting, sculpture, architecture, theatre and literature. The art produced during this period in Russia has been internationally acclaimed. The current show at the Brooklyn Museum gives only a very slight taste of the abundance of paintings produced by Malevich, Kandinsky, Lissitsky, Tatlin and others.

It is significant that the revolution that took place in art which laid the basis for present non-objective painting, for the Bauhaus school of design and for a completely new concept in architecture, is just beginning to achieve "official" recognition in the capitalist countries. In London recently, the Stalinists forced the early closing of a tremendous show of the art of the Russian Revolution.

Although this show is very sparse, it is nevertheless the largest collection of paintings from that period ever shown in the United States.

It was during this period that the schools of art known as Constructivism, Futurism, (different in Russia than in Italy where the Futurists went over to fascism), Suprematism, and Rayonnism began and flourished. The artists involved in these movements were all caught by the revolutionary movement, and all sought ways to relate their art to Marxism and the Russian Revolution. Their roots lay in earlier attempts to break away from the "art of the elite" and to bring art to the masses, a movement that based itself on the folk art of Russia.

The movements developed during 1905-1921 were most significant in their search for new theories of art, for new roles and definitions for art and the artist. It is out of this struggle that Malevich's Suprematist theories grew, that Kandinsky laid the theoretical basis for the Bauhaus and that Tatlin developed the theories of revolutionary architecture.

Malevich attempted to discover the "laws of painting". He strove to get away from a depiction of "things." "The system is constructed in time and space, independently of all aesthetic beauties,

experiences and moods; it is more a philosophical color system for realizing the latest achievements of my ideas, as knowledge..." (Kasimir Malevich, *Essays On Art*, Rapp and Whiting, London, 1969, vol.1, pp.120-122)

Malevich, grappling to understand materialism, to break away from the subjectivity and sentimentality of academic painting, was the first to show that color and form have their own laws, and don't have to describe things. He broke from the accepted "realism" and attempted to get at the essence of space and color. His "Suprematist Element: Circle, 1913", one of six of his paintings exhibited, is the simplest and really very beautiful embodiment of his philosophy.

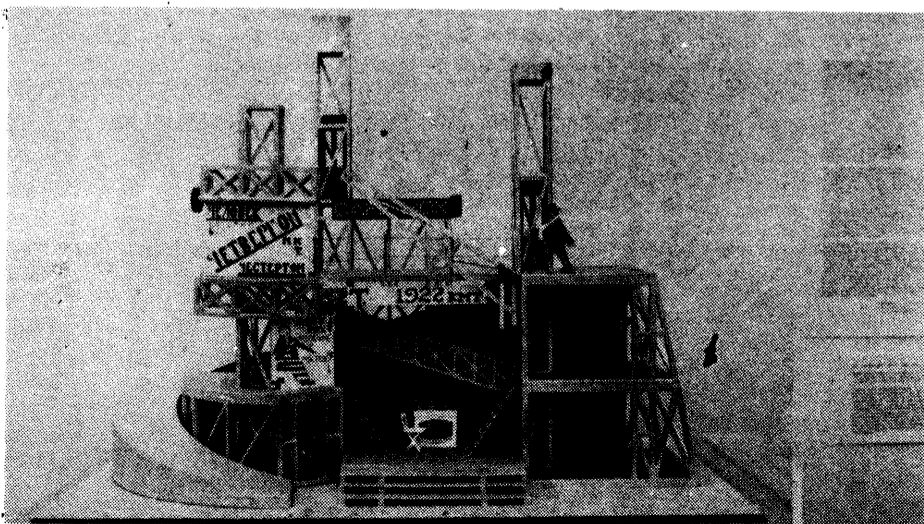
### CONSTRUCTIVIST

The Constructivist philosophy, developed by Tatlin, has had perhaps the most profound influence on art and architecture in this century. Tatlin, unlike Malevich, attempted to build a new system of "art" based on technique. The program of the Constructivist group stated that: "The task of the Constructivist group is the communistic expression of materialistic constructive work...the sole premise is scientific communism, based on the theory of historical materialism..." The slogans of the group were: "Down with art. Long live technic. Religion is a lie. Art is a lie. Kill human thinking's last remains tying it to art. Long live the Constructivist technician. Down with art, which only camouflages humanity's impotence. The collective art of the present is constructive life."

It was the constructivists who sought to break art from its totally decorative function under capitalism and transform it into a harmonious "construction" of function and creativity based on the most advanced scientific technique to make it part of life. It is this school that laid the basis for the study of "tectonics", the study of form and content in a new relationship.

In architecture this led at that time to Tatlin's "Monument to the Third International". A photograph of the original model is displayed in the current exhibition. This monument was designed to stand more than 300 feet taller than the Eiffel tower. It contained three separately rotating chambers in a spiral-like steel structure. It is important to note that Tatlin's original design called for temperature controlled chambers. This design was completely revolutionary in concept and construction through its being conceived as a whole, not merely as a building or as an artifact, but as a synthesis of function and technical beauty. It was to be the concrete expression of the Constructivist philosophy.

The Constructivists, however, also expressed the contradictions in the Russian revolution. Because of the lack of materials and actual technique, it was never possible to build Tatlin's monument. After the 1925 exhibition of decorative arts in Paris, the Constructivist school faded



Malevich's Suprematist Circle:1913 (top) had a great influence on non-objective art, Constructivists were deeply concerned with the theatre as set for play above illustrates.

into obscurity, destroyed by Stalin's "Socialist Realism" and "Proletarian Art." By 1927 the Constructivist theory had been so distorted by Stalin that Tatlin ended up in the Department of Wood and Metal.

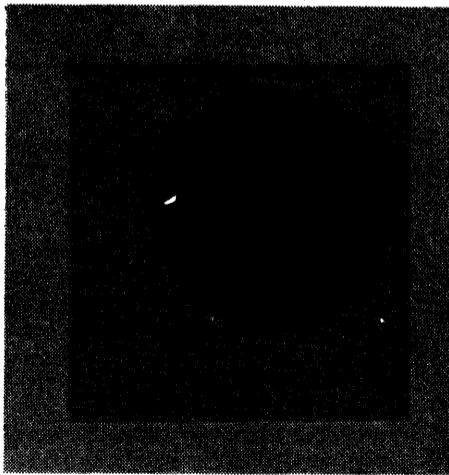
The exhibition includes paintings by artists less well known in the United States than Malevich or Tatlin, but who were all quite active in revolutionary Russia. It is not surprising that the direction taken by all these painters the struggle to incorporate art into the lives of the masses as well as to incorporate the lives of the masses and the revolutionary movement into art, led almost all of these painters to the theater. It was particularly between the years 1917 and 1921 that theater grew and changed most radically in the Soviet Union. The director Meyerhold developed an entirely new theatrical conception based on a mobile theater that broke from the traditional plays and depended heavily on improvisation.

All of the painters included in the current exhibition designed sets of costumes for the productions. The sets are some of the most imaginative yet designed. These sets, too, were based on the most modern technique as well as a versatility demanded by the new conceptions. Included in the exhibition is a model of an actual theatrical set. Many of the paintings were done specifically to be realized three dimensionally. One can grasp the magnitude and feeling of motion caught in Alexandra Exter's "Construction for Scene Plastique et Gymnastique, 1926".

### SPIRIT

What is so significant about this period in the development of art is that these artists, caught in the spirit of the revolution, developed new and dynamic forms through a conscious struggle to develop new theories of art that reflected the period in which they worked. It is this revolutionary upsurge in art that has influenced all art of this epoch. It was in the period of the October Revolution that the most creative and exciting developments in the history of modern art began.

What made the art of the Russian Revolution revolutionary? During the Czarist rule, and under capitalism in general, the working class is a deprived class. Art is not available to the work-



ing class, and the working class does not produce art. Before the revolutionary period, the classical art was that of the aristocracy. The Czar could import the popular paintings of the day: pleasant scenes depicting boys and girls frolicking, or painterly portraits of barons, etc. There was little "Russian" art of the pre-revolutionary period, and none of it available to the masses or expressing the movement of the masses.

When the Constructivists, Suprematists, Rayonnists, etc. burst onto the scene, they were deplored by the "art world." As the revolution could occur in backward Russia, so the most advanced techniques, the most avant-garde art could be accepted by the Russian proletariat. The proletariat was surging forward, its movement based on incorporating the highest achievements of mankind to date, and it is this that is reflected in the art that developed at that time. It is this basis in the advancement of the productive forces and the transformation of the productive forces under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the use of machinery, electricity, and technology by the working class, that the Russian artists of the revolution incorporated into their art and which was incorporated, until the rise of Stalin, into the life of the working class.

### TECHNIQUES

In the last decade there has been a resurgence of using technique as the art—but in this period these works reflect the decay of technique under capitalism. If we compare last year's exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art of "Machine Age Art" to even the small sampling available at the Brooklyn Museum, we can see that the constructions and paintings done during the period of the Russian revolution was an expression of the break up of the old society and a search for ways to explore the new. All of the paintings, architecture, and constructions of that time show an excitement, a freshness and experimentation. The present day "technical art" produced in the capitalist countries reflects the despair of the artists at technique as it is used under capitalism; the de-humanization, the impersonality, etc. The use of technique in art is turned into its opposite today—a despair with capitalism with no hope for mankind as expressed by artists such as Warhol or Oldenburg. Yet the exhibit at the Brooklyn Museum may be the beginning of a return to politics in art by artists today.

# Editor's Notebook

## The Mafia Celebrates 'Unity Day'

A few months ago Joseph Colombo went to the producers of the film about the Mafia, "The Godfather," and complained that it slandered the Italian people, that there was no such thing as a "Mafia" with its family wars and murders. The producers of the film obliged Colombo by eliminating references to the Mafia or Cosa Nostra.

Last Monday the Unity Day sponsored by Colombo's Italian-American Civil Rights League could very well have been a scene from "The Godfather" of a new gangland war breaking out. It was rumored that a contract had been put out on Colombo's head. He got it with a few bullets through his skull in gangland style. His assailant while being held on the ground by the cops was subsequently shot dead by a civilian.

It has been rumored that for a long time now sections of the Mafia, in particular the other major Brooklyn faction, the Gallo brothers, have been very

upset with Colombo. Colombo is considered a young turk who did not easily do things in the old way. Colombo reportedly stayed in the numbers and sports gambling rackets, hijacking, fencing in stolen goods and loan sharking together with more respectable enterprises like real estate. He stayed away from drugs. His Italian-American League brought too much publicity to the Mafia.

In 1960 the dispute with the Gallos broke out in open warfare in Brooklyn. It is reported that Gallo's faction claimed they were not getting enough of the profits. Joseph Gallo was released from prison in May and the battle has apparently been renewed.

Colombo's Italian-American Civil Rights League is obviously just a front for his Mafia faction to boost him and at the same time make a little profit. This was really exposed as "Unity Day" broke down in true Mafia style.

"Unity Day" was a flop to begin with. Claiming they would get a half million there the most they got was 15,000. While Gallo strongarmed a few to stay away,

the obvious reason was the "Italian" people were not buying it. The docks where the Mafia has always had an influence were openly manned with long-shoremen who wanted nothing to do with it.

On the platform with Colombo were all the reactionary filth like Imperiale of Newark and Meir Kahane, head of the Jewish Defense League. After Colombo was shot, Unity Day was turned not surprisingly into a racist lynch mob against any Blacks who were simply passing by the demonstration.

The cops and the media helped things along. Colombo was shot by a Black youth, Jerome Johnson, who could have been given the contract because of his debt to the Mafia.

The word went out that a "Black militant" shot Colombo. Imperiale added his bit by saying that "a fanatic" shot him. The New Brunswick police, where Johnson had lived, claimed he was the representative of a labor union of Black civil service employees.

Needless to say this hysteria could

not hold water as the real nature of the assassination attempt became clear—just a good old gangland murder, straight out of TV and the movies.

Last year Unity Day was blessed not only by a good section of the trade union bureaucracy including Victor Gotbaum of District Council 37 but also by the American Communist Party. Now the real character of Unity Day and its sponsor are out in the open.

Behind the Italian-American Civil Rights League is the preparation for a fascist movement. All fascist movements have always based themselves on one or another form of nationalism. They seek to whip up a frenzy of hatred among the petty bourgeoisie (the main following of the Italian-American Civil Rights League). The fascists openly use gangster elements and the most degenerate elements in society just as Chiang Kai-shek and Hitler did to attack the working class. It is the Italian workers and poor who are squeezed and terrorized by the Mafia through protection, loan sharking, and other methods of extortion.

## VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

gon, mass murder and maneuvers with the Stalinist bureaucracies.

The Geneva Accords, engineered by the Stalinists with the Maoist bureaucracy's representative, Chou En-lai, playing a key role, opened the door to US imperialism.

### KENNEDY

With the movement of the workers and peasants against the deal worked out at Geneva the position of the puppet forces were more and more threatened. As early as May, 1961, Kennedy approved sabotage and secret guerrilla operations in North Vietnam and Laos. At the same time Kennedy sent Johnson to South Vietnam to get Diem to request American ground troops in the war. Diem was against it because he knew it would expose the fact that he was nothing but a puppet of the US.

In the meantime Diem was becoming an embarrassment. Under the direction of his brother Nhu a reign of terror was unleashed against the people of South Vietnam. A State Department analyst Kattenburg at this

point described the untenable position of the US: "If we undertake to live with this repressive regime, with its bayonets at every street corner...we are going to be thrown out of the country in six months."

As one official later put it the US was "up to our eyeballs." So to preserve the situation Kennedy only a few weeks before his assassination plotted Diem's fall. In the back-rooms of the Saigon cafes US representatives and the generals planned the coup to oust Diem, in an attempt to get a new puppet more obedient to his masters. After the coup the situation continued to deteriorate.

Of course these underground activities were never revealed to the American working class.

Despite warnings by advisers in Vietnam, that bombing would fail to drive back the NLF, Johnson began it in a desperate move to offset the worsening situation of the US and Saigon forces. It is clear that after the Tet offensive Johnson sought the aid of the Stalinists through the Paris talks to maintain US interests in Indochina and to prevent being driven into the

sea.

The recent reports also reveal that despite the fact that Nixon has been told that the military situation is impossible, Nixon has sought to offset this with invasions and operations in Laos and Cambodia.

Nixon's hope now and he is joined by his so-called liberal critics, is to get the help of the Soviet bureaucracy to crush the revolutionary struggle in Southeast Asia.

Daniel Ellsberg who was arrested this week by the FBI for turning over the Vietnam documents to the Times, has reported that some of them deal with the negotiations with other nations. No doubt many of them deal with the secret ties between the US and the Kremlin.

Recently a high ranking official from North Vietnam has returned after three years to Paris and has said that he and his fellow Stalinists are most interested in the Mansfield amendment for withdrawal.

These open maneuvers occur precisely at a time when the US is in the weakest position, driven back in Vietnam, exposed by the Pentagon reports, with the workers and peasants now being joined in their struggle by the American working class. It is precisely this movement that Nixon, the New York Times, the liberals and the Stalinists fear.

This is what makes so dangerous the American CP's attempt to boost a coalition with the liberals as an alternative to Nixon.

Central to the fight is the construction of a labor party against all the Democrats and Republicans whose interests lie with capitalism.

with the government by substituting lobbying, and "write your congressman" campaigns for strike action. But strike action on the part of AFSCME is the only thing which will push the government back temporarily.

### POLITICAL

This must be coupled with a political fight to throw out the Democrats and Republicans, and build a labor party, a party which is committed to a fight for the workers, youth, and unemployed. The Stalinists, hand in hand with the trade union bureaucracy will try at all cost to prevent this development.

The sharpest fight is required now, to bring the question of a labor party into the trade union movement. It is not a question of fighting FAP now, and building a labor party later. It is only in the course of the fight to mobilize the workers independently from the capitalists politically, that reactionary bills like FAP can be defeated.

## WELFARE . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

ployment.

The only force which has the power to fight FAP is the trade union movement. Jerry Wurf, national head of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) must be forced to call out the entire union, nationwide, if FAP passes in the Senate. FAP is a direct attack on the trade unions as well as the unemployed. The government tries to cover that fact with all kinds of racist garbage pitting the trade unions and the unemployed against one another.

Only the trade union movement can lead this fight. The Stalinists and revisionists, as well as the reformist welfare rights organizations and union bureaucrats, try to pose the fight otherwise. They counterpose to the trade union struggle, "militant actions in the streets" which can lead nowhere but to defeat.

The union bureaucracy is also trying to avoid a head-on collision

## TAXI . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

then we call for city takeover of the fleets, to be run under union control.

Van Arsdale may retreat over the issue of 42 per cent (new drivers all get 42 per cent if hired after March 3, 1971; all other drivers get 49-50 per cent depending on length of service), but this retreat is just a stall.

He will not back down on the dime rakeoff, since such a move will destroy a probable 10 million dollar windfall for the pension and welfare fund. Few cabbies will ever see the fruits of that fund, since the industry is rapidly becoming a part-time one.

But the maneuvering, jockeying and stalling are really an expression of one thing—the owners and bureaucrats are not quite

ready to meet the drivers head on. Van Arsdale tried it in April, and got thrown out of Manhattan Center.

However, cabbies are still working under the rotten agreement. A ratification meeting to reject the contract must be called immediately. If drivers do not get this meeting, then wildcat action must escalate until no fleet cab rolls.

Further, this contract was planned and carried out by Van Arsdale, the owners, the City Council, and the Mayor. How can cabbies ever again vote for legislators and mayors who force them to take a pay cut? They must have their own party—a labor party.

## BOLIVIA . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

livia very sharply. The workers want to fight the fascist officers but Torres knows that it may not be long before these arms are used against himself.

The Popular Assembly was set up last January and was officially recognized by Torres. 60% of the delegates represent the working class and the rest are from the peasantry and the middle classes.

Torres recognized the Popular Assembly once it had been set up but together with the Communist Party and the COB he seeks to turn it into a watchdog against the extreme right while just putting a little pressure on Torres.

The Stalinists and Juan Lechin, leader of the COB, openly fought to make the Assembly merely an advisory body but this attempt was defeated by the campaign of the POR.

Clarín, an Argentine bourgeois newspaper, expressed the real fear of the bourgeoisie at this development when it wrote that the Assembly "could become a soviet" and that "it would rapidly become a sword of Damocles suspended over President Torres' head."

The Popular Assembly poses directly the question of power, of a workers and peasants government. In the present situation a new right wing coup attempt can completely turn the tables and lead to the establishment of such a government.

It is critical now that the Stalinists be forced to break with Torres and set up a workers government. The breaking of the influence of the Stalinists and the COB is the key to taking the fight of the Bolivian workers forward to insurrection and socialism.

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## BLACK NATIONALISM & MARXIST THEORY



by Tim Wohlforth

## Israel

## Trotskyist Fraction Breaks With Matzpen



The following article was translated from French out of the *INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE*, a publication of the International Committee of the Fourth International. It was written by a comrade of the Trotskyist Fraction which broke from Matzpen.

BY ISAAC FIELD

IN 1933, AFTER the Communist International and the German Communist Party were exposed as the ones responsible for Hitler's coming to power, the editors of the paper, *Haor* (The Light), organ of the Palestinian Communist Party, went over to the positions of the "International Left Opposition" led by Leon Trotsky.

But the ties between *Haor* and the Left Opposition remained rather loose. The Israeli group lacked a perspective, particularly the understanding that it was necessary to build a new International on the ruins of the defunct Third International, and a new revolutionary party in Palestine and the Middle East.

In November, 1938, the group sent a document to the *Bulletin of the Russian Opposition*, in which it criticized the Fourth International for preaching "revolutionary defeatism" and declared that it was necessary to support British imperialism against German imperialism.

Trotsky answered this letter in the July 1939 issue of the *Bulletin*. The *Haor* group moved closer and closer to the Shachtman group in the U.S. which spoke of a mysterious third force, which would not identify either with imperialism or with the Soviet Union. *Haor* changed its name to "Third Force." After the Second World War it revealed that this "force" was made up of the colonial countries becoming independent.

*Haor* completely lacked a class analysis of Middle Eastern and Israeli society and sought substitutes to avoid intervening in the class struggle. It capitulated to the comprador bourgeoisie in the Arab countries. All these basic positions can be found today in the Israeli Socialist Organization (ISO) and its paper, *Matzpen*.

After the *Haor* group left the Fourth International, a new group came into being: "The Palestine Trotskyist Group," under the leadership of Igal Glikstein, alias Tony Cliff, which put out a newspaper in three languages.

The objective situation was difficult: the fight between Jewish and Arab communities was intensifying. The group lost forces. Some of the militants left the country faced with the absence of a real political solution, despite the first indications of a change with the alliance of Arab and Israeli workers in the strikes of 1946 and 1947.

In the winter of 1962-63, the group of ex-Trotskyists reunified with the members of the Israeli Socialist Organization (ISO) on the basis of an agreement on Middle Eastern questions while maintaining differences on international questions.

*Matzpen's* analysis was reformist. It saw de-Zionisation as a separate stage from the socialist revolution, in which the social forces in the struggle would be different from the ones in the second stage.

In the meantime a crisis began to appear within Maki (Israeli Communist Party).

Israeli Socialist Organization holds demonstration against occupation of Arab lands.

It was the beginning of the Sino-Soviet split and also the period when Castroite ideology was developing, which said a revolution could be made without a revolutionary party. In the autumn of 1962 in the Jerusalem section of Maki, Akiva Or, leader of the 1952 seamen's strike, and Moshe Machover were expelled as well as Oded Pilavski (former editor for union affairs on the paper *Voice of the People*) and Jeremie Kaplan, both from the Tel Aviv section. They were expelled for demanding explanations from the Central Committee about the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"PRIVILEGED"

It was the influence of Oded Pilavski who got *Matzpen* involved in "work committees" which were created in 1961-63 in a large part of the country and which sparked the savage strikes against the decisions of Histadrut. This was the height of *Matzpen's* "working class work." They quickly abandoned their attempt to penetrate the Israeli working class. The group contended that the Israeli workers were "privileged."

Social patriotic tendencies also appeared in the organization. Thus the December 1963 issue published an article in honor of Itzhak Tsadeh, head of Palmach—elite section of the Israeli Hagana Army who during the 1948 war refused to evacuate Abou Agueila and Rafia (in the Sinai) as Ben Gurion demanded, so as not to topple King Farouk. The members of *Matzpen* considered the 1948 war as an anti-imperialist war. Even if the positions have changed today the method of analysis has not.

The program of I.S.O. from 1964-1967 stated that the State of Israel is the bridgehead of imperialism in the Arab world and is opposed to the desire of the Arab people for unity and socialism. The anti-imperialist forces are concentrated around Nasser and are taking leaps and bounds towards socialism. In Israel, there must be an alliance of all anti-imperialist forces.

The theoretical void in the organization took different forms especially after it went from social patriotism to Nasserism. This is what appeared in an article by D. Said, member of the group of ex-Trotskyists of Haifa in an article in *Matzpen* (No. 24, February 1965):

"Two years ago, we said that Nasserism in its present form could not exist and was full of contradictions. He tried to lean on the national bourgeoisie and on the working class, ignoring at the same time the impossibility of joining the interests of the two classes. The Egyptian regime had to choose: rely on the working class within and on the socialist countries abroad, or adopt the orientation of the national bourgeoisie and the imperialist leadership."

That was how the first part of the article began. It ended as follows:

"The petty bourgeois leaders essentially rested on, at the beginning, the national bourgeoisie, then tried to balance between the national bourgeoisie and the masses. They will be forced in the years to come to turn more and more to the working class for support. It is an irreversible process. Despite everything, we cannot say that Egypt is a workers state but the social and economic changes are pushing it in that direction. Only the counter-revolutionary forces can reverse it."

This article represents all the errors and theoretical confusion within the organization. The position of D. Said is a Pabloite position. For Said, Nasser can carry out the tasks of the proletariat with the given objective conditions and it is up to revolutionaries to support Nasser who is doing their work.

At the same time every discussion on the Zionist or privileged character of the working class became a theoretical justification for the impossibility of finding a road to the working class. Revolution, the I.S.O. contends, is impossible in Israel.

OPPORTUNISM

The opportunism of their positions on the Middle East was coupled with their opportunist analysis of the internal situation in Israel. After trying to explain to the "Semitic Action" group (a non-Zionist petty bourgeois group) that "scientific" socialism was better than "free" socialism, they began common work for the 1965 elections and then unified with the Holam Haze movement.

The union with Holam Haze flowed from their theory that de-Zionisation was an important step towards socialism. The alliance between the members of ISO and the "men with capitalist ideas but firmly anti-Zionist" lasted a year and a half. In November 1966, at the first conference of Holam Haze the members of ISO split, not because the platform included recognition of private property and recognition of the frontiers prior to 1967 (within which 250,000 Palestinians were nationally oppressed) but because a paragraph of the statutes of the movement demanded ISO to dissolve itself and join Holam Haze (*Matzpen* No. 31).

The positions of the ISO on the international crisis, the construction of the International and on Stalinism were very vague. The leaders of *Matzpen* never analyzed the problems which were posed to the working class movement.

From 1964 to 1967 they explained for example, in their paper that the advanced capitalist countries played the role of world exploiters while the underdeveloped countries represented the world proletariat ("National and World Revolution" by Israel More, *Matzpen* No. 22 July 1964). This was the extent of their positions on world revolution. The sources of these theories lay in Pablo and the Maoists.

In its analysis on Stalinism, the ISO was content to reject the personality cult and dogmatism and recognize that certain communist parties did not have a correct strategy. At Tel Aviv they denounced a member of the Trotskyist fraction who called the bureaucracy Stalinist.

At the same time Oded Pilavski published for the 30th anniversary of the "beginning of the fascist overthrow in Spain" (*Matzpen* July 1966) an article praising the Spanish Republic and the Soviet Union who "offers concrete if rather modest help." This Spanish Republic which, with the active help of the main "workers unions"—reformist, Stalinist or anarchist, crushed the 1936 peasant revolts as well as the revolt of the Barcelona workers in 1937. Stalinism is responsible for the arrest of the best revolutionaries (Trotskyists, anarchists, Poumists) and massacred enormous numbers of militants who were in the forefront of the Spanish revolution. The Stalinists opened the door to the victory of Franco.

This capitulation to Stalinism had repercussions even in Israel. Rakah (pro-

Arab communist party) is thought of as a party which is wrong but not as counter-revolutionary instrument of the Soviet bureaucracy. *Matzpen* says: "Any attempt to describe the leadership of Rakah as traitors to the interests of the two peoples of Israel in a conscious way and out of Soviet phobia is only a lie." (*Matzpen*, No. 55).

The leaders of ISO did everything possible to hold joint actions with Rakah against the Vietnam war with slogans which fully satisfied Rakah. It was never mentioned that the origins of the imperialist war came from the 1954 Geneva accords where the representatives of Russia (and China) pressured the Viet Minh representatives to giving up their demand for re-unifying Vietnam.

The same is true in Israel. In 1967 a coordinating committee was set up including a representative of Rakah and one from the ISO to pressure the Israeli government into accepting a peace initiative. It was clear that Rakah meant the Security Council Resolution; and the ISO followed along like a benevolent advisor of the State of Israel as if the government and the Israeli bourgeoisie did not know where their interests lay.

TROTSKYIST

During this whole period there was an attempt by a group of comrades who would later form the Trotskyist fraction, to analyze all these problems. The group fought against Said's theories that "Nasser's Arab Socialist Union is the form of Soviets in Egypt," and against Pilavski's theory that "Trotskyists are capable of making alliances with imperialism."

After splitting with the ISO, the Trotskyist fraction began publication of a regular theoretical organ, *Vanguard*. This publication will provide a framework for debate and will link *Vanguard* to the revolutionary elements. In the joint crisis of world capitalism and the Stalinist bureaucracy, *Vanguard* will give a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist alternative to the petty bourgeois radicalism of *Matzpen* which never prevented the Jewish proletariat from lining up behind Zionism.

Today the Israeli Trotskyist Fraction is gaining ground through the distribution of leaflets within the working class, through the theoretical training of new cadres, through active participation in demonstrations with its own banners.

The Israeli working class is faced increasingly with the necessity to organize itself to defend its living standards which are under attack. In this area the Israeli Trotskyist group must link up with the working class and fuse it with the international workers movement.

The best allies of Zionism are the petty bourgeois ruling classes of the Arab countries. Only the proletariat of the region can give an answer to the social and national problems.

After the collusion of Stalinism and imperialism whose massacre in the summer of 1970 in Jordan will be neither the last nor the bloodiest of their exploits, only the working class of the Near East can lead the fight for socialism and peace which the people of the region aspire to. The Israeli Trotskyist group will fight to build links with the revolutionary Arab forces, towards constructing a revolutionary party of the Near East.

The struggles of the proletariat in the Near East are part of the struggle of the world proletariat. Consequently the construction of the revolutionary party is part of the reconstruction of the Fourth International.



## Bangla Desh

# The Liberation Army Strikes Back

people start moving about, they kill them." In spite of this policy the oppressors are on the run: Not a single Bengali policeman has been recruited to serve the Khan regime. Economic life remains at a near standstill. The Liberation Army has successfully moved against bridges, trains and ships. Pakistani army troops constantly face effective ambush attacks as soon as they leave their stations in the main towns.

The butchery of the Karachi regime is fantastic. Reports on those killed so far range up to two million. It is officially admitted that already over six million, out of a total population of seventy-five million in East Bengal, have fled to India.

### LETTER

A letter from a refugee to relatives living in Britain, and printed in the *Workers Press*, gives some idea of the situation:

"On April 10 the military entered our village and continued shooting for about four or five hours. However there were only a few people in the village—most of them had fled.

"Another thing. The military have given rifles to the Bihari (non-Bengali Moslems) students of our college and directed them to kill all other students.

"The non-Bihari (Bengali) students are too afraid to go to the town and even to the villages.

"My eyes become full of tears when I write about the atrocities committed by the W. Pakistani military. In villages they enter houses and loot money, cattle, jewelry, radios, etc.

"They throw men out of their houses and dishonour their womenfolk. They get hold of college students and Awami League leaders and make them stand in line and shoot them down.

"Only animals—and not human beings—can live in this country. Due to the acts of dishonour by the W. Pakistan military, Amma (his wife) and I left the house. There is hardly any human being in Patenga—everybody has deserted the place in fear of the military."

Yahya Khan made his plans for genocide months in advance, soon after the victory of the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in last year's elections. The crime of the people of East Bengal was that they cast their votes for the Awami League.

But the Khan regime could only have proceeded with its gruesome job with the backing of the imperialists, either open or covert. He has had this backing. The imperialist spokesmen like Tory Prime Minister Heath in Britain and U.S. President Nixon have made

it absolutely clear that they consider Khan's butchery "an internal matter." At the same time arms leave U.S. shores for Pakistan and Khan.

These men are in total agreement and solidarity with butcher Khan. All of their anti-communist propaganda about the "free world," "self determination" and the like is exposed as a total fraud. They are the biggest murderers of all.

### STALINISTS

But just as important to the Pakistanis was the support they received from both Moscow and Peking. The Chinese Stalinists went all the way, praising Khan for his campaign of mass murder. Moscow was a bit more discreet, in line with its policy of friendship for Mrs. Gandhi of India. But the Soviet government has supplied military equipment and refused to recognize the government of Bangla Desh, or even to speak out against the genocide.

The American Communist Party and its *Daily World* are silent for weeks at a time on the tremendous upheaval in East Bengal. After a few lying and evasive statements about support for East Bengali "autonomy," they prefer to forget about the revolutionary struggle of the Bengali workers and peasants. They would prefer that this struggle "go away," that it be crushed, since, like their Moscow mentors, they fear the revolutionary upsurge.

The Stalinists have never clearly stated their support for Bangla Desh, for its independence. These traitors, in line with Soviet diplomacy and with Washington as well, would like to suggest to the Bengalis that they return to East Bengal through some kind of formula for "autonomy," in other words under the heel of the same government which is now murdering them in the millions.

Meanwhile the United Nations announces that its aid to the Bengalis will be sent through the Pakistani government!

### GANDHI

Mrs. Gandhi's government in India is now attempting to resettle as many as two million of the refugees who have streamed into the states of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura. Mrs. Gandhi would like to remove as many of the refugees as possible, to disperse the people of Bangla Desh before the fever of freedom and self-determination catches hold in West Bengal.

The *London Economist* says of the refugees that "they have totally disrupted the life of the Indian states which border on East Pakistan..." But what is meant by disruption when, before the influx, millions were sleeping in the streets and dying slowly of disease and malnutrition?

Of course Mrs. Gandhi has refused to recognize Bangla Desh. She and the bourgeoisie she speaks for would like to see East Bengalis back under Pakistani rule. The only other course is the complete destruction of the imperialist-backed partition of the Indian subcontinent. The breakup of the reactionary religious partition of 1947 threatens the rule of Mrs. Gandhi as well as Yahya Khan. The strivings for independence by the Bengali masses can rapidly spread throughout the entire region and pose the overthrow of imperialism and its puppets.

### LESSONS

For this, however, the military struggle and determination of the Bengali workers and peasants is necessary but not sufficient. The lessons of past defeats of the colonial and semi-colonial masses must be understood and carried into the struggle if it is to succeed today.

For years the Algerian workers and peasants battled the French imperialists, but the petty bourgeois Ben Bella leadership compromised, paving the way for continued imperialist domination and reactionary military rule. The Palestinian masses are in the grip not only of the feudal and bourgeois reactionaries like Sadat and Hussein, but the compromisers and vacillators in Al Fatah and the other guerrilla organizations. The heroism of the masses and of some of their leaders is not enough without revolutionary leadership and understanding.

Now the bourgeois leadership of the Awami League, thrust into the struggle for independence against its own will, agrees with Mrs. Gandhi's plans to resettle millions of refugees, to disperse them in such a way as to aid Mrs. Gandhi and enable her to use the refugees as scapegoats for the huge crisis in India.

### PROGRAM

In order to succeed the workers and peasants of Bangla Desh must have a program which can mobilize the broadest masses. They must have a program which does not stop at the limits of capitalism, which gives land to the peasants and the factories to the workers. They cannot attain their goals of independence and freedom in any other way. But for this they must have a revolutionary leadership, a leadership which understands the role of Stalinism as well as imperialism. The heroic fighters of Bangla Desh need the Trotskyist leadership of the Fourth International. This must be fought for at the same time as we insist on the fullest relief aid and unconditional support in their fight for independence.

BY FRED MUELLER

THE DEATH AND destruction visited upon the embattled people of Bangla Desh within the last three months is almost without precedent in modern history. Not even Hitler killed so many in so short a time.

The struggle continues and deepens, however. Bangla Desh has been pushed to the fore in the revolutionary upheavals engulfing Asia and the entire world. Reports from East Bengal indicate not only that the workers and peasants are continuing the struggle but also that the tide may be turning against Yahya Khan and his army.

The Liberation Army of Bangla Desh, the Mukti Fouj, is reported to be in control of nearly the entire countryside. The official claims that order is returning to "East Pakistan" are the desperate propaganda of Yahya Khan and his allies and are now being exposed in much the same way as the imperialist claims of "progress" in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

A leader of the Mukti Fouj explained to the British Trotskyist paper, the *Workers Press*, that "even the towns are in our hands," except for the curfew periods.

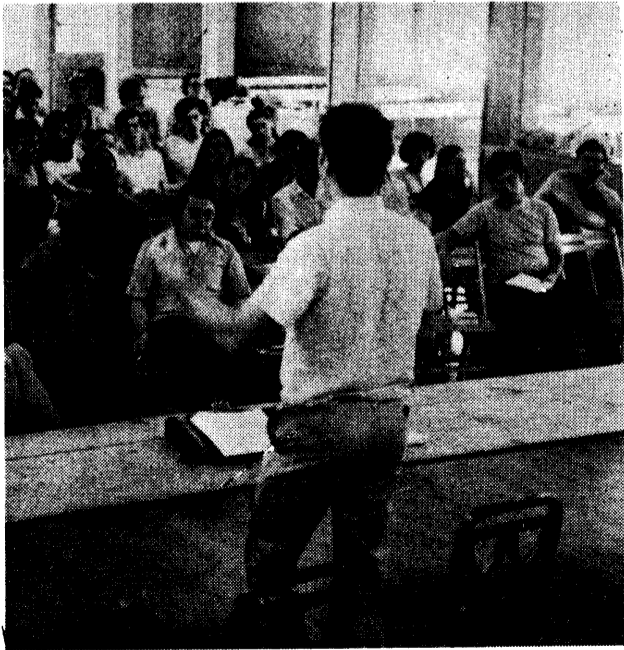
The Liberation Army is now well armed for guerrilla warfare. "We have weapons of all varieties...They are all captured from the Pakistani Army."

### YOUTH

Bengali youth are volunteering for the army in the millions, and are put through a quick training program after which they eagerly take up the struggle against those who are murdering their families and countrymen.

So desperate is the Khan regime that it has begun a policy of systematic extermination. It has moved on from mass executions of intellectuals and political leaders to a policy of shooting the youth on sight. This is Khan's only way of striking at the Bangla Desh freedom fighters—genocide on a massive scale.

The Liberation Army reports that the Pakistanis "lift the curfew, and when the



More than 100 workers and youth attended the recent Workers League outing at Arrow Park in Monroe, New York. The educational part of the outing featured Dennis O'Casey on Trotsky's In Defense Of Marxism (above left). O'Casey explained how today the Socialist Workers Party gives in to the pressure of the petty bourgeoisie as did Shachtman in 1940. Since this is the period of the Transitional Program it is

also a period when we will have to carry out Trotsky's urgings to recruit workers to the party and reduce members to the status of sympathizers who cannot find a road to the working class. There was swimming, boating, volleyball and an active basketball game (above center). Discussions continued informally under the trees (above right). Other outings will be planned over the course of the summer period.



# West Coast News

## 'Radical' Budget Serves Up The Same Crumbs

BY TOD ZWER

**BERKELEY**—On June 30 the Berkeley City Council is scheduled to vote on its new budget. Two "opposing" budgets have been proposed, one by city manager, William Hanley, and one by April Coalition Black Caucus members, D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons.

What is most striking about these "opposing" budgets, is not their differences, but their similarities. Neither includes any allocation for wage increases, both are austerity budgets, in fact the Bailey-Simmons proposal is even more austere than Hanley's.

Although exact figures have not been released yet, it can be assumed from statements made by both "moderates" and "radicals" on the council, that this austerity means not only no wage increases for city employees, but cutbacks in jobs through layoffs and attrition. Despite their much publicized efforts to "serve

the community," it is quite clear that Baily and Simmons go along with Hanley in attacking city workers.

In fact, if their efforts to "serve the people" are examined more closely, it turns out that here too they have nothing to offer but big words and little crumbs. Foremost in their program is the reform of the police department. In the recent city council hearings these proposals came down to, cutting back the police force by 25 men (there are now over 270), putting the police chief under the control of a police commission, and fully integrating the police force with Black and longhaired policemen.

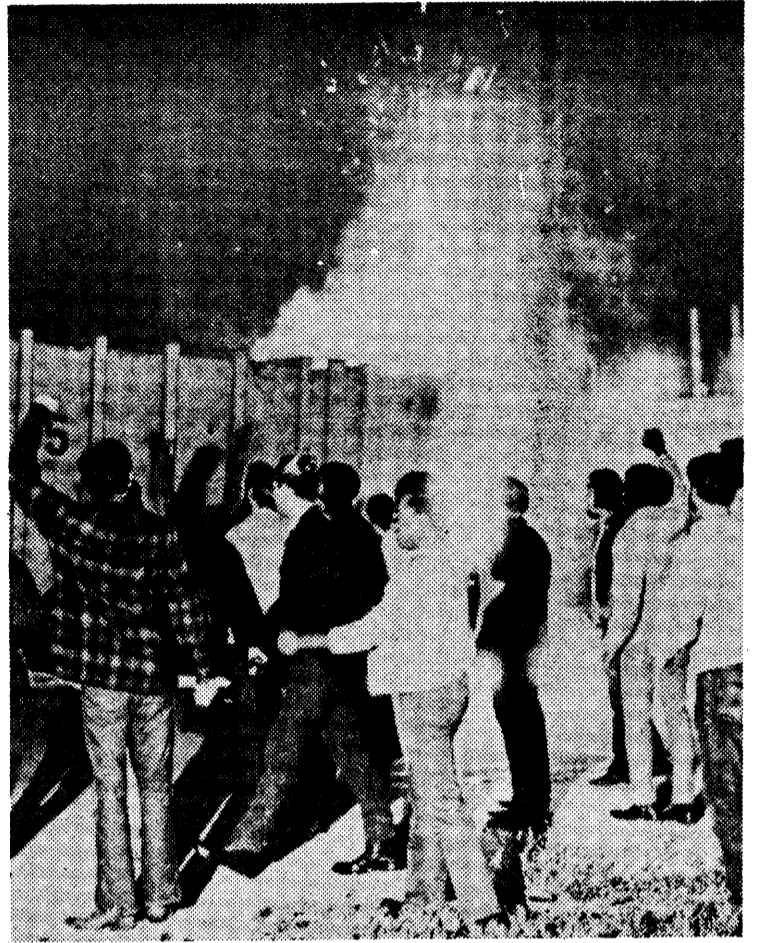
The rhetoric of "serving the community," in this case as in every other case, proves to be just another attempt to make more palatable the organized violence of the government.

The new batch of Black and longhaired cops will still enforce laws designed to protect the capitalist property relations against

the working class; they will still arrest workers on strike. The police in Berkeley, whatever length of hair, whatever color, with or without a police commission, will still be a weapon against the working class.

In examining the budget proposals of Baily and Simmons it becomes clear that they and their whole milieu of middle class radicals are desperately holding on to the coattails of capitalism. In this period of profound economic crisis this means attacks on city workers, it means efforts to hide the real nature of the police behind insignificant reforms, it means attempts to tie the working class to its mortal enemies in formations such as the April Coalition and the Black Caucus.

The bankruptcy of these coalitions poses once again that the only way forward for the working class is in the fight to build a labor party to fight for the interests of all working people.



Bonfire burns at militant beginning to last year's strike at Fremont.

## Wage Board, Quota System Threaten Construction Unions

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

**SAN DIEGO, June 24**—The leaders of San Diego construction unions have gone a long way toward tying the unions to the Federal Government by tacitly allowing the wage review board to have final say on construction wage rates. That step was taken when roofers here were sent back to work on the old contract pending board approval.

Another step is currently being taken with the appeal of minority "leaders" to the government to impose racial quotas on construction hiring for federally funded projects.

The proposals for preferential hiring of minority workers and accelerated advancement pose a direct threat to union control over job conditions and membership because such control would be imposed by the federal government. Together with the wage board, such a move is a direct challenge to union independence.

This "quota system" has brought minority leaders into a direct alliance with construction contractors because the plan will

deepen racial cleavages between the workers in a period when unemployment continues to rise and wages in construction are coming under government attack. When workers must stand together and fight back, only the capitalists stand to gain from this plan.

It is clear that the union leadership does not intend to stand against this movement because they have no intention of overcoming racial divisions in the unions through a fighting program of jobs for all.

These leaders must take a stand against federal intervention in any aspect of the trade unions. Quota systems are only the beginning. What is at stake is the ability of workers to wage a united struggle for their interests. This means that racism must be defeated through a fight for reduction in the workweek at full pay and guaranteed minimum hours for all construction workers. The contractors must be forced to hire everyone seeking work in construction.

Before the federal government steps in to deliver another blow at the unions, the ranks must force the leadership to take up a fight in their interests. Where do these leaders stand on the question of full employment in construction?

## GM Announces 1500 Layoffs

(Continued From Page 16)

seems to have little effect on these workers who kept right on missing days.

If management threatened discipline these workers would cover up by producing a legitimate medical excuse. Out of desperation management had to resort to hiring 200 students as part-time absentee replacement workers for Fridays (night shift) and Mondays (day shift) as these regulars quite literally cripple production with their absence. One young worker when asked by his foreman why he only worked four days a week replied, "Because I can't make a living on three days."

It stands to reason that these absentees represent an individual form of protest against the back-breaking, mind dulling rigorous oppression of the assembly line as these workers still view their problems in individual terms as only happening to themselves personally and not to the group or the class as a whole. It is no coincidence that the worst jobs have the highest absentee rate requiring management to replace them with two operators in order to maintain anything resembling quality.

It is precisely this added cost of doubling up in order to cover absentees that is driving management to desperation in their present efforts to arbitrarily change the rules in order to shorten the process by which they discharge "undesirable," "unproductive" and "habitual absentees."

### ARBITRARY

Management has arbitrarily changed the long standing practices whereby it used to take eight steps in the disciplinary procedure in order to discharge a worker. They have shortened this now to six steps as a direct challenge to the union which responds to this class threat by merely filing a grievance and submitting to arbitration with these few remaining basic job security rights of auto workers.

The direct collusion between

the UAW bureaucracy and top management occurs when they only grant strike sanction to one local union at a time and allow them to strike alone against a national corporation policy that requires a national strike to correct. The production from this struck plant is then allowed by these union bureaucrats to be routed to other plants. In effect Woodcock joins his partners in the corporation in a concerted effort to strangle these striking workers one local at a time and secretly conspires to maintain silence while this futile struggle takes place. Unknowingly auto workers in other areas are allowed to build scab cars for these struck areas facilitated by a UAW bureaucracy which knows all too well what is happening and does nothing to prevent this unfair gang up and defeat of the auto workers one local at a time.

Woodcock allowed a corporation gang up on the Local #10 Doraville, Georgia, allowing a futile three month strike to take place driving these workers backwards while production for this struck area was routed and produced at other GMAD plants across the country unknown to other auto workers who would not relish the idea of scabbing on their brothers.

No sooner do these workers go back to work after three continuous months of strike when Woodcock grants strike authorization to GMAD Local in Janesville, Wisconsin. These workers also were goaded into a call for a local strike sanction in the same manner as the Doraville Local in response to management's attacks. Again the pattern is repeated, three months strike, while the international bureaucracy remains silent, with this area production of autos being rescheduled into other GMAD plants. Clearly what is emerging here is a drive by management to take away all the gains won over the years by smashing one group or local at a time in open collusion with the UAW leader-

ship while maintaining the union shell and dues structure.

### THROTTLING

It would appear that GM's strategy is for the individual throttling of isolated locals far removed from strong industrial centers, but the crisis of capital requires speeding up of this process placing on the agenda a rash of "wildcat" strikes in the second half of 1971 as a distinct possibility.

The projected period of model changeover at our plant has grown from one week earlier in the year to six weeks now. The six weeks is needed by management in order to carry out extensive technological changes in order to cut man power. Involved in these changes brought about by "Vega technology" is a one piece molded foam rubber seat which eliminates nine tenths of the cushion room, molded plastic snap in headliner, the latest from Vega in computerized automatic welding equipment which is scheduled to eliminate four fifths of the body shop (approximately 200). This will all be combined with a severe job cutback in production eliminating another 600 workers who will be laid off all the way back to the seniority date of August, 1968. No worker will remain undisturbed by these sweeping changes. This news comes on the heels of the closing of the Chrysler Local 230 which laid off 200 in Maywood.

The trend emerging here is corporation "profiteering from overseas plants and cannibalizing production and jobs of American workers." Chrysler has a one hundred million dollar investment with Japan's Mitsubishi Corporation, manufacturers of the Colt subcompact import which Chrysler markets at its US dealerships.

This same trend is being established in GM and Ford. Clearly auto workers must build rank, and file caucuses to defend their class interests on a national basis and prepare to fight the gang up on a national and international basis.

# Bulletin

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# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 PHONE 415-621-1310

## GM Announces 1500 Layoffs At Fremont

**STOP PRESS**—It has just been announced that there will be a layoff of 1500 workers at the Fremont General Motors auto plant which amounts to the entire night shift being eliminated and unemployment for everyone under five years seniority.

**BY A CORRESPONDENT**  
**FREMONT**—The aftermath of the nearly three month GM strike which disclosed open collusion between the UAW bureaucracy and management as they both worked closely together in concerted effort to bleed

off the militancy of the ranks in a lengthy strike for mediocre "stand still" type wage gains, now finds the auto worker under direct assault in which he must fight as a class for his very survival.

As these auto workers returned to work resigned to the "fact" that this settlement was the best they could get under the circumstances, it is important to understand the new mood or attitude instilled in these workers as a result of this long strike which can best be summed up by one word—confidence!

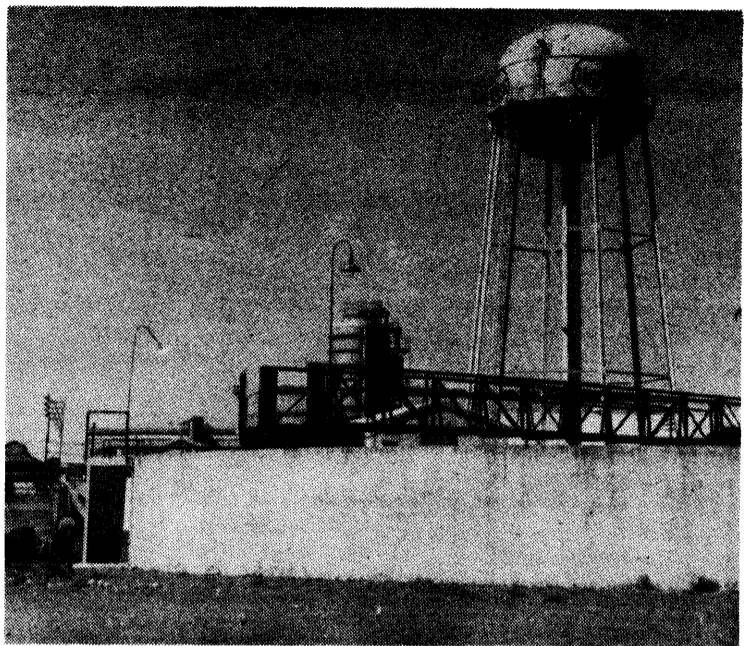
These workers returned to work with a new found confidence in their ability to sustain a long strike, wrestle gains from and engage in combat with the mightiest corporation in the world in spite of leadership treachery of not using full union power to not only shut down all of GM but the entire industry as well.

Upon return to work management initiated an intensive cost cutting campaign involving everything from toilet paper to replacement parts for maintenance of department tools and equipment in an effort to absorb the cost of our wage increase of 50¢ an hour.

Labor intensification is a continuous process in auto but we never cease to be amazed at the job cutting ideas constantly being introduced under the accelerated program now being aggravated by falling sales and declining rate of profit. Management is now concentrating on arbitrary changes in long standing work rules which encumber their "rights" to exact maximum profits out of the workers with little union opposition.

### ABSENTEEISM

Absenteeism ranks highest on management's list as effecting efficiency and profit. In the past management has used various stratagems in order to bribe these workers into improving their attendance such as; offering prizes; key chains, pens, blue chip trading stamps and drinking glasses with gold embossed emblems of GM "Mark of excellence" on them. This  
(Continued On Page 15)



US Steel plant at Pittsburg, California. A lead has been given to steelworkers on the coast and elsewhere with formation of caucus at the Bethlehem plant in Vernon, California. See page five.

## Labor Offensive Poses Fight For Labor Party

California labor may well be heading for the biggest explosion in its history.

A strike vote of 97.5% in ILWU Local 10 demonstrates the overwhelming sentiment for an all out fight to guarantee jobs, working conditions and a big wage increase. A struggle on the order of 1934 is now posed.

At the same time construction unions are moving towards a clash with Nixon's construction board determined to break the 6% guidelines.

Reagan's budget threatens thousands of state, county and city workers with attrition, wage freezes and mass layoffs. These workers are ready now for a lead to shut down the state in an all out fight against the austerity.

A sign of what is being prepared beneath the surface is the 97% strike vote of East Bay bus drivers determined to stand firm for an 18 month contract with two 10% wage increases and big fringes.

All of this comes together with the potential for nationwide walkouts in steel and telephone.

A breakthrough in any of these sections can precipitate a political confrontation with the government and a strike wave the likes of which have not been seen since the postwar labor explosion.

The government, the labor bureaucracy and their Stalinist allies are all too well aware that what is at stake here is the very survival of capitalism itself. Such a wage offensive can bring the whole tottering structure of international finance crashing down.

Bridges desperately attempts to prevent a walkout by cutting back on demands and attempting to sell attrition and containerization.

The leadership of the state workers is determined to take its lead from Victor Gotbaum by selling any defeat Reagan throws at them.

In San Francisco the labor bureaucracy is so exposed it seeks to cover itself by opposing the re-election of every single member of the board of supervisors. At the same time it prepares support to Alioto who is busy pushing through an anti-strike, compulsory arbitration amendment.

The Stalinists do everything in their power to cover up these developments. Issue after issue of the People's World is filled with defense of Paul Schrade and his supporters. Not a mention of his vicious redbaiting in the auto strike. Not a mention of the fact that he refuses to lift a finger against the closure of Chrysler and the layoffs in aero-space.

After a brief flirtation with opposition the Stalinists run to bail out Bridges and refuse to fight for a movement that can overturn his preparations for betrayal.

The defeat of S.F. city workers and teachers were hailed as victories. Layoffs now begin on the Berkeley campus as a result of another Stalinist "victory" by AFSCME earlier in the year.

Every class battle is isolated and turned to the labor bureaucracy and support of McGovern, Dellums, the Berkeley Coalition, the Peace and Freedom Party and now even Raza Unida Party.

The only way forward is through a fight in the unions for a leadership that will turn the coming battles into political strikes of the class and that will take up the struggle for a massive movement to construct a labor party that can bring down the Aliotos in 1971 and the Reagans and Nixons in 1972.

## Stanford Fires 5 Protestors

**BY BARRY ZVERKOV**

**STANFORD**—The latest hammer blow by the administration of Stanford University against workers and militant students was the firing on June 21 of five workers who took part in the April 9 sit-in at the hospital.

In a show of utter arrogance and total disregard for the workers' rights the administration gave them one day's notice.

The aftermath of the hospital struggle, in which hundreds of workers were involved, mostly Black and Chicano, is a wave of repression by the administration and the local authorities which the workers and students are virtually helpless to defend themselves against. Since the sit-in, thirty-three protestors have been indicted, including nine who are up for assault charges. In addition, Leo Bazile, former Black Student Union President, and Chris Laury, a leader of the Black Liberation Front, have been charged with felonious assault in a blatant frame-up stemming from the hospital struggle.

The present situation is a direct outgrowth of the bankrupt protest politics of Venceremos, the Black Liberation Front, and their assorted middle class allies who sought at every point to contain the struggle within

nationalist and reformist limits. Carrying out the logic of "pressuring" the administration, these "leaders" sought paltry structural reforms, more voice in the administration, preferential hiring, etc., for minority workers.

At a rally attended by hundreds of workers and students following the sit-in, the Stanford Workers League Club called for the immediate formation of a strike committee to shut the campus down in defense of the arrested protestors. The Workers League put forward as central the fight for unionization, without which the workers would have no defense against the economic and political attacks of the administration.

The attitude of Venceremos and the BLF was that the workers were not ready for a campus-wide strike. They ignored the crucial question—unionization. In fact, it was they who were not and never will be ready for independent action by the working class. The reflection of Maoist treachery at Stanford is their attempt to carry out Stalinism's historical role of tying the working class hand and foot to the bourgeoisie.

The response of Venceremos to the firings leaves no doubt that they will continue to carry out the treacherous logic of protest politics.

## Carpenters Win Big Increase

**BY A CONSTRUCTION WORKER**

**SAN FRANCISCO**—The confrontation between Nixon and the construction unions took a giant step toward an open clash as the Carpenters signed a new three year agreement for an hourly increase from \$8.41 to \$10.87 with a first year increase of \$1.05.

Immediately after the agreement reached between the Carpenters Union representing 41 northern California counties and

the Northern California Conference of Home Builders, the Association of General Contractors of California of which the NCCHB is a member asked the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee to squash the agreement.

Nixon now has to intervene. The local contractors cannot stop and the international construction union heads cannot control the wage offensive of the construction rank and file. With the Roofers contract in San Diego and the construction drivers agreement in St. Paul the clash with Nixon and the Democratic

Party is here.

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# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 PHONE 415-621-1310

## GM Announces 1500 Layoffs At Fremont

**STOP PRESS**—It has just been announced that there will be a layoff of 1500 workers at the Fremont General Motors auto plant which amounts to the entire night shift being eliminated and unemployment for everyone under five years seniority.

**BY A CORRESPONDENT**  
**FREMONT**—The aftermath of the nearly three month GM strike which disclosed open collusion between the UAW bureaucracy and management as they both worked closely together in concerted effort to bleed

off the militancy of the ranks in a lengthy strike for mediocre "stand still" type wage gains, now finds the auto worker under direct assault in which he must fight as a class for his very survival.

As these auto workers returned to work resigned to the "fact" that this settlement was the best they could get under the circumstances, it is important to understand the new mood or attitude instilled in these workers as a result of this long strike which can best be summed up by one word—confidence!

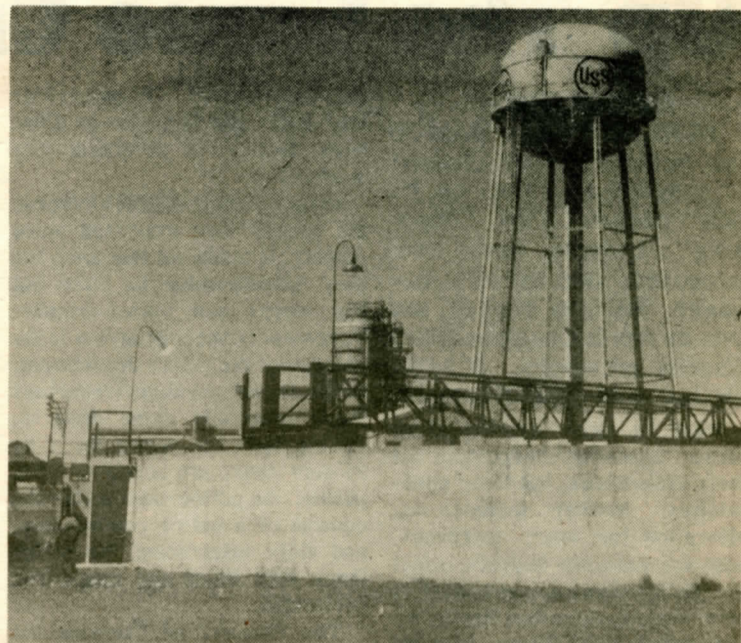
These workers returned to work with a new found confidence in their ability to sustain a long strike, wrestle gains from and engage in combat with the mightiest corporation in the world in spite of leadership treachery of not using full union power to not only shut down all of GM but the entire industry as well.

Upon return to work management initiated an intensive cost cutting campaign involving everything from toilet paper to replacement parts for maintenance of department tools and equipment in an effort to absorb the cost of our wage increase of 50¢ an hour.

Labor intensification is a continuous process in auto but we never cease to be amazed at the job cutting ideas constantly being introduced under the accelerated program now being aggravated by falling sales and declining rate of profit. Management is now concentrating on arbitrary changes in long standing work rules which encumber their "rights" to exact maximum profits out of the workers with little union opposition.

### ABSENTEEISM

Absenteeism ranks highest on management's list as effecting efficiency and profit. In the past management has used various stratagems in order to bribe these workers into improving their attendance—such as; offering prizes; key chains, pens, blue chip trading stamps and drinking glasses with gold embossed emblems of GM "Mark of excellence" on them. This  
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US Steel plant at Pittsburg, California. A lead has been given to steelworkers on the coast and elsewhere with formation of caucus at the Bethlehem plant in Vernon, California. See page five.

## Labor Offensive Poses Fight For Labor Party

California labor may well be heading for the biggest explosion in its history.

A strike vote of 97.5% in ILWU Local 10 demonstrates the overwhelming sentiment for an all out fight to guarantee jobs, working conditions and a big wage increase. A struggle on the order of 1934 is now posed.

At the same time construction unions are moving towards a clash with Nixon's construction board determined to break the 6% guidelines.

Reagan's budget threatens thousands of state, county and city workers with attrition, wage freezes and mass layoffs. These workers are ready now for a lead to shut down the state in an all out fight against the austerity.

A sign of what is being prepared beneath the surface is the 97% strike vote of East Bay bus drivers determined to stand firm for an 18 month contract with two 10% wage increases and big fringes.

All of this comes together with the potential for nationwide walkouts in steel and telephone.

A breakthrough in any of these sections can precipitate a political confrontation with the government and a strike wave the likes of which have not been seen since the postwar labor explosion.

The government, the labor bureaucracy and their Stalinist allies are all too well aware that what is at stake here is the very survival of capitalism itself. Such a wage offensive can bring the whole tottering structure of international finance crashing down.

Bridges desperately attempts to prevent a walkout by cutting back on demands and attempting to sell attrition and containerization.

The leadership of the state workers is determined to take its lead from Victor Gotbaum by selling any defeat Reagan throws at them.

In San Francisco the labor bureaucracy is so exposed it seeks to cover itself by opposing the re-election of every single member of the board of supervisors. At the same time it prepares support to Alioto who is busy pushing through an anti-strike, compulsory arbitration amendment.

The Stalinists do everything in their power to cover up these developments. Issue after issue of the People's World is filled with defense of Paul Schrade and his supporters. Not a mention of his vicious redbaiting in the auto strike. Not a mention of the fact that he refuses to lift a finger against the closure of Chrysler and the layoffs in aero-space.

After a brief flirtation with opposition the Stalinists run to bail out Bridges and refuse to fight for a movement that can overturn his preparations for betrayal.

The defeat of S.F. city workers and teachers were hailed as victories. Layoffs now begin on the Berkeley campus as a result of another Stalinist "victory" by AFSCME earlier in the year.

Every class battle is isolated and turned to the labor bureaucracy and support of McGovern, Dellums, the Berkeley Coalition, the Peace and Freedom Party and now even Raza Unida Party.

The only way forward is through a fight in the unions for a leadership that will turn the coming battles into political strikes of the class and that will take up the struggle for a massive movement to construct a labor party that can bring down the Aliotos in 1971 and the Reagans and Nixons in 1972.

## Stanford Fires 5 Protestors

**BY BARRY ZVERKOV**

**STANFORD**—The latest hammer blow by the administration of Stanford University against workers and militant students was the firing on June 21 of five workers who took part in the April 9 sit-in at the hospital.

In a show of utter arrogance and total disregard for the workers' rights the administration gave them one day's notice.

The aftermath of the hospital struggle, in which hundreds of workers were involved, mostly Black and Chicano, is a wave of repression by the administration and the local authorities which the workers and students are virtually helpless to defend themselves against. Since the sit-in, thirty-three protestors have been indicted, including nine who are up for assault charges. In addition, Leo Bazile, former Black Student Union President, and Chris Laury, a leader of the Black Liberation Front, have been charged with felonious assault in a blatant frame-up stemming from the hospital struggle.

The present situation is a direct outgrowth of the bankrupt protest politics of Venceremos, the Black Liberation Front, and their assorted middle class allies who sought at every point to contain the struggle within

nationalist and reformist limits. Carrying out the logic of "pressuring" the administration, these "leaders" sought paltry structural reforms, more voice in the administration, preferential hiring, etc., for minority workers.

At a rally attended by hundreds of workers and students following the sit-in, the Stanford Workers League Club called for the immediate formation of a strike committee to shut the campus down in defense of the arrested protestors. The Workers League put forward as central the fight for unionization, without which the workers would have no defense against the economic and political attacks of the administration.

The attitude of Venceremos and the BLF was that the workers were not ready for a campus-wide strike. They ignored the crucial question—unionization. In fact, it was they who were not and never will be ready for independent action by the working class. The reflection of Maoist treachery at Stanford is their attempt to carry out Stalinism's historical role of tying the working class hand and foot to the bourgeoisie.

The response of Venceremos to the firings leaves no doubt that they will continue to carry out the treacherous logic of protest politics.

## Carpenters Win Big Increase

**BY A CONSTRUCTION WORKER**

**SAN FRANCISCO**—The confrontation between Nixon and the construction unions took a giant step toward an open clash as the Carpenters signed a new three year agreement for an hourly increase from \$8.41 to \$10.87 with a first year increase of \$1.05.

Immediately after the agreement reached between the Carpenters Union representing 41 northern California counties and

the Northern California Conference of Home Builders, the Association of General Contractors of California of which the NCCHB is a member asked the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee to squash the agreement.

Nixon now has to intervene. The local contractors cannot stop and the international construction union heads cannot control the wage offensive of the construction rank and file. With the Roofers contract in San Diego and the construction drivers agreement in St. Paul the clash with Nixon and the Democratic

Party is here.

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