

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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VOLUME SEVEN, NUMBER FORTY-FIVE (205)

JULY 19, 1971



FIFTEEN CENTS



## Repudiate Meany's Call For Wage Freeze

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## What we think

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"The seven points presented by Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh, representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Re-

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**STEEL RANKS PREPARE FOR AUGUST STRIKE** Page 3

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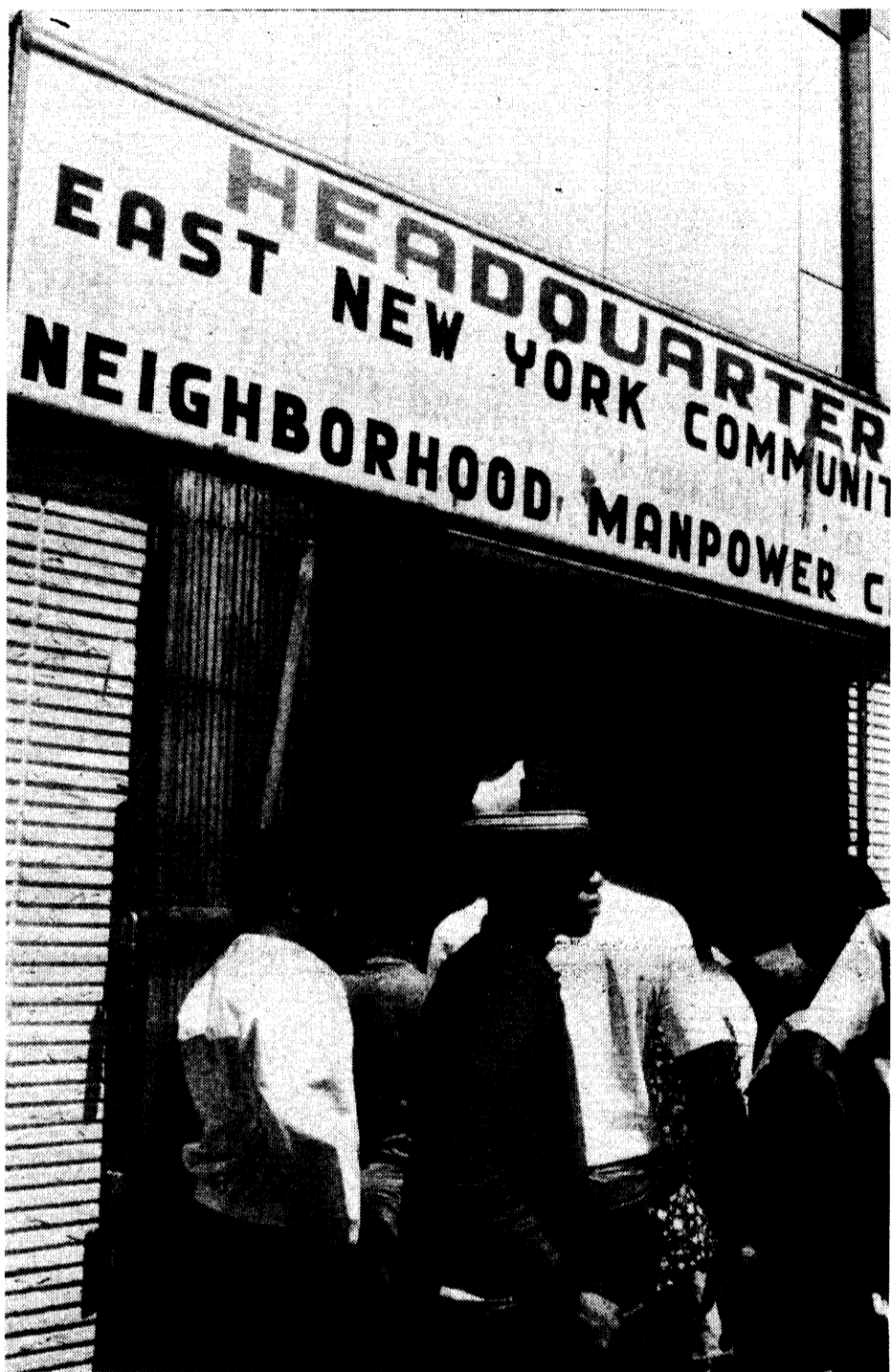
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**STEEL RANKS PREPARE FOR AUGUST STRIKE** Page 3

# Economy Heads Into Depression

BY DAN FRIED

The recent statement by Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons that "We are in dire danger of experiencing another crash such as occurred in 1929," is being borne out more sharply as every day reveals the depths of the crisis of the U.S. economy.

No amount of official proclamations by government spokesmen offering an "optimistic" appraisal of the economy can hide the real sickness of U.S. capitalism and the plans of the ruling class to make the working class of the entire world pay for the crisis.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, the economy "is emerging from a painful recession." But this is contradicted by all the facts, including those brought to light by the *Wall Street Journal* itself.

The real growth in the Gross National Product for the last fiscal year was next to nothing and Nixon and his Council of Economic Advisors have now been forced to admit that this stagnation will continue, that the Administration's 1971 goal of a \$1.065 trillion GNP must be thrown out the window.

Council Chairman Paul W. McCracken stated that it "would be irresponsible to try to push the economy hard enough to achieve in the second half of the year what would be needed to reach" this goal. The current stagnation is based on the economy now using only 75% of productive capacity.

In other words, the Administration has rejected measures such as increases in the budget deficit from public works, the reestablishment of the 7% tax credit for corporate investment, the institution of cuts in the income tax which had been proposed to "reflate" the economy.

At the same time the increase in interest rates, particularly the raise of the prime interest rate by the banks from 5 1/2 to 6% will mean an aggravation of the recession and the further threat of rising unemployment and mass layoffs which have hit industry. In the last year alone, the unemployment rate rose from 4.8% to 6% and will now rise further.

The ruling class has decided not to take these measures to "reflate" the economy for fear of adding to the inflation which as was revealed in last month's rise in the wholesale price index, shows no sign of abating.

## "ANTI-INFLATIONARY"

The Administration's "anti-inflationary" battle cannot be postponed any longer, regard-

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## Seamen Confirm China Ships Arms To Khan

BY MARTY JONAS

Last month 15 Bengali seamen defected from a Pakistani ship at Cardiff in Wales. They gave an exclusive interview to the *Workers Press*, daily newspaper of the Socialist Labour League in Britain.

In this interview they confirmed that China had been sending large shiploads of arms to Yahya Khan since December 1970. These shipments of arms and tanks started just after Khan visited Mao and Chou En-lai last

year in Peking and shortly before the elections where Sheikh Mujib and the Awami League scored a 98% victory in East Bengal.

The seamen related how more than one thousand Bengali longshoremen had been gunned down for refusing to unload a shipment of Chinese arms. This happened in the East Bengal port of Chittagong just before the fighting broke out in March. When the dockers refused to unload the ship, the "Swat," Yahya Khan's troops, machine-gunned them and threw their bodies into the

harbor.

The soldiers then came aboard the "Swat," massacred its Bengali crew and unloaded the Chinese arms. The seamen stated they had watched this butchery from only a few yards distance. Their own ship had only shortly before been unloaded at gunpoint by Bengali sailors.

The seamen said that a large section of Pakistan's 60-vessel merchant fleet is constantly carrying arms from Chinese ports.

## POGROM

This testimony further confirms how Stalinism side by side with imperialism props up the bloody military regime of Yahya Khan. Without this aid Khan would be incapable of waging his pogrom against the Bengalis and would be unable to last one minute against the Bangla Desh liberation fighters.

At the same time as the Moukti Foj (Bangla Desh Liberation Army) are mounting a greater offensive against Khan, the imperialists and Stalinists are rushing to cut this off in whatever way they can.

Five more shiploads of arms are scheduled to leave the United States for Pakistan within the next two months, the State Department revealed. The United States has refused to put an embargo on arms sales to Pakistan. The State Department declared that such a sanction would be an "unwarranted intrusion" in Pakistan's internal affairs!

After news leaked out about this continuation of arms shipments, presidential advisor Henry Kissinger hurried off to India to confer with Mrs. Gandhi and other government heads. Mrs. Gandhi has been the focal point of moves to force a political settlement on Bangla Desh. This deal would mean an "autonomous" East Bengal with a

British imperialism at a time when Irish workers and youth are fighting back against intolerable conditions of unemployment and poverty.

Now Heath is sending in 500 more troops for the Protestant parade July 12th. It is clear that the religious divisions are encouraged to confuse the situation and maintain an occupying force.

British workers must demand the immediate withdrawal of all troops from North Ireland.



British troops in Londonderry, N.Ireland scatter after bomb is thrown at them.

## Fighting Explodes In Ireland As British Troops Shoot To Kill

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

A new explosion is developing in Northern Ireland as British troops step up their repression and violence against the Irish workers and youth.

On July 8th, British troops shot and killed two young men in a street battle. Until now the troops have mainly been using rubber bullets. The youths were killed when the troops suddenly switched to using live

ammunition.

Street fighting broke out in Londonderry and has been continuing for five days since the killings. The youth have repeatedly attacked the cops with stones and are building barricades in the streets. The troops are using rubber bullets and nausea inducing grenades.

The troops were sent under the pretext of keeping order between Protestants and Catholics but their real role is to keep Ireland under the control of

quisling government.

Equally involved in pushing this kind of a deal is the Soviet bureaucracy, who to this day has not given formal recognition to



Nural Nuda, Bengali spokesman

Bangla Desh. All of these forces see the question of self-determination for Bangla Desh as threatening the stability of imperialism in the whole Indian subcontinent and posing the question of socialism throughout the subcontinent.

## MILITARY

That is why, along with her renewed talks with the United States, Mrs. Gandhi has just taken moves to place West Bengal under military rule. Under the pretext of fighting crime, ten thousand policemen have been brought into the state and troops have already occupied Birbhum district, 85 miles from Calcutta. This follows the resignation last month of the state coalition and the placing of the state under direct government rule.

West Bengal is a hotbed of strikes, peasant revolts and solidarity with the Bangla Desh fighters in East Bengal. The refugees from East Bengal have been dispersed throughout India by Mrs. Gandhi. The military occupation now threatens to cut off the Moukti Foj from supplies and new recruits.

## Bolivian Workers Defend Assembly

BY MELODY FARROW

The Popular Assembly of Bolivia held its first session June 24th despite the threat of right wing forces staging a coup d'etat and crushing the Assembly.

The Bolivian workers and peasants, with the support of the students, mobilized and marched, arms in hand, on the capital La Paz to protect the Popular Assembly from attack. The Bolivian President Juan Jose Torres, representing the nationalist section of the military, was forced to send greetings to the Assembly.

The Assembly is not under the control of Torres. It was set up by the workers organizations in which the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR), Bolivian section of the International Committee, has played a leading role.

With the opening of the Assembly the Bolivian workers have gone a step further in their fight. In January they had marched to the capital to demand that Torres give them arms to fight the right wing. In the present period they have simply taken these arms.

On May 31st, Masas, the paper of the POR, called for the immediate formation of worker and peasant militias.

According to reports from the *New York Times* and the Paris daily, *Le Monde*, the first resolution of the Assembly was to call for a general strike and to assume "the political and military leadership of the masses" in case of a coup d'etat.

Other questions on the agenda were: punishment of all those responsible for the assassinations under the Barrientos regime; transformation of large tracts of land into peasant cooperatives; re-establishment of workers control over the Mine Corporation of Bolivia and the opening of all diplomatic documents.

The political forces at work in the Assembly can be seen in the vote for president of the Assembly. Juan Lechin, a long-time leader of the Confederation of Bolivian Workers who represents the labor bureaucracy, was elected with 103 votes while Lopez, the General Secretary of the Federation of Miners who is sympathetic to the positions of the POR, won 83 votes.

This means that while the



Guillermo Lora, head of POR

understanding of the Bolivian workers of the need for class independence and for their own organizations is very high they must still go through the experience of seeing the opportunists in the labor movement and their Stalinist supporters exposed.

The aim of Lechin is to use the Assembly as a lever of pressure on Torres. This is extremely dangerous as the right wing is preparing behind the scenes to repress the movement while Torres hesitates.

The POR has the greatest opportunity in these conditions to build a revolutionary party and to lead the fight for a workers government.

# Steel Ranks Prepare For Strike

BY STEVE CHERKOSS  
MEMBER USWA LOCAL 1845

The contract expiration date between the "Big Nine" steel producers and 350,000 basic steelworkers is less than two weeks away. In addition 200,000 steelworkers employed in smaller basic steel companies and subsidiaries of them and the "Big Nine" and fabrication plants will be directly affected by the contract settlement.

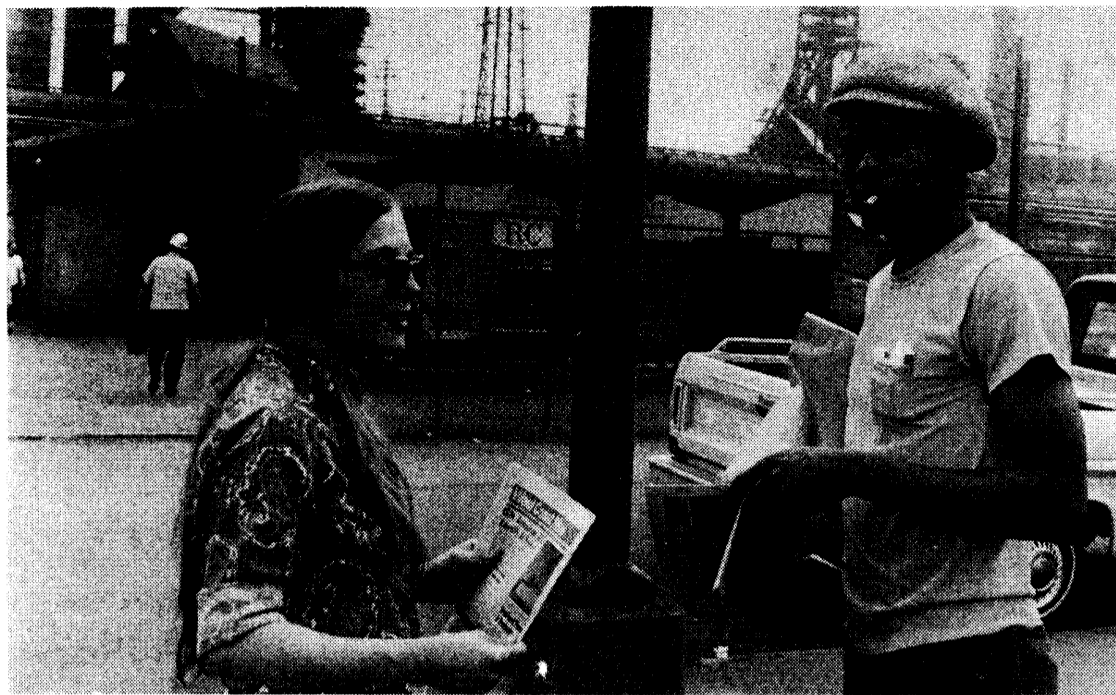
The lines of battle have been clearly drawn. On the one side stands Nixon, the steel barons and the I.W. Abel leadership of the United Steelworkers (USWA). On the other side stands the 550,000 steelworkers. The aim of this alliance of the government, the steel barons and the Abel leadership is to ram another settlement down the throats of steelworkers that is on par with the can and aluminum sellouts or even worse.

This is the significance of Nixon's White House conference with the bosses and USWA leadership on July 7th. The bosses and Nixon are demanding their pound of flesh from the steelworkers in the form of a continued decline in purchasing power, more massive layoffs, speedup and the worsening of all working conditions to bolster the profits of the steel companies.

While the real details of that conference are secret it resembles a smoothly written script. I.W. Abel is going along completely with the company-government strategy. The ruling class is attempting to stop the wage and strike offensive of the workers by offering even less than the can and aluminum workers miserable settlements which amount to \$0.75 to \$1.00 over three years.

Abel then sounds off about militancy and the needs of the ranks. Then the can and aluminum bosses jack up their offers to what they were prepared to give anyway. The Abel team then claims a great victory. In steps Nixon who says the can and aluminum settlements are inflationary and a blow against the "national interest." This enables the Abel leadership to appear "militant" against the companies and go-

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The Bulletin being sold at Sparrows Point brings program for victory in steel.

## Massive Layoffs Hit Sparrows Point Plant

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE, Md.—As the steel strike draws closer Bethlehem Steel at Sparrows Point continues its massive layoffs. The 900 mark was reached last week and it is expected to reach 6,000 by September.

Twenty to twenty-five percent of the entire work force is to be laid off. This is a maneuver on the part of management to divide

and demoralize the ranks in hopes of heading off the militancy and determination to fight for a decent contract under new leadership, or worse, in hopes of preventing a strike altogether.

In a letter from the company to the workers; the layoffs were explained as being the result of the economic crisis hitting the corporation and its inability to pay the rising costs of production. This acted as an ultimatum to the workers here that strike action would be met with the most ruthless layoffs.

One worker had this to say about the letter: "Every time we have a contract coming up we have to put up with the same garbage about the company's inability to pay. They spend the first year and a half working us to the bone and then before the contract negotiations they start laying us

off and trying to frighten or starve us into cooperating."

In both USWA Locals here, 2609 and 2610, the workers are already worried because their strike fund has been completely depleted by the leadership.

With all the maneuvering to avert a strike, there has been more and more talk here of taking a rank and file vote. "We'd better be able to vote or else. There's really no reason we can't vote, we do on lots of regional questions. The problem is the union bureaucrats."

The fight at Sparrows Point around the program put forward in the Bulletin is being taken up by an increasing number of workers. This must now take on the form of organizing new leadership in the union to fight for this program.

## Abel, CP Weaken Copper Strike

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

The national copper strike now moves toward its fourth week with 40,000 workers on strike at nine companies. They will be joined at the end of July by at least 2,000 more at White Pine Copper Company in Michigan's upper peninsula.

The action of the leaders of the United Steelworkers and of 25 other striking unions in this in-

dustry, in holding their unexpired contracts to be legally binding has left some copper mines as well as most fabricating plants, zinc mines and lead mines operating.

This means that over a quarter of the non-ferrous industries are not struck. This arrangement of separate expiration dates comes from Abel's collaboration with the National Labor Relations Board and a special federal mediation panel in the 1967-68 strike.

What copper strikers can expect from reliance on the

USWA bureaucracy was made clear several months ago when the union settled with one of the ASARCO lead mines in Glover, Missouri. It brought 45¢ in wages, no cost of living clause and this after over 7 months on strike.

CP

Backing Abel up in all his maneuvers with the copper companies and Nixon are the Stalinists of the Communist Party. They have enormous resources in this industry. They and their supporters dominated in the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union which merged with the USWA in 1967. And the Mine and Mill locals make up the bulk of the USWA locals in the copper, lead and zinc industries.

The role of the CP in copper has been to blur the central importance of the wages question. Their paper the Daily World, in the July 7th issue says that the last offer of copper's big four is "estimated to be about 30¢ below the settlement in can and aluminum plants."

What they are trying to get around, and what every USWA militant must be asking, is where does the CP actually stand on the can and aluminum contract.

What is now central is the building of a national rank and file movement in the United Steel workers that can lead a fight for a \$2.00 an hour increase and the full cost of living clause. The entire industry must be shut down. This will be an important step in winning big wage increases both in copper and steel, and this can be done only as part of the struggle against the Abel bureaucracy and its Stalinist allies.

## Cops Arrest Leader Of NMU Opposition



James Morrissey

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—James Morrissey, rank and file opposition leader in the National Maritime Union (NMU) has been arrested for criminal trespass on the orders of NMU officials for passing out leaflets at the NMU hiring hall here.

It is no accident that this arrest, and earlier arrests under the

NMU bureaucracy's orders, of militants Jose Valverde and Clarence Reed come in the midst of a sharpening struggle of the ranks against these same bureaucrats. NMU President Curran is forced to attack the ranks at a time when shipping has never been worse.

The ranks, faced with the layoffs of almost the whole U.S. flag passenger fleet and with increasing automation and crew cuts on freighters, is forced to fight back. This lies behind the vote of 250 men against Curran at the last New York port meeting, and throws the Curran machine into a frenzy of repression.

James Morrissey must be defended. Curran and the shipowners can be defeated through a rank and file unified behind a strategy and program of mobilizing the union to strike to force the passenger ships out of layup, stop ships from going under foreign flags, and defend NMU wages, pensions, and manning scales.

Within the framework of this fight the strength can be built to defend rank and filers from victimization by the police and courts. This means fighting in the union for a labor party to build a labor government.



Striking copper workers outside plant at Perth Amboy, N.J.

# Union Support Grows For Farinas Campaign

BY BRIDGET ELLIOT

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee has received tremendous support from the labor movement in its campaign to demand a reversal of the conviction of Juan Farinas from the U.S. Court of Appeals.

The very latest support for Juan's defense has come from the *Manhattan Tribune* which is doing a complete coverage of the case. The National Peace Action Coalition has sent a telegram which states, "The Prosecution of Juan Farinas is an attack on all those who exercise their right to oppose the American intervention in South East Asia. We urge that his conviction be reversed."

This support comes concurrently with the revelations of the Pentagon Papers, the resolution against the war just passed by the



Juan Farinas

Teamsters, and is part of the rapidly growing turn in the labor movement against the war.

Juan Farinas was tried and convicted last December 10-11 on three counts of violating the Selective Service Act. On January 29th he was sentenced to two years in jail and bail was set at \$5,000. His only "crime" was to distribute a leaflet condemning the Vietnam War at the Whitehall Induction Center in the summer of 1968.

On June 30, in a last minute move before the summer Court recess, the U.S. Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, heard oral arguments on the case.

In New York City, telegrams and statements are being sent to the Court of Appeals by Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37, Stanley Hill, President of SSEU-Local 371 on behalf of the union, by the Executive Council of Local 1199 Hospital Workers, Al Evanoff, Vice President of District 65, Edward Cross, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 147 Compressed Air and Tunnel Workers, Peter Baldino, Recording Secretary of IBT Local 522 from New Jersey, Sol Silverman, President of Local 140 of the

Bedding, Curtain and Drapery Workers Union.

The Socialist Workers Party, the New York State chapter of the Communist Party and the New York Student Mobilization Committee are sending statements to the Court along with the American Servicemen's Union, Westchester Peace Council, Harrisburg Defense Committee (a new sponsor of the Defense Committee), the Vietnam Moratorium Committee (also a new sponsor), the Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression.

Pedro Ortiz, counselor of the AIM program of the State University at Stony Brook, the International Socialists group, Socialist Labor Committee, members of the Angela Davis Defense Committee, Roland Watts of the Workers Defense League and James Haughton of the Harlem Unemployment Center are also sending statements.

The three judge panel that heard the arguments will probably announce its decision towards the end of the summer. However, the announcement may come earlier. Therefore, the Defense Committee has immediately taken up a campaign nationwide in the trade unions, and among youth and minorities to collect thousands of signatures on petitions demanding reversal of the lower court's decision, and dismissal of the case against Juan Farinas.

The campaign has been launched in housing projects, in the Spanish-speaking and Black communities, and on campuses all over the country. Petitions are being circulated by the membership of Taxi Local 3036, NMU, TWU Local 101, SSEU-371, Local 1199, the Teamsters, the Newspaper Guild, United Steelworkers. The text of the petition reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned, urge you to overturn the conviction of Juan P. Farinas who faces a sentence of two years in jail for distributing a leaflet in opposition to the Vietnam War at the Whitehall Induction Center in the summer of 1968. The prosecution of Farinas is a violation of civil rights carried out for the purpose of defending a war which is against the interests of working people here and in Vietnam. The recent disclosures of the *New York Times* prove that this war has been carried out by the undemocratic decision of a small minority which has lied to the American people about the character of the war. The attack on Juan P. Farinas is an attack on all workers,

minority peoples and youth and it must be reversed by your court."

We urge all supporters and readers of the *Bulletin* and supporters of the Juan Farinas Defense Committee to sign and circulate the petition in your communities, in your schools and shops. Write to the Defense Committee for petitions, or send a statement to the Court with a copy to the Committee, to Judges Wilfred Feinberg, Walter R. Mansfield, Leonard P. Moore, United States Court of Appeals, United States Court House, Foley Square, New York City, N.Y.

Please send all contributions, inquiries, or requests for petitions to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W 14th St., 6th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011 (telephone—212-924-0852).

## Teamsters Demand War End

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Last Thursday, July 8th, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters at its 20th convention passed a resolution calling on Nixon "to bring our troops home as soon as possible."

The resolution put forward by Harold Gibbons, a teamsters vice president, says in part:

"Whereas this war is a prime cause of the rampant inflation that virtually wipes out every wage increase that we are able to negotiate, and

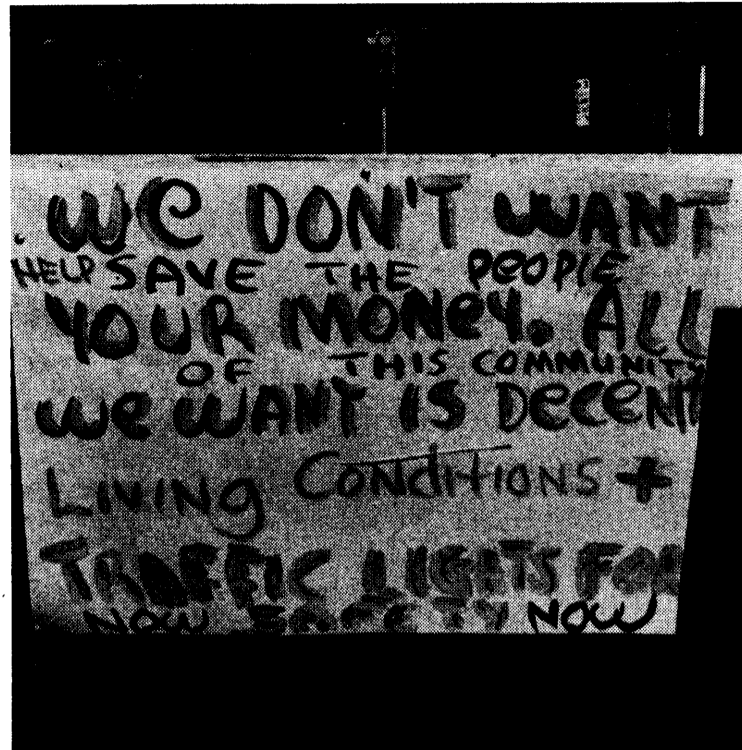
"Whereas there have been thousands of personal tragedies among Teamster families who have lost their sons and daughters in this futile war, and

"Whereas no responsible person believes that the U.S. will continue to sacrifice American lives in Indochina, the only question remaining is not whether we will withdraw our troops from Indochina, but how and when...."

### CHANGE

This resolution from the largest union in the United States reflects the sharp change in the attitude of American workers, particularly in unions such as the Teamsters, longshore and construction, towards this war and their determination to take up a fight against it.

The capitalist press, not accidentally, blacked out all reports of this resolution and sought instead to boost Nixon's courtship with Teamster head Fitzsimmons. But as this resolution shows this relationship is tenuous as the ranks of the Teamsters demand a fight against the war,



Sign above was placed on barricades blocking off busy intersection of 33rd Street and Ridge Avenue in Philadelphia last week. Residents of the neighborhood, along with Panthers, organized protest after a young neighborhood girl was killed at intersection which had no traffic light.

against the employers' and government's attacks on wages and jobs.

The resolution represents a whole change in the face of the struggle against the war as the labor movement now enters to take a lead in the fight. But this fight has just begun. The ranks

of the Teamsters as well as the entire labor movement must demand that the unions call for industrial action against this war leading to a general strike.

At the same time Fitzsimmons hints he might support Nixon in 1972 and Gibbons says he favors Muskie. The struggle against the threat of depression, as Fitzsimmons has called it, and against the war can only go forward through a break with the parties of the employers and the construction of a labor party.

## Brass Convicts Officer For Vietnam Protest

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

On July 13 the Air Force court martial of Captain Thomas S. Culver brought back a guilty verdict. Culver was arrested and tried following a silent demonstration of 300 servicemen from the Lakenheath Air Force Base in Britain.

On May 31st they gathered before the U.S. Embassy in London and handed in a petition of 1,000 names from the Army, Navy and Air Force protesting the war in Vietnam.

Captain Culver is accused of having violated the ban on demonstrations by overseas servicemen. Culver, who spent a year in Vietnam, has stated that "we merely handed in the petitions and the regulations say you can petition."

The other servicemen who were at the demonstration have expressed their solidarity with Culver and are planning actions in his defense.

At the opening session of the court martial the prosecution brought forward Sgt. Joseph Wilson, who has been an undercover agent for the Air Force within the G.I. anti-war move-

ment. Wilson, who has been busy attending anti-war meetings, turned over a petition to his superiors and took 100 photographs at the London demonstration. Culver's lawyer brought out that in his spare time Wilson participates in a witchcraft cult.

None of the activities that Wilson reported were illegal. The military brass is preparing to destroy any democratic rights G.I.s have in order to smother the growing movement against the war within the armed services.

At the same time the attack on Culver, like the attack on Juan Farinas who faces two years in jail for distributing an anti-war leaflet at his induction center, and Edward Jurenas who faces a court martial for distributing an anti-war G.I. paper, is a political attack. It is part and parcel of the government's attempts to stop the movement of the working class against the war.

As this repression is being stepped up the American labor movement must come to the defense of all individuals who are being persecuted for their opposition to the war.

## Mass Layoffs Hit Detroit Labor

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—The ink was barely dry on the city workers contract when the Gribbs Administration let the price of the contract be known. In an interview with the *Detroit News*, Gribbs revealed what he referred to as his "disaster plan."

He said "In preparation for that very distasteful alternative I ask the city controller to solicit from department heads a means for effecting economies of 20 to 30%." In most cases this means cutting personnel 20 to 30%. Gribbs also

noted that the most pessimistic figure would be 5,500 men laid off.

The fight against layoffs was one of the key issues of the sanitation strikes. In an exclusive interview with the *Bulletin* just one day before the Gribbs announcement, the president of the sanitation workers union, Cornelius Hudson, said, "I don't think there will be big layoffs on account of the contract. Mayor Gribbs has stated that there will be no layoffs on account of the contract and so we're hoping to keep Mayor

Gribbs to his promise."

The irony of this strike is that Mayor Gribbs owes his election to Council 77, the very union he is now attacking with layoffs. The strategy of the strike was to get some concessions without upsetting the relationship with Gribbs.

One of the lessons of the strike is that a complete break from the two capitalist parties is absolutely necessary as strikes over wages become political. The ranks must take up the fight in the unions for a labor party.

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# City Denies Jobs To East NY Youth

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

EAST NEW YORK, July 12—After the East New York Community Corporation announced that it had 197 job openings for youth, 500 young people showed up here looking for work.

Unemployment in this ghetto neighborhood is about 50% among youth, not counting those who have given up looking for work after trying for months. Most of those at the Community Corporation today were between 14 and 16 years old.

As we arrived at the Center, some youth were walking away after having waited for several hours, and one said, "Hah, and they said to come down and get a job."

In addition to the hundreds who showed up here today, thousands of youth stayed away after a previous experience with the Community Corporation. A few weeks ago, the Corporation announced that it had 800 job openings. Over 3000 youth showed up, and over 2000 angry youth were turned away after being told to come back some other time.

We spoke with youth who were still waiting, and some of those who had gotten jobs. One 15 year older told us:

"I came down here the first time about a week ago, but I still don't have a job. I don't know what I'll do until school starts, just hang around I guess."

When asked about counseling at school he answered: "Well they have counseling, where you can go and talk about a job, but I didn't get one."

Another youth who had gotten a job told us about it. "It's watching little kids, as a recreational aide. I'll get \$39 a week after taxes and everything is taken out. The money isn't much, but it's work."

## PIT

The City, which administers the jobs, is seeking to pit Black and Puerto Rican youth against each other for the few jobs which are available, telling each that the other must be hired first.

Another youth told us: "I've looked before, but all I got was the runaround. I went to a place up on Park Avenue and waited. I went there a couple of times. I don't know if they did it on purpose, but after I'd been there and waited, they finally came out and said they didn't have anything. I saw this in the paper, so I came down."

When asked who was responsible for the situation, he answered, "Well, if I hadn't been looking, I suppose I'd blame myself, but I have been, and I think it is the City."

When asked if he would register to vote under the new law which allows 18 year olds to vote, he said he thought he would, but didn't know who he would vote for, except that it would not be for Nixon or Lindsay. If a labor party was like a strike, he said, he was not sure if it was needed for employed workers, but "if you don't have a job, you have to get organized somehow."

Another youth, when asked his view about the Democrats and Republicans answered, "Well, they don't represent me,

they're for the rich people, with money. They steal from the poor to give to the rich, and there are less jobs than there used to be because of the budget cuts."

Unemployment in "urban poverty areas" like East New York is now about 45% as compared with 32% a year ago. This figure does not even count those thousands of youth who have given up looking for work after having tried for months.

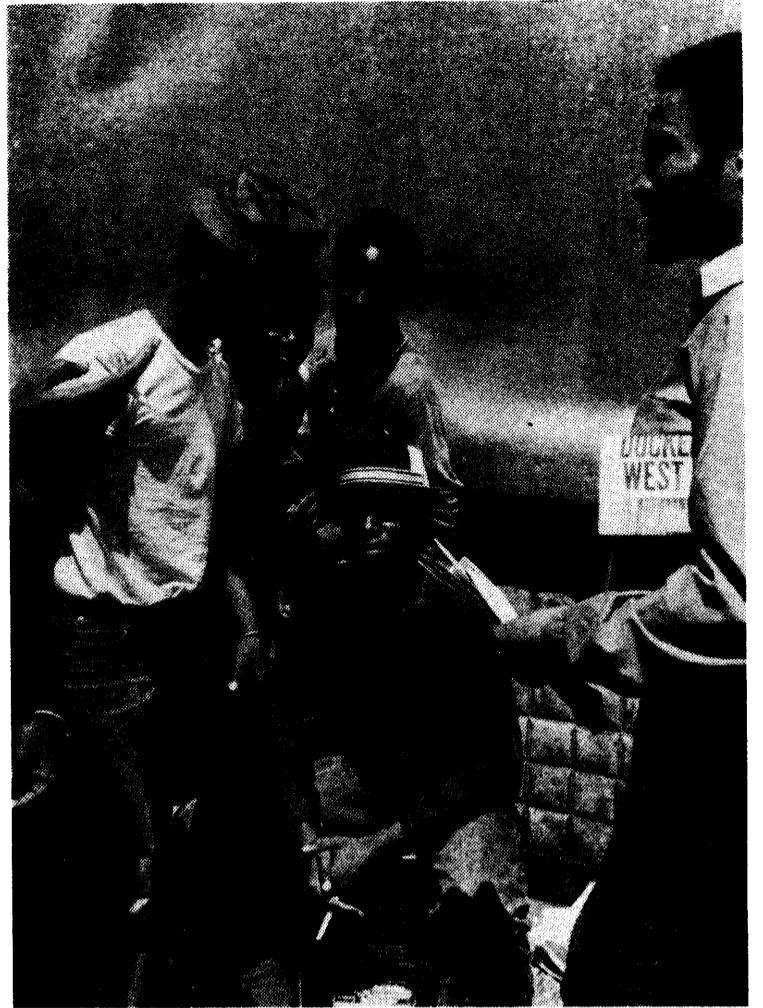
## VETERANS

While unemployment hits younger teenagers from 14-16 years old hard, it also hits older youths. Over 325,000 Vietnam veterans cannot find a job. Twenty percent of all Black Vietnam veterans are unemployed.

The percentage of youth unemployment here is higher than in any other metropolitan capitalist country, and equalled only by unemployment rates in underdeveloped nations.

Mayor Lindsay and his City Council, both Democrats and Republicans, offer 197 jobs at slave wages to thousands of jobless youth, and try to make them fight with each other to get them.

The only future the capitalist class offers the youth is one of unemployment, starvation on welfare, low wages and a one-way ticket to Vietnam. The fight against this means the fight to organize the youth along with the working class for a labor party based on the unions and with a program for guaranteed jobs for all at union wages, the shorter work week, and the nationalization of industry under workers control, to produce for the needs of the masses of people not for profit.



Bulletin reporter speaks with unemployed youth in East New York.

# CWA Strikes Bell Nationwide

BY A CWA MEMBER

More than half a million Communication Workers of America shut down the Bell System on July 14th in a nationwide fight for a new contract.

Militant wildcat strikes by Western Electric CWA have already shown the determination of the ranks to fight to maintain a decent standard of living. This militancy is growing despite and in reaction to the CWA national leadership's attempts to keep the ranks confused and passive so that the union can "bargain in good faith" with the Bell System.

This "good faith" has now a-

mounted to more than two months without a contract, and open tolerance by the local leaders of violations of the old contract! It is the latter situation that has led to the wildcat strikes, against the direct orders of the bureaucracy.

## RAISE

CWA members must fight for a 25% pay raise the first year! We cannot possibly maintain our standard of living in the face of inflation without this basic amount, and the contract must have an escalator clause to keep up with the cost of living.

We are being betrayed by a negotiating team which is "fighting" for a 25% raise over the next three years! If the mem-

bership were to settle for this we would be driven further into poverty by the rising cost of living in the next three years. The Bell System's insulting contract offers have shown that the company wants no compromise and will settle for nothing less than the total defeat of its employees.

To fight against these growing pressures and continue the wage offensive Communications Workers must demand that our leadership fight for us. No more secret ballots without discussion! Locals must pass resolutions calling for nothing less than an immediate 25% raise. With this mandate, the bureaucrats must either fight or step aside.

# Cops Kill Vietnam Vet In Brooklyn

BY JOSE REYES

BROOKLYN—On Wednesday afternoon, July 7, a young Puerto Rican Vietnam veteran, Ariel Cordero, was murdered by police a few paces from where he lived at 195 Fifth Avenue.

The murder sparked a rebellion in the neighborhood which lasted for four nights and a demonstration outside Brooklyn police headquarters on the day of the shooting.

This reporter spoke to many people who knew Cordero, including his father, who told the Bulletin what actually happened that afternoon.

"My son was just standing around, talking with a friend just after going to the Veterans Administration Center at 35 Ryerson Street, to pick up his medication for his nerves. There was an alarm sounded at the check cashing place here (193 Fifth Avenue) and a little later three cops who were in disguise came and rudely and violently



Ariel Cordero was murdered by cops here in front of his home.

pushed my son aside."

"They never said they were police. One of them fought Ariel and shot him right through like this (he pointed at his chest and neck, simulating the path of the bullet). These cops, they're nothing but murderers. They'll pay..." A youth I met nearby told me, "I knew him. He was a quiet guy. He never messed with anybody. They (the cops) were wrong."

Ariel Cordero like thousands of Vietnam veterans returned to the US and was thrown onto the heap of unemployment by the conscious policies of the government. The government sends out its cops to provoke and harass

the youth, using such actions to step up repression and prevent an organized movement from developing against these conditions.

This raises sharply the necessity for the youth to mobilize against unemployment, against the war together with the trade unions who are now coming into greater and greater conflict with the government's plans to drive back wages and create mass unemployment. This must be linked to the fight for a labor party to represent the working people, the minorities and youth. These struggles will be part of the fight to construct a revolutionary youth movement.

# Mitchell OK's Deal To Drop Charges On JDL

BY ED SMITH

NEW YORK—Rabbi Meir Kahane, the anti-Soviet head of the Jewish Defense League, made an appearance in Brooklyn Federal Court July 9 along with two associates. Their purpose was to plead guilty to conspiracy involving the manufacture of explosives.

In return for the guilty plea, charges involving illegal firearms against the three and ten other people will be dropped if the JDL turns over any illegal weapons and explosives in its possession.

The chief assistant U.S. attorney said the deal had been approved "at the highest level of government" which one of the defense attorneys indicated to be the office of Attorney General John Mitchell.

So the great "law and order" crusader Mitchell gives a slap on the wrist to the anti-communist, racist fanatic Kahane, who said he made the bombs "to show youngsters the tactics used by the radical left or right" to "overthrow the government." Kahane neglected to add if the bombs were of the type used to blow up the headquarters of groups like the Communist Party or Soviet offices here, bombings widely attributed to the JDL.

A few days after the deal had been engineered the cops recovered 197 sticks of dynamite, only a small portion of the JDL's "cache," a rather large amount for "educational" purposes.

At this point Mitchell and his mentors higher up seem satisfied merely to keep check on the likes of Kahane and his "educational" activities, primarily at this point to protect the warm relations between Washington and the Kremlin. Actual encouragement and aid to such fascist endeavors as the JDL will not be too far away, we can be assured—if they have not begun already.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## George Meany Calls For Wage Controls

The deep crisis of the American economy with its runaway inflation and growing unemployment have forced the AFL-CIO leadership to hold an Unemployment Conference in Washington, D.C. Having taken this small step, AFL-CIO President George Meany is doing everything in his power to use it against the American working class—unemployed and employed!

Meany, at the very moment when the mass of the working class is completely and absolutely opposed to the Vietnam War and Nixon, compliments Nixon for "winding down" the war. Meany, at the very moment when the capitalists are preparing restrictive legislation against the trade union movement, urges precisely such legislation in his call for wage and price controls.

Such controls, as the World War II experience proved, will mean a holding down of wages while prices continue to rise! It was only the struggle of American workers to break through the wage freeze at the end of the war that laid the basis for those gains that American workers today have.

Meany wishes to return to precisely this wartime regime, which led to an actual fall in American workers living standards while the big capitalists became bloated on war profits. He states: "I think it has to be the approach we used in wartime. You set up an agency to handle these things in any way they can handle them." So speaks the man who boasts he never walked a picket line nor called a strike!

As the steel contract deadline nears it is important for steelworkers to note well Meany's betrayal. Their own leader, I.W. Abel, could only speak of American corporations exporting jobs through setting up foreign subsidiaries. But the real fight is against these corporations here and together with workers in other countries and against the two political parties which defend these corporations. This is what Meany and Abel seek to avoid!

Jerry Wurf then adds his two cents by blaming the war for the economic crisis. The Communist Party's Daily World heralds this on the front page because it made Meany "sweat." What Wurf refused to do was repudiate Meany's call for wage and price controls which is now virtually the official program of the Democratic Party. It is the fight against the corporations and the two parties which defend them that Meany, Abel and Wurf seek to avoid!

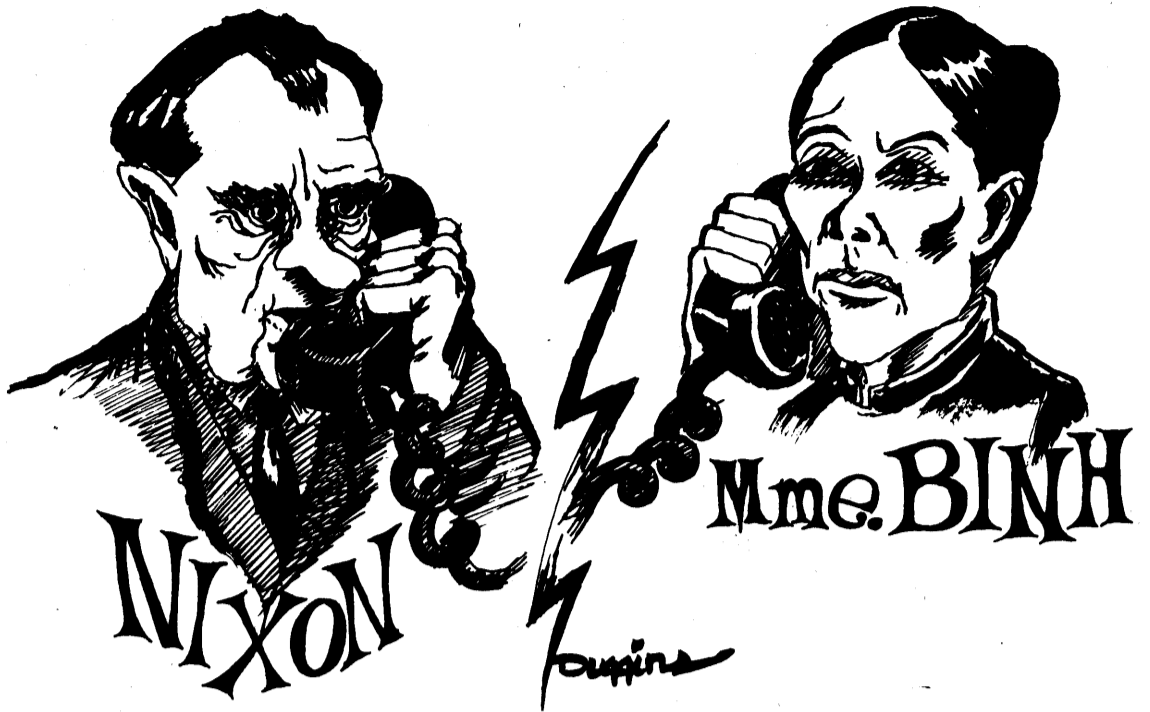
The cause of unemployment and inflation is deeper than the war. In fact it is what causes the war to be fought in the first place. It is the crisis-ridden system of capitalism. There are only two solutions to this crisis. Either one stands with the capitalist class and fights to restore the profitability of the system by driving back the wages of the working class and driving millions of workers on to the unemployment lines or one stands for the interests of the working people even if this means driving the capitalists out of their control of industry and having the working people themselves run industry.

The labor bureaucracy stands with capitalism and seeks to aid capitalism in defending its system.

The rank and file of the trade union movement must continue their struggle against any and all attempts to destroy the union movement through wage freezes. In the course of this struggle it must construct a new leadership committed to the construction of a party of labor, a leadership which will join in common struggle with the unemployed demanding:

- Substantial wage gains and escalator clauses.
- Full employment through a shorter work week.
- Nationalization of all industries which claim they cannot meet the employment and living needs of the American working people.

With this issue of the Bulletin we begin our annual summer break. No issue of the Bulletin will appear during the last week of July or the first week of August. The next issue will be on August 9th.



"You'll have to hold the line, Mme. Binh, I'm reaching an agreement with a Mr. I.W. Abel."

## What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

public of South Vietnam (PRG), at the Paris talks, contained concessions. Le Duc Tho, member of the Political Bureau of the Vietnam Workers' Party, added more, particularly by separating withdrawal of U.S. troops and the return of U.S. prisoners of war independently of a political settlement."

The prisoner of war issue is but a cover for the big retreat from even the original demands the NFL was making. This retreat centers on the creation of a "broad based government of national concord," which would include the NLF, the "neutralists" and forces from the present Saigon regime, the enemies and murderers of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

It is this concession that lies behind the NLF's covert support to Ky in the national elections. Ky is the man whose great hero is Adolph Hitler. Recently he has made a number of demagogic attacks on the corruption in the Saigon regime and on the U.S. and has given his careful approval of the proposals of the NLF. Ky is fully aware of the "concessions" involved in the Stalinist proposals and is taking full advantage of them.

Up until now the NLF has held that only the provisional government of South Vietnam had the right to represent the people. Now its head, Madame Binh, proclaims: "The PRG does not seek to achieve a monopoly of power," all it wants is for the U.S. to withdraw its support to Thieu."

The thread running throughout the Pentagon papers is the recognition by the U.S. that it could not afford a regime in Saigon which did not fully guarantee the domination of its interests there. Nixon of course is fully aware of this and is only biding time to get the kind of agreement needed to assure imperialism's hold in Southeast Asia. Madame Binh is more than obliging on this score saying that additional concessions can be granted. "The proposal," she says is "not an inflexible take-it-or-leave-it package." U.S. imperialism will use the betrayals of Stalinism, strengthening its hand to crush the revolution.

These moves to betray the heroic struggle of the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia comes at the best possible time

for Nixon and U.S. imperialism. The U.S., as the Pentagon papers clearly reveals, is losing the war. The U.S. is having increasing difficulty mobilizing its troops in Vietnam as mass opposition to the war openly sweeps the U.S. Army. Nixon and the entire capitalist class now face not only the resistance of the workers and peasants in Indochina but the powerful wage offensive of the American working class as well as its growing opposition to the war.

Precisely at the time when the Pentagon papers have stripped the government bare and exposed this war to the entire working class, precisely at the time when the growing opposition of American workers to the war raises the real possibility for defeating imperialism, the Stalinists put forward their counterrevolutionary plot to rescue Nixon and behead the revolution.

This plot has been long in the making, prepared through the offices of the Soviet bureaucracy, the Chinese leadership who now can cut off their aid to the struggle of the Vietnamese. The trip of the Rumanian president, who has had close relations with Nixon, to Peking and Hanoi laid the basis for this deal.

The American Communist Party has played no small role in this conspiracy. It is precisely the sellout laid out in Paris by Madame Binh that lies at the center of their perspective in the anti-war movement, their push for "set the date" and the Peoples Peace Treaty.

It is not surprising that joining the CP in enthusiastic support for Binh's proposals are the "doves" from Mansfield to McGovern. These men of the capitalist class are as much enemies of the workers and peasants as Nixon. Fearing the complete defeat of imperialism, they hope to extricate the U.S. from its difficult situation preserving capitalism's interests in Indochina and giving their class breathing space to go to war against the working class at home.

The CP together with the trade union bureaucracy are seeking to ally the working class with these forces to "pressure Nixon" into accepting this deal, to head off the independent mobilization of the working class whose struggles now together with the workers and peasants in Vietnam can spell

the doom for imperialism. The CP will boost this coalition in its attempts to keep the American working class tied to reformism and to prevent the development of a labor party which alone can end the war in Vietnam and the war at home.

At the recent meeting of the National Peace Action Coalition the conference passed a motion proposed by Harry Ring of the Socialist Workers Party holding "Nixon and the class he represents" responsible for the war. This position stands in direct contradiction to the popular front perspective of the CP which is instrumental in pushing the plans of Stalinism internationally.

This is why the national committee meeting of the CP lashed out at the NPAC conference. As the Daily World puts it:

"The latest proposals of North Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government representatives in Paris for peace and early release of POWs were endorsed in a special statement.

"The drive for peace was the subject of a report by Gilbert Green, chairman of the Communist Party's peace commission, who discussed the various peace movements in the country. He strongly denounced the splitting activities of assorted Trotskyist and Maoist groups that have concentrated their activities in the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC)."

The Socialist Workers Party must now take a clear stand on the CP's plans for "peace." Where does the SWP stand on the sellout being proposed by Stalinism internationally?

We say the SWP can take an important step in defeating these plans by openly taking up the fight against the popular front policies of the CP. The participation of the labor movement in the NPAC conference reflects the movement of American workers against the war. This movement opens the way to the independent mobilization of the working class.

A step by the SWP in this direction will be welcomed by the thousands of youth and working people who want to fight Nixon and his class, who want to end this war.

The Workers League will do everything possible to aid in this struggle for the fate of the Vietnamese revolution now lies in the battle to defeat Stalinism.



# STEEL LESSONS OF THE PAST PROGRAM FOR TODAY

## 3. PROGRAM FOR VICTORY, 1971

BY DAN FRIED &  
STEVE CHERKOSS

THE STRUGGLE IN steel is coming to a head as the basic steel contract between the "Big Nine" steel companies and the 350,000 members of the United Steelworkers of America expires at midnight July 31st. This struggle goes way beyond the steel industry and the USWA. It involves the entire capitalist class and the entire working class.

1971 is not a year of "business as usual" contract negotiations, but rather a matter of life or death. The immediate question facing steelworkers is whether they will continue the wage offensive and pattern of struggle set by the postal workers and the Teamsters in 1970 or be saddled by another sellout package based on the can and aluminum settlements. In order to take on and defeat the strategy of the steel barons and Nixon, a united fight of all steel workers must be organized around a program for victory.

Steel is the backbone of American industry. It is the most basic of all industries both physically and socially. Steel is the structural material upon which all of industry is based. The struggle in this most basic industry now challenges the very existence of capitalism as it heads into its deepest crisis and requires new forms of struggle which take on the government and the employers politically. This is what the steel barons, the government and the labor bureaucracy in the steelworkers union fear most of all.

The government has directly or indirectly intervened on the side of the steel bosses in almost every major period of negotiations since the union was first organized in 1937 with the first contract with U.S. Steel. The intervention has taken the form of troops as in the 1919 Great Steel Strike, the 1937 Little Steel strike as well as the government seizure of the mills under Truman in the 1952 strike.

More often it has taken the form of Taft-Hartley legislation, government mediation or eleventh-hour White House conferences between the steel bosses, the union leaders and the government as in 1959, 1962, 1965 and 1968. Every single administration from Roosevelt on has been deeply involved in this, and this is what steelworkers in 1971 must be prepared for.

### THE POST-WAR PERIOD

We have seen that the post-war strike wave involving the 1946 steel strike, the great 1945-46 General Motors strike of more than five million unionized workers was part of a world-wide offensive of the working class which threatened to topple capitalism and through the conquest of power by the working class, establish socialism. The capitalists were able to save their system at that time only through the collaboration with the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists. It was this collaboration which saw the European Stalinists in effect handing back the power to the bourgeoisie under conditions where the capitalists had fled and the workers had occupied the factories and were the only armed power in countries such as France and Italy.

Because of their leading role in the wartime resistance and their pre-war domination of the working class movement, the Stalinists were able to disarm the workers and enter a coalition government with DeGaulle in France during this critical period. In the United States the Stalinists and labor bureaucracy fought any tendency in the unions to carry the strike wave forward to a political movement which would pose a serious challenge to Truman and take the road of the formation of a labor party, smashing the "two party system" and opening the way for the socialist revolution.

The collaboration of these bureaucrats, reformists, and Stalinists with the ruling class under conditions of the absence of a mass Trotskyist party which could challenge the Stalinists for leadership, gave the capitalists the breathing space they required to rebuild capitalism in war-devastated Europe on the basis of a huge post-war expansion financed by the dollar.

But this expansion was simply a postponing of the crisis of capitalism—a decision taken by the U.S. ruling class to counteract the falling rate of profit—at the cost of a vast accumulation of paper dollars outside of the U.S., backed by an ever smaller reserve of gold held by the U.S. government.

The post-war boom thus was a temporary retreat by the capitalists before the power and offensive of the working class. The boom period represented a certain equilibrium with the working class and the trade unions based on the growing involvement of the state apparatus with the trade union bureaucrats—a limited

"truce" through which the capitalists recognize the accomplished fact of the organization of industrial unions.

This truce, which is shattered as the artificially prolonged boom comes to an end, was marked by attacks on the unions through the "anti-communist" witchhunts, the Taft-Hartley Act and numerous government interventions against strikes. Nevertheless it was accompanied by a growth of the organized labor movement and a general increase in the living standard of large sections of U.S. workers.

### THE STEEL STRIKE OF 1959

Since 1959, the beginning of the end of the postwar boom, steel workers have taken a cut in real wages. Thousands have been permanently laid off as the bosses attempt to maintain their profit system at the expense of the working class. In 1946, some 800,000 men produced far less than half the steel that is being produced today by about 400,000. I.W. Abel in an Officer's Report in March 1968 at a special dues increase convention said "the steel companies expect 300,000 more layoffs in the next eight to ten years..."

National steel strikes occurred in 1946, 1948, 1952, 1955, 1956, and 1959. 1959 was a decisive test for steelworkers. In that year, as in 1946, the companies hoped to slash wages, to destroy working conditions, break the union and return to the "good old days of the open shop." The steel strike of 1959 lasted 116 days. It was the longest strike in the history of the steel industry in any country. The companies had built up the biggest strike hedge stockpile in history. The contract had been extended from June 30th to July 15th when the strike began.

The Big Steel companies' strategy was to provoke a strike, demoralize the ranks and cut down the union. The key issues besides wages were work rules. Encouraged by the total collaboration of David MacDonald, then president of the USWA, the companies wanted in addition to the low wage formula, the right to eliminate jobs and determine working conditions at will. They wanted to knock out of the contract the clause which restrained "management prerogatives."

It looked like the union leaders would capitulate after a few days of a token strike. The union chiefs, misreading the workers' will to fight, called for an end



to the strike in a few days. The ranks on their own maintained their picket lines and indicated they would not buy the sellout contract. Only the sentiment of the ranks prevented the complete retreat of the MacDonald leadership from being turned into a rout. On November 7th Eisenhower used the Taft-Hartley Act, ordering the men back to work for a sixty day "cooling off" period. MacDonald and the rest of the leadership offered no resistance to this.

In 1959, the Eisenhower Administration allowed the free process to be carried to the ultimate, bitter end. After 116 days of tragic waste, nothing had been settled.

When the injunction took effect, the mills quickly got their furnaces going. In addition, they stepped up their communications bombardment of employees and the public. Countless brochures stated management's case. During the whole dispute, some twenty advertisements were run in 400 newspapers. As far as the workers' reaction went, this effort was a failure.

The Taft-Hartley Law says that after sixty days of the cooling off period, workers shall vote on the last offer of the companies. Before the official ballot, the companies made an informal check and found workers strongly opposed to the offer and firmly united in support of the union. This response may have convinced management of the futility of further battling. The companies signed a contract that gave the union 40¢ an hour over three years and contained none of management's job reforms. (39)

The 1959 strike was completely defensive in character. It was a partial victory because the workers,

troubles." The steel industry agreed on the condition that after the settlement, the USWA would forgo a fight against "automation" (no fight against layoffs during the customer inventory takedown), and the government would allow substantial price increases. The union leadership said it would concede as long as it got a package worth 6% in yearly costs.

The Wall Street Journal article continues:

"A ballyhooed spirit of accommodation between the industry and union did, indeed, appear to be all-pervading and, despite the brief public sparring between Washington and the steel makers, the mills had little trouble in putting across some immediate sweeping price rises. Thus the labor agreement and price increases seem to be the key elements of a smoothly written script."

The White House boast of a 'victory' over the barons of steel in 1968 was completely phoney. Like Kennedy's farcical victory in 1962 over the steel bosses, all Johnson's wrestling and shadowboxing with the steel bosses was a hoax. The main purpose of the act was to divert the steelworkers from the true significance of the White House deal.

In 1968 the steel companies never had it so good with their record high profits and production. The average profits for all steel companies in the first six months of that year were 54.5% higher than the first half of 1967. Yet, the same companies had the gall to raise their prices, because they claimed they could not make a profit.

The settlement in 1968 as all the others in no way

the sitdown strikes in auto, rubber and other industries. In 1941 after a short strike, Bethlehem and most of the other major companies became unionized.

The union itself did not have its first convention until 1942 when the Steelworkers Organizing Committee became the USWA. Philip Murray ruled it with an iron hand. Murray himself was a stooge for Roosevelt and the companies. This is part of the reason why steelworkers never had the right to vote on the contract. Control of the union is extremely centralized in the hands of the executive board.

The union from its beginning up to today has a rotten history of putting rebel locals into receivership, replacing staff men, all of whom are appointed by the District Director and the international staff, at will. The constitution, like many others, contains a standard anti-communist clause and a clause against "dual unionism" (a euphemism for rank and file opposition committees). Stewards are all appointed by the grievance men and not elected. There are essentially no stewards' councils in operation anywhere. Grievance men and local officers are elected, but the catch is that the eligibility requirements are very stiff. To be eligible to run, a man must have attended 18 out of the last 36 union meetings. This effectively rules out 99% of men in the mills.

For becoming a District Director or international officer, the eligibility requirements are almost impossible for a rank and filer or even a local president to meet. Naturally these stiff requirements are no accident. They were set up by the union bureaucracy to keep rank and file participation and democracy to a minimum. In steel the top officers are almost like a caste. The local officers are elected every three years and the international officers every four years.

But make no mistake about it, even in this strait-jacket there has always been plenty of opposition and rebellion. Many times, it breaks out of the "constitutional limits" and takes the form of wildcat strikes.

#### THE MACDONALD LEADERSHIP

MacDonald, Murray's apprentice, steamrolled all opposition. In 1955-61 there developed an opposition around Donald Rarrick. Rarrick was union president of a large mill in Western Pennsylvania. He built a movement around no dues increase and militancy in fighting the company. While the movement was syndicalist and never developed beyond that, Rarrick presented a serious challenge to MacDonald when he ran for the presidency of the union in 1957. He pulled about 40% of the vote. At that time and afterwards, MacDonald labeled this group "dual unionist" and actually ordered his goons to beat up Rarrick and some of his supporters at conventions and other meetings of the union.

MacDonald was Philip Murray's office boy. When Murray died, he assumed control of the union. "Mutual trusteeship," the supposed identity of interest between labor and capital, was invented by David J. MacDonald, who was USWA president from 1953-65. He was famous for his statement that "collective bargaining is less and less a contest and more and more a collaboration." He toured the steel mills with other union officials and steel company officials, such as Benjamin Fairless, President of U.S. Steel, and Admiral Borrell, Chairman of Jones & Laughlin, in efforts to promote "brotherhood" and "good will" between the bosses and the workers.

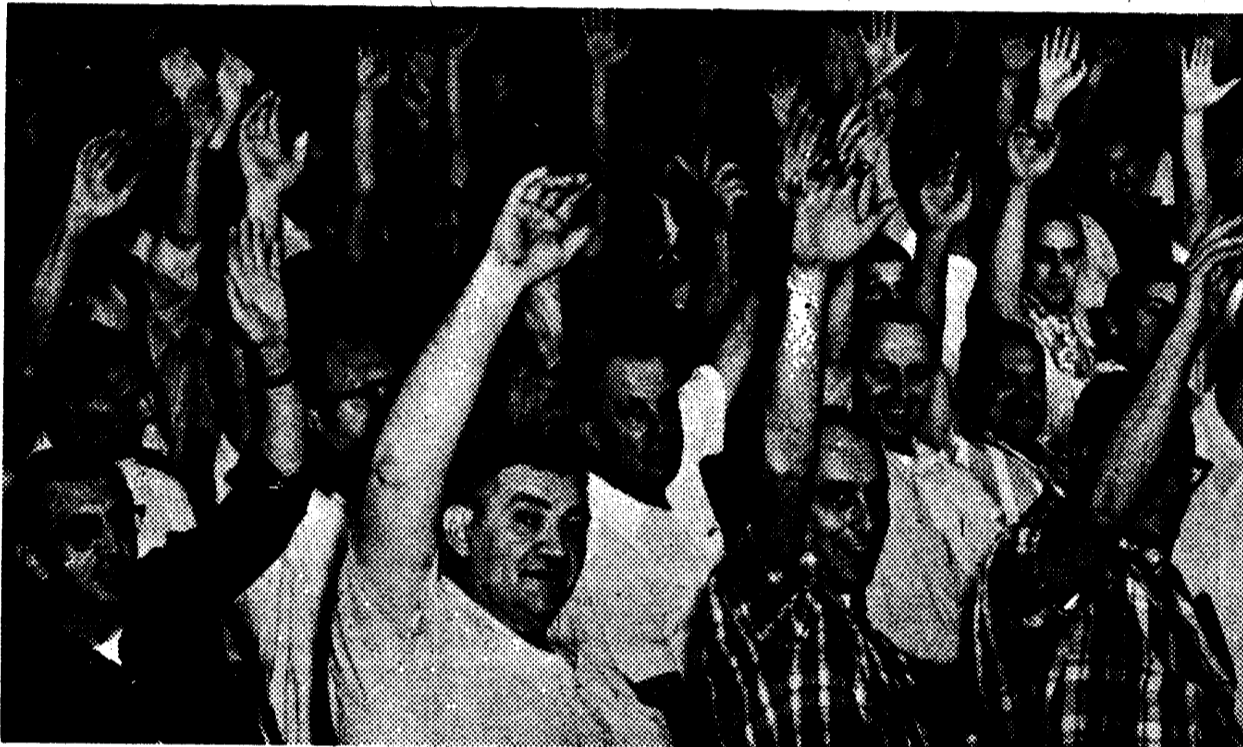
He said that the workers had to cooperate with the companies in increasing production and cutting costs supposedly to the mutual advantage of the workers and the steel companies. After the 1959 strike and again in 1962 MacDonald announced his plans for ending strikes which he said were too costly to the workers and industry. This "mutual trusteeship" line was verbally attacked by Abel in the 1965 election campaign, as well as MacDonald's close fraternization with the steel bosses, his top secret negotiations and his concept of "tuxedo unionism." Abel, Burke and Maloney, the present top USWA officers, ran on a program of "rank and file control of the union," and "restore union democracy." Abel said he was going to take on the companies.

#### WHERE DOES ABEL STAND?

But despite this, Abel and MacDonald were two of a kind. Abel had been a faithful servant of Murray and MacDonald since 1937. His political outlook was identical to MacDonald's. He never challenged the profit system, or the concept of "responsible unionism" and was tied lock, stock and barrel as Murray and MacDonald were, to the Democratic Party.

The workers voted Abel in because they hoped in some way or another he would possibly take on the steel bosses and the government. Abel was all talk and no action as further events showed. R. Conrad Cooper of U.S. Steel, and chief negotiator for the industry, characterized the Abel victory as "a palace guard revolt." The 1965 contract was as bad as the 1962 settlement and 1968 was even worse.

In an interview with the San Francisco Chronicle of November 20, 1967, Abel was cited as the chief architect of a plan which would surrender the right of the unions to strike in return for management's



Homestead steelworkers vote to strike in 1968 dispute. The battle in 1971 will be like the explosive struggles of the 1930s, as Nixon and employers try to stop wage offensive.

virtually leaderless, stopped the companies from their goals of wage-slashing, destroying working conditions, rationalization and union busting. The strike itself set off a long range pattern in the labor movement that has intensified and expanded.

#### THE "MODEL SETTLEMENT" OF 1962

In 1962 a settlement was reached that did not give even a one penny wage increase to the workers. This was accomplished with the valuable assistance of President John F. Kennedy, working for the steel bosses, and the collaboration of MacDonald. From the very outset, the Kennedy Administration pressured for an early settlement. A settlement that would be "non-inflationary", using "wages and hours restraint" as a basis for negotiation. In other words it would be an agreement that would continue high profits, do nothing about job security, and would prevent any significant pay raise. The "model settlement" was hailed by Kennedy and MacDonald as setting a new formula for negotiations, making strikes obsolete.

In 1965, after two contract extensions, the workers got a paltry wage increase of 3.7%, while the cost of living was going up 4%. Nothing else basic was won. The final deal was again worked out in the White House with the assistance of Lyndon Johnson.

"Friend of Labor" Senators Jacob Javits and Wayne Morse helped consummate the deal. As in 1962 the ranks were furious about the sellout. But without a revolutionary leadership and a national rank and file organization, resistance was limited to isolated wildcats. Neither bargaining the cost of living clause lost in 1959 nor the right to strike over local issues was regained in the contract. Nothing was done about the wholesale layoffs and plant closings taking place. The shorter work week was dropped right off the bat by the Abel leadership.

The 1968 contract settlement patterned after the others, was a complete sellout. The steel bosses, the government, and the union officials united to defeat the workers. Actually the deal was engineered in the White House some months before. The Wall Street Journal, August 14, 1968 said: "Lyndon Johnson said he didn't want the steel strike—he has enough

solved any of the problems faced by steelworkers. The paltry wage increase over the 3 year contract was eaten up by rising prices and taxes. Additionally under what Abel has termed the "best contract ever" thousands of workers were immediately laid off and many thousands more permanently lost their jobs over the next couple of weeks.

#### THE WILDCAT STRIKES IN 1968

The cry of "sellout" and "wildcat" rang out loud and clear in steel mills all over the country. Steelworkers united behind various militant rank and file leaders and closed down at least 20 steel plants. The wave of defiance against the 1968 settlement was one of the greatest ever to hit the U.S. steel industry. The wildcatters reflected the protest and rebellion throughout the ranks. The movement ranged from California to New York. The wildcats received a virtual blackout by the news media. The government, the steel bosses and the union leadership hoped to stifle them through isolation.

The response of Abel and the rest of the labor bureaucracy was to plead with workers to "call off this nonsense." When this failed the workers were threatened with fines and penalties.

As part of the 1968 deal the already existing incentive plan was expanded to include thousands of workers. Again Abel declared that this was a gigantic victory. In actuality it was a gigantic defeat. The incentive bonus piece work system is just another name for speedup. As soon as it was put into effect thousands were laid off. The companies cut crews at will and for those remaining the work was harder, faster, more dangerous, for a few cents more an hour.

It is necessary to recall some of the earlier history of the USWA as well in order to tackle the problems faced by the ranks in the 1971 contract. Steel was basically organized from the top down. Unlike the UAW, steelworkers never had the rich history of opposition movements and caucuses. This has a great deal to do with how the union was organized. Steelworkers did not have their Flint. (The great sit-down strikes that organized General Motors). U.S. Steel signed a sweetheart deal with John L. Lewis in fear of the tremendously powerful wave of

agreement to forgo lockouts and agree to binding arbitration.

Abel was reported as saying in this interview that "the strike has lost much of its effectiveness as a weapon in labor negotiations." Abel's proposal to give up the right to strike met with fierce opposition at every level of the union, and was completely rejected. Of course the weapon of a strike is "ineffective" when you do not use it, which was precisely Abel's policy in the 1965 and 1968 sellouts. And when you do not shut down the whole industry but instead let 25% of domestic steel production continue, which is Abel's strategy for 1971, and you let the companies build up huge stockpiles, you do not exactly make a strike effective.

Many workers are drawing the conclusion that nothing fundamental will be won with those like Abel in the leadership. Abel and his machine and their "capitalism-first" outlook must be dumped in the scrap heap of history by the rank and file.

In the 1969 elections Abel almost got beaten. The anger of the ranks at the leadership's sellouts in national contracts and daily working conditions led two thirds of the union to boycott the election. Forty one percent of those who did vote cast their ballots against Abel. Abel himself had defeated MacDonald four years before by running on the platform of giving the union back to the rank and file. The ranks stated their judgement of his performance in the combination of the huge number of abstentions plus the large vote for insurgent Emil Narrick.

Narrick was no friend of the rank and file, although like Abel, he posed as such. He was a union staff lawyer, belonging to the "headquarters local." The time he spent in the mills amounted to one summer while he was in college. A likely explanation of Narrick's strong showing came from one local president who said, "You could've run a dead horse and he would have done almost as well."

In 1970 a similar process took place. In last June's elections for local union officers, an unprecedented number of long standing incumbent presidents were voted out in many of the biggest locals. This reflected the tremendous dissatisfaction many steel workers feel with the short end of the stick they have been getting on wages, working conditions, discrimination, safety and pensions.

The political and economic situation facing steel workers today is a result of the deepening crisis of capitalism in which the employers are trying to maintain their profit and systematically drive back the conditions of the working class. This can be seen clearly today in the massive layoffs, permanent unemployment, the decline in real wages, speedup, the intensification of racism and the increasingly dangerous and unsafe conditions we are forced to work under.

Their major aim in this period is to intensify the process of exploitation. In order to accomplish this they must break the power of the unions and return to the conditions to the 1930s. The steel companies' strategy in this period is to openly declare war on the working class. Their drive to cut wages and working conditions is ruthless.

Total plant closings are becoming the order of the day. To make the workers pay in blood for their crisis, they have over the last 12 years cut real wages and permanently laid off thousands in steel.

In 1971 Abel in no way prepared the ranks for a strike. While secret negotiations have been held in Washington, D.C. with the steel barons, the Abel leadership has not lifted a finger in a fight back against the massive layoffs aimed at weakening the union's position. In the name of the "national interest" Abel agreed with the steel bosses and Nixon that the whole industry should not be shut down. He let the companies build up a massive stockpile which is probably the largest in history. He made no appeal to the longshoremen or teamsters not to handle scab or imported steel.

It has been six years that Abel has been in office and the ranks still do not have the basic right to ratify or reject contracts. This itself is one of the reasons steelworkers are far behind on wages and all conditions. Virtually no one would have voted in favor of the 1965 and 1968 sellouts. Can anyone seriously imagine anyone voting to take wage cuts and layoffs?

The steel workers will not accept this vicious onslaught of the employers and the government. This is not the 1930s. Workers will not peacefully accept a reduction in their wages, massive layoffs and the worsening of all working conditions. All these gains have been the result of fierce and bloody struggles by the workers to organize basic industrial unions over the last 35 years. The massive rebellion that is sweeping the mills, mines, smelters, and fabricating plants is only at its beginning stage. The 20 wildcats after the 1968 sellout and the hundreds that have swept the industry over the past six years are a small sample of what is to come.

#### THE PROGRAM FOR VICTORY

The Workers League is the only party in the U.S. that has dared to call Abel a sellout and to call for his replacement with a real workers' leadership in

the USWA, providing an analysis and program for this struggle. The Workers League is carrying forward this fight around the campaign for the formation of a national rank and file caucus with units in every mill in the USWA to fight for a program which includes the following demands:

**WAGES:** an immediate across the board increase the first year of \$2.00 an hour; an extra 50¢ an hour for the iron ore miners, plus 50¢ an hour increases for the second and third years of the contract. Full cost of living escalator clause to start the first day of the contract. Abel's aluminum package amounting to little more than 75¢ an hour over three years must be rejected in steel.

**JOB SECURITY:** We need a 30 hour week for 40 hours pay. Abel has stopped talking about this demand now when it is more and more urgent as unemployment and layoffs increase.

**GRIEVANCES:** Repeal the no-strike clause from the contract. Without the right to strike the grievance procedure is meaningless.

**RACISM:** A fight to completely wipe out all discrimination towards Black and Spanish-speaking workers in upgrading and all other working conditions.

**SPEEDUP:** No cooperation with speedup and job cutting.

**PENSIONS:** The present pension plan is completely inadequate. We need 30 years and out regardless of age at \$500.00 a month.

Other demands that must be fought for and won are: sick leave, a dental plan, double time and a half for Sundays and an end to crew cutting and job classifications and production standards, triple time for holidays, 13 weeks vacation every five years for junior men, union control over hiring, firing, safety and production standards.

The rank and file caucus basing itself on the power of the men in the mills must fight to change the union constitution to allow us to ratify or reject the contracts we are forced to work under. We must repeal the stiff eligibility requirements for running for union office. We must fight to build a solid steward system that would be elected by the men and build stewards' councils in each local.

No officer of the union should be paid a penny more in salary than the average steel worker. Why should I.W. Abel make \$60,000 a year above board? All staff men should be elected by the ranks, not appointed by the District Director. All officers should be subject to immediate recall if the majority of the ranks decide they do not represent their needs.

All locals should put out shop papers. Today very few locals put out anything. While officially every local has a number of committees, in reality these committees do nothing. Very few, if any, reports are ever given at union meetings. They serve as rubber stamp committees for the local, regional and international bureaucracy.

We must fight to repeal the anti-communist clause from the constitution which bars socialists from becoming union officers and even being members of the union (which means they cannot "legally" work in any organized steel plant). This clause was put into the union constitution on the orders of President Roosevelt and the steel bosses.

Racism must be completely routed out of the labor movement. The employers keep the majority of Black and Latin workers down by giving them the lowest paying jobs. The majority of Black and Latin workers are forced to work under the most dangerous and dirtiest conditions. In the steel industry Black and Latin workers together comprise about 50% of the work force but only about 10% of the highest paying jobs. Many of the top paying jobs have racist tests, interviews and attitude requirements. On top of this many Black and Latin workers are subjected to special harassment by racist foremen.

As long as steelworkers are divided along racial lines the bosses and the Abel leadership ride roughshod over all of us. By splitting workers up, racism destroys our strength as a united force and results in lower wages, less job security and deteriorating working conditions for all of us. The union hacks as in everything else go along with the company tactics since it enables them to maintain their cosy positions. All rank and file committees must give no quarter to racism or nationalism and must demand complete equality now, linking this fight to the general program we have outlined above. A caucus movement of ALL workers must be built.

The private ownership of the steel industry is more and more used against the steelworkers. If as Abel and the employers say, the need to make profits for the owners conflicts with the needs of the workers for decent wages and conditions, then the steel corporations should be nationalized without compensation under workers control and operated in the sole interest of the working class.

Steelworkers in 1971 are confronted with a fight that is national in scope against a united capitalist class. The only way we can win such a fight is not by dragging it out, but rather by bringing things to a head as rapidly as possible. **THIS MEANS SHUTTING DOWN THE WHOLE INDUSTRY.** We must get dockers and teamsters not to handle scab steel and all steel during a steel strike is scab steel!

If the bosses use injunctions or call out the National Guard to break the strike we must force the trade union leadership to call a general strike to close down the whole country. We must fight now to build caucuses within the locals that will force the local leadership to fight for all of this. We must demand that the local leadership call wildcats throughout steel if Abel tries to ram a sellout down our throats. This fight is part and parcel of building a new revolutionary leadership within the unions.

We must remember that the companies and government fear more than anything else striking steelworkers united behind revolutionary leadership. The whole country depends on steel production. A pattern of struggle set in such a basic industry as steel will inevitably spread to all other industries. But steel is not produced by the bosses, nor Nixon nor Abel. And if steelworkers follow the lead of the teamsters, refusing to work until a decent contract is won, all the raving about Taft-Hartley, "national interest," "inflation alerts," "excessive demands," "responsible unionism," will not be worth the paper they are printed on.

#### THE FIGHT FOR A LABOR PARTY

The policy of supporting the Democratic and Republican Parties is a deadend. Every administration since 1937 has intervened in contract struggles on the side of the employers. Both these twin parties of capitalism and the class they represent are completely responsible for our low wages, rotten and dangerous working conditions, the war in Southeast Asia, racism, strikebreaking, repression and every other oppressive condition the working class is subjected to daily.

It is absolutely essential that the fight for a labor party be taken forward in steel. Now is the time. The trade unions must put forward their own candidate for the 1972 elections. The steel negotiations raise very sharply the urgency of the fight to construct a labor party based on the power of the trade unions now.

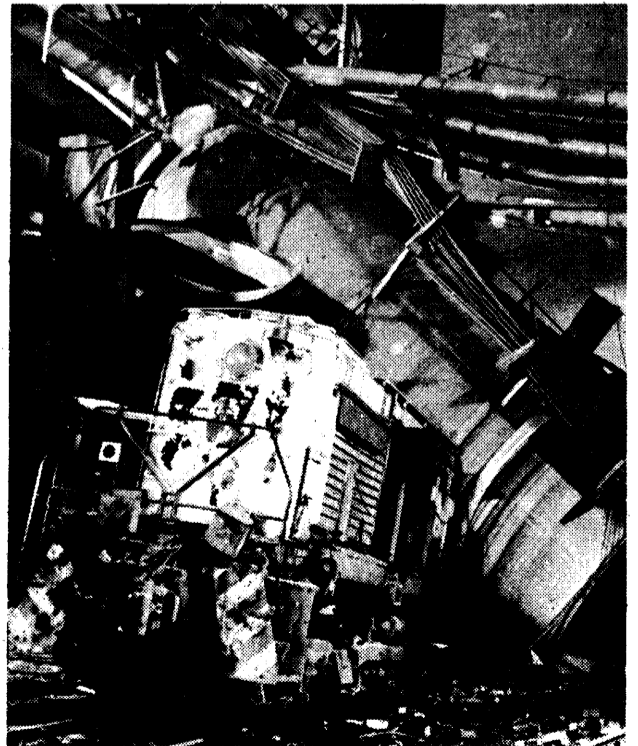
All government intervention—fact finding boards, White House mediators, and arbitration must be completely rejected. Once the authority of these boards is accepted, the union in effect is bound by their decision. These boards are appointed by the bosses and their political representatives. They are as impartial towards labor as Nixon.

While the wage and strike offensive has been going forward it is reaching the crossroads. Today the struggle in steel and among all workers must be seen as a political struggle posed by the collapse of the boom.

The whole policy of financing the boom through the inflation of the dollar, expressed more and more sharply beginning in the late 50s in the chronic U.S. balance of payments deficit, the outbreak of repeated monetary crises since 1967, the spiralling of the cost of living has laid the basis for the blow up of the entire system. The ruling class is forced more and more into a head-on confrontation with the unions in a desperate attempt to avoid a collapse of the world monetary system and another 1929 crash on an even bigger scale.

This is the period we are in today in which the ruling class moves toward open wage-freezing, massive cuts in social welfare programs and the creation of massive unemployment, now affecting growing sections of the industrial and skilled workers who previously were insulated by the relative prosperity of the boom.

In this emerging period of international civil war the outcome of which will be fascist dictatorship and world war OR workers power and the socialist revolution, the working class in the U.S. is immensely strengthened by the power of the industrial unions, forged in the



Because of poor safety conditions, workers risk being killed in accidents like one above, U.S. Steel.

great struggles of the 1930s and consolidated in the post-war period, and expanded during the boom period. 1929 is not 1971. It is no small matter for the capitalists to be able to saddle the workers with massive unemployment, crush the unions and dragoon the workers into another world war. Yet, this is the only way out for the survival of the capitalist system which now faces an absolute decline both in Europe and America.

The old relations of the boom are undermined as preparations for new anti-labor legislation providing for compulsory arbitration, drastic action by police and courts against strikes are brought in, scabbing on union contracts is instituted by the government in the construction industry and preparations are being made for the mobilization of new strikebreaking forces based on growing unemployment and encouragement of racism and Black nationalism.



Nixon and I.W. Abel at their last White House meeting.

#### A MARXIST LEADERSHIP

The Newark Teachers strike earlier this year presented the program of the ruling class to smash the unions through racism and Black nationalism under conditions where the union leadership and all its "radical" supporters, looked to the government, the mayor, mediators, and everywhere BUT to the independent mobilization of the rank and file and the power of the labor movement.

Despite the immense power of the unions, all of these developments including last year's auto settlement which only laid the groundwork for renewed speedup and layoffs in the auto industry, pose the necessity of a Marxist leadership based on the understanding of the entire history and theory of the working class movement since its foundations by Marx and Engels. Under the leadership of the bureaucracy which is more and more propped up by the Stalinists and revisionists, each defeat and setback is seized on by the capitalists to deepen their civil war against the working class and the unions in particular.

Every effort is made by the ruling class with the help of the labor bureaucracy and its Stalinist and revisionist allies to curb the independence of the rank and file in the unions and to divert the movement for an independent labor party as the Democratic Party reels from crisis to crisis. This is why the Stalinists, with the cooperation of the Socialist Workers Party as expressed in the peace movement, now step up their efforts to block the formation of a labor party through the establishment of an "anti-monopoly" coalition of liberal capitalists and labor bureaucrats through the vehicle of the Democratic Party.

In a period where the Workers League's Trotskyist program for the construction of a labor party for the 1972 elections and the nationalization of steel and the rest of basic industry poses the defeat of capitalism, the virulence of the attacks by Stalinism on Trotskyism and the hooliganism against the Workers League, in turn become the weapons for the demoralization and defeat of the working class.

#### THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND ABEL

Within the unions the Stalinists today play the major role in trying to capture the militant revolt of the ranks against the bureaucrats only to divert it away from a real struggle for alternative leadership and the smashing of the bureaucracy. This was shown both in the General Electric strike and in the way in which the Communist Party covered up for Woodcock in the strike by the UAW against General Motors. It is now being repeated in the CP's efforts

to cover up for Abel and play up the can-aluminum "pattern" as a great model for the steelworkers.

Nowhere is the rotten role played by this party seen more clearly than in steel. The CP, beginning with its relationship with Abel and some local officials who they see as part of their "coalition" which also includes liberal capitalists, continues to cover up for this sellout artist and thus prepares the way for another contract betrayal.

When in 1962 the steelworkers did not get a penny in wages, the CP press was silent. As soon as Kennedy attacked the steel barons for raising prices, they went wild. For them this was the greatest thing a "people's" president could do. Of course, when the uproar died, the steel companies got the price increases they wanted anyway.

What this expressed is how the CP obscures the class nature of the capitalist state. Somehow for them the state (especially a Democratic government) is neutral. The government for them performs a balancing act between the bosses and the workers. This, of course is all backwards. The state only serves the interest of one class. In the U.S. it is the capitalists who have state power and use it to keep the working class, minorities, and youth on the bottom.

In 1965 the Stalinists claimed the steelworkers won "a great victory." The 1965 contract meant a pay cut and the loss of thousands of jobs immediately. With victories like these we would hate to see what they would call a defeat.

In the 1965 and 1969 union elections they went along with the revisionists in the Socialist Workers Party and came out in full support of and enthusiastically campaigned for Abel in the mills. This came after Abel's 1968 sellout and his breaking of the 20 wildcats with the help of the bosses and the government.

The June 12, 1971, issue of the People's World, West Coast newspaper of the Communist Party, devoted half its paper to reporting on developments in steel and the contract struggle.

One hardly knows where to begin with their eight page steel special loaded with overwhelming details and "left" apologies for the Abel leadership. Some of their article is completely contradictory. In one article they support the demand for \$2.00 an hour wage increase now. In another article of the same issue they completely accept Abel's miserable sellout of the aluminum workers, a package of 75¢ to \$1.10 an hour over three years. They offer something for everyone. While recognizing that the ranks are up in arms against the past 20 years of contract betrayal and need \$2.00 across the board in catch up money now, they still do not want to offend "Brother Abel."

While recognizing the massive layoffs and plant closings that are presently sweeping the steel industry, they completely leave out the demand for nationalization under workers control with no compensation to the capitalists. What is their program for fighting against plant closings? It is the same program as the Abel leadership which recognizes the sacred right of the bosses to lay off and close plants at their will.

While calling for rank and file caucuses they call for Black and Chicano caucuses. The logic of this is that the rank and file caucus is to be white. Separation of workers along racist lines is completely reactionary. This is the program of the steel bosses, Nixon and the Abel leadership. In order to stay in control and power they try to divide workers racially. Racism must be fought and defeated. It must be completely wiped out of the labor movement. But one cannot fight it by adapting to it through the back door. This is what the CP by their support to the Ad Hoc Committee and other caucuses based on race rather than class seeks to do.

No program is offered by these betrayers of Marxism for building an alternative leadership in the union. They seek at every point to adapt to Abel and his machine. By not calling for the dumping of Abel, they provide him with a needed left cover.

Their program in no way is based on the deepening capitalist crisis and the struggle to build an alternative leadership in the working class and mobilize the workers independently in the struggle for political power. Their

program instead is a program based on the power of the capitalists and will lead to defeat. Nowhere do they raise the need for the union to shut down the whole steel industry. How else can a strike be won? Nowhere do they prepare the workers for government intervention in the form of injunctions and troops by posing that a fight be conducted inside the unions for a general strike, if the government intervenes. Nowhere do they call for a "No" vote on another sellout and the preparation for wildcats.

No overt political demands are put forward by the CP. Their real perspective is to support the liberals in the Democratic and Republican Parties who will break a steel strike just as fast as Nixon, attempt to freeze wages and so on.

The shameful role played by the Communist Party and their mentors in the Soviet bureaucracy for over 40 years has been to betray the struggles of the international working class year after year. Their strategy is to tie the working class to the apron strings of the capitalists politically, while tailing after and apologizing for the trade union bureaucracy.

The Stalinists, like all the other revisionists—Progressive Labor, Labor Committee, the Socialist Workers Party—accept the limits of capitalism. Therefore they accept the program and reasoning of the labor bureaucrats, who, basing themselves on pragmatism, the worship of the accomplished fact, apologize for every retreat and sellout with the formula "that was the best we could do under the circumstances."

On the other hand, the serious fight for a mobilization of the ranks of the USWA for a battle to win the demands of the program outlined in this article, can only be led by those who refuse to accept the limits and "problems" of the capitalist system, who begin with the NEEDS of the workers and not the profits of the capitalists.

The organization of a national caucus to fight for a decent contract in the steel industry is thus an essential part of the struggle for a Marxist leadership in the unions and the building of a mass Trotskyist party in the U.S.

The conditions for the building of this leadership are far more favorable than in the period of the 1930s, when Trotskyism was isolated from the working class, when Stalinism was able to prevent the independent mobilization of the working class. The tremendous prospects for the construction of mass Trotskyist parties today is based first of all on the power of the working class which has not lived through the demoralization and defeats of the 1930s and is prepared to fight to the death to defend its wages, conditions, and trade unions.



Workers at Sparrows Point, Md. buy the Bulletin.

#### FOOTNOTES

39. McManus, George, The Inside Story of Steel Wages and Prices, 1959-67, pp.18-19

## MUST READING WITH THIS SERIES!

The following Marxist books and pamphlets are invaluable aids for the struggle to build a new leadership in the trade unions. They are particularly vital reading for all militants and workers who now face Nixon and the employers' plans to smash the wage offensive of the steel workers. All the books and pamphlets are available from Labor Publications.

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# BOOKS

LUCY ST. JOHN

## The Third International After Lenin

**THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN.** By Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press, New York, 1970. 346 pages. \$2.95.

Trotsky in addressing the Third Congress of the Third International said that the bourgeoisie attains its greatest concentration of forces and resources, musters all its means of deception and coercion precisely at the time when it is most threatened. The recent publication of the secret documents on the Vietnam War gives us just a glimpse of how thoroughly, how consciously the capitalist class approaches its war with the working class.

The working class and its party must counterpose to the counterrevolutionary strategy of the capitalist class its own revolutionary strategy which proceeds not just from the current developments and tasks but from the history of the working class movement, the experiences of the working class and which is thought out to the end, preparing at each step and in every struggle for the final taking of power.

### CI

The Third and Fourth Congresses of the Communist International were devoted to the elaboration of strategy and tactics for world revolution in this epoch, including the development of a transitional program, the proletarian united front, and the demand for a workers government to win the masses to the revolutionary party and the struggle for power.

In the *Third International After Lenin*, Trotsky defends and develops this strategy drawing the lessons of the defeats of the revolution in Germany in 1923 and in China in 1927 in a struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy's break from the perspective for world revolution.

The re-publication of this book occurs at a critical time when we can say that the offensive of the working class internationally in the advanced and colonial countries as well as the workers states raises the necessity to construct mass revolutionary parties and opens a new era for the development of revolutionary strategy.

The book contains Trotsky's criticism of the draft program submitted by the Executive Committee of the Third International to the Sixth Congress which was held in July 1928. Stalin had not called a Congress since 1924. In this period the bureaucracy sought to isolate and destroy the Left Opposition within the Soviet Union. The material was written by Trotsky during his exile in Alma Ata after he had been expelled by the Stalinist faction. The book also contains a letter appealing for reinstatement into the party.

Included in the criticism of the Draft Program is Trotsky's attack on the theory of "socialism in one country" and his perspective for world revolution based on an analysis of the epoch, a section on Strategy and Tactics in which Trotsky draws the lessons of the defeats of the German revolution in 1921 and 1923 developing the understanding of strategy laid down at the Third and Fourth Congresses. The third part is an assessment of the defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1927.

### EPOCH

In defining the character of this epoch, Trotsky exposed the bankrupt and reactionary character of Stalinism's program for national reform.

"In our epoch, which is the epoch of imperialism, i.e., of world economy and world politics under the hegemony of finance capital, not a single communist party can establish its program by proceeding solely or mainly from conditions and tendencies of developments in its own country....In the present epoch, to a much larger extent than in the past,

the national orientation of the proletariat must and can flow only from a world orientation and not vice versa."

The program of a revolutionary party in any particular country must flow from a common international strategy. Trotsky shows how Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country" represented a break from internationalism and international strategy.

This perspective was based on the conception that socialism could be built on the basis of a national state as long as there was no intervention. From this flowed a collaborationist policy towards the international bourgeoisie with the object of preventing intervention. The task of parties in the CI was to protect the Soviet Union from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power.

Trotsky in the section on Strategy and Tactics takes up Bukharin's objectivist and fatalistic approach to revolutionary strategy. Bukharin saw it simply as a matter of the continuing offensive and radicalization with the reformist parties being automatically destroyed in the process. He refused to analyze the ebbs and

it did so in a one sided way so that it drew the exact opposite conclusions from the defeat of 1921. When the revolutionary situation developed it reacted conservatively, proceeding on the basis of formulas from the past, much as a section of the Bolshevik Party had before Lenin's arrival in 1917. It ignored the sharp changes in the objective situation and did not prepare the working class for power and for insurrection. A correct strategy is not sufficient unless it develops with the changes in the relations of the class forces.

The question posed in 1928 as Trotsky wrote was whether the Third International was to be an instrument for the world struggle against capitalism or an organization prepared to sacrifice the interests of the working class for a temporary agreement with capitalism. The whole history of the Comintern under Stalinist leadership led the working class into defeat after defeat, into the hands of the fascists. Today a major responsibility for the existence of imperialism rests with Stalinism and its agencies.

The Transitional Program which was



Trotsky with his wife and son in Alma Ata, 1928, after his expulsion from Soviet Union.

flows in the objective situation and the role of the subjective factor, the revolutionary party.

### GERMANY

This was related to Stalin's refusal to analyze the defeat of the German revolution of 1923, dismissing it as an "episode." All the talk about "offensive" after the defeat in 1923 became a cover for the complacency and conservatism of the Stalinist leadership.

In 1921 the leadership of the German Communist Party reacted impatiently and mechanically to the class struggle. When one section of the class moved in advance of the rest, the party refused to confront the difficulties and problems this raised. Instead of going into the masses and the trade unions, developing the consciousness of the class as a whole, the German CP substituted adventurism. In the end it turned against the workers, trying to physically force them onto the streets.

Both Lenin and Trotsky after 1921 pointed out that the revolution was not just a single act, that revolutionary strategy consisted of a whole system of actions and tactics which through their relation and growth would lead the working class to power.

In 1923 while the German Communist Party had implemented the tactics worked out at the Third and Fourth Congresses,

the founding document of the Fourth International is based on the gains in the understanding of strategy worked out during the early years of the Third International and Trotsky's fight against Stalinism to construct a new international.

It is this Program which is the strategic document for this epoch. It requires above all the resolution of the crisis of leadership within the working class through the penetration by the revolutionary party of the trade unions, bringing forward through the daily struggle of the class the political confrontation against capitalism.

In the United States the central strategic task is the struggle to break the American working class from the historical stranglehold of the capitalist parties. Every aspect of the struggle on wages, jobs and conditions, and the fight against the war requires the independent political mobilization of the working class.

Nixon and the capitalist class are preparing their measures to crush the working class. The greatest danger is precisely the role of the trade union bureaucracy and its allies the American Communist Party who will seek to head off the independent political struggle for a labor party by creating political coalitions to continue to tie the working class to reformism.

In this struggle the fate of the American working class is bound up inextricably with the fate of the working class internationally, even its struggle on wages and jobs, as Trotsky pointed out in this book, cannot go forward except by linking it to the international program for the working class.

In the introduction to the new edition of *The Third International After Lenin*, Gus Horowitz of the Socialist Workers Party, takes the opportunity to deny the critical lessons for today of Trotsky's struggle incorporated in this book. Horowitz opens his introduction by saying:

"The years following Stalin's death have been marked by considerable change in the world working class movement. Of the new developments...has been a relative decline in the size, power and influence of the Communist Parties throughout the world. That these parties are still strong is certainly true; but in many countries the virtual unlimited authority they once enjoyed has been irrevocably shattered. New trends and currents, new parties and groupings have emerged. New ideas and strategies for revolutionary change have been put forward."

These "new strategies" include the "revolutionary strategy" of Castro for Latin America and "the work of Che Guevara." In other words the whole struggle against Stalinism and the struggle to construct an international Trotskyist party based on the Transitional Program are simply liquidated on the basis that Stalinism is a thing of the past and "new strategies" have been developed since Trotsky's days which can pose an alternative to Stalinism.

### STALINISM

Stalinism is far from a thing of the past but has powerful material roots in the bureaucracies of the workers state. While it has been weakened by the movement of the working class, all the more conscious and reactionary does it become. Are we to forget the betrayal of the French General Strike, the massacres in Ceylon and Pakistan? While the American CP today is not what it was in the 1930s, it will not disappear overnight but will seek to extend its influence as the working class moves into independent political struggle and to head off this development. The SWP's dismissal of the question of Stalinism merely becomes its justification for a bloc with it as its cosy relations in the antiwar movement show.

### SWP

The SWP completely abstracts the question of strategy from the struggle of the working class for socialism and from the history of the Marxist movement and Trotskyism. Strategy is not viewed as international, based on the international character of class relations. It is broken up into various sectors of the world and reflects forces such as Castro and Guevara outside the working class.

The SWP bases its perspective not on the international struggle of the working class but on the middle class currents in the United States. It opposes the basic task in this period which faces the American working class, the construction of a labor party.

The SWP has liquidated the Transitional Program and the construction of a proletarian party into adaptation to the middle class movements like Stalinism. While it was James Cannon who was able to see the documents written by Trotsky in preparation for the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and took up the fight of Trotsky and the Left Opposition in the U.S., he and his party today are breaking from every single principle which Trotsky fought for.

This struggle can only be carried forward by the Workers League and the International Committee of the Fourth International which bases itself on the continuity of the Marxist movement and the whole historical experience of the working class.

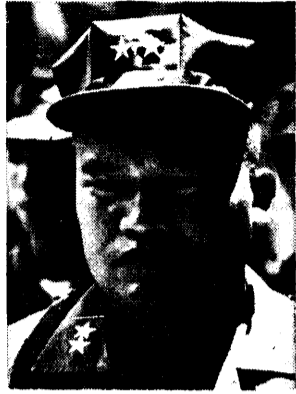
# Editor's Notebook

## General Gets Fat On Drug Trade

The Pentagon Papers had just begun to reveal the corrupt and unsavory character of U.S. imperialism's puppets in Saigon and the wheelings and dealings of U.S. ambassadors and advisors with these generals as they plotted coups together in the back rooms of Saigon's cafes.

Then a new scandal broke out. It seems that one Major General Ngo Dzu, commander of the II Corps area of South Vietnam, among those generals the U.S. government puts so much faith in to preserve "democracy" in South Vietnam, is "one of the chief traffickers in heroin." So said Representative Steele in Congress.

General Dzu hotly denied it and was backed by his American advisor. But as any GI who has spent time in Saigon will tell you, the generals and, some re-



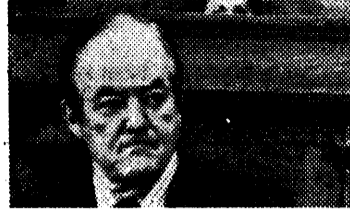
port, certain U.S. officers as well, have their profit hungry hands in the drug traffic, prostitution and gambling that flourish in Saigon. The government surely was not blind to this but simply looked the other way. A few months ago it was revealed that CIA planes were being used to carry heroin into Saigon.

Now major forces behind the Saigon regime are said to be the dealers. It appears that the complete cynicism of the imperialists extends to acceptance if not encouragement of the drug addiction that has afflicted thousands of GIs. Could it be that they feel this is safer than an army in open rebellion?

## Bon Voyage To Bon Vivant

Bon Vivant Soups company in Newark, N.J. was shut down last week but only after one man had died and his wife was paralyzed after eating one of its specialty soups, vichyssoise. Contained in the soup was the deadly poison known as botulin.

Botulism is almost impossible to cure. This is one reason why it has been among the poisons developed by imperialism for bio-



Hubert Humphrey boarded a barge last week with his agri-

logical warfare.

This week the Food and Drug Administration were still searching for some of the 6,444 cans which could contain this poison.

It appears that in order to speed-up the processing, the company cut down on the precautionary heating process after sealing. Such are the fruits of a system of production which is driven solely by profit.

cultural subcommittee to tour the South. After a cruise down the Tennessee River he flew to Montgomery, Alabama.

There he and Governor George Wallace had a cozy lunch of roast beef and melon before adjourning to the Alabama House of Representatives. Mr. Wallace had been invited to give some "expert" testimony on agriculture. Mr. Humphrey beamed as Wallace began testifying. But suddenly Mr. Humphrey's smile turned to pain. Was it indigestion? No it was just that Mr. Wallace's "expert" testimony on farming had turned into a campaign speech.

Humphrey obviously got more than he bargained for. Humphrey's visit to Wallace went beyond the confines of agriculture as his party prepares for 1972. Like Nixon and the Republicans the Democrats are courting the South.

## ECONOMY. . .

(Continued From Page 2)

less of its impact of further unemployment, factory closings, business failures, bankruptcies and the like. These policies are forced on the ruling class by the deepening balance of payments deficit of more than five and one half billion dollars in the last fiscal year.

This is expressed even more acutely in the drastic decline in the trade surplus. For the last two months, there was no trade surplus at all but a total deficit of nearly \$420 million. Although exports rose by 14% in 1970, the Commerce Department predicts they will rise only about 7% this year, while imports rise by 13 to 14%. The forecast is that the overall trade surplus, if there is any at all in 1971, will be at its lowest point since 1937.

In the automobile industry as well as in other industries—steel, aluminum, and textiles, to name a few—new mass layoffs and plant closures are taking place as the employers step up their drive for increased productivity and the recession that has already decimated the aerospace industry spreads.

The Administration's policy is to use the growing unemployment in U.S. industry along with the threat of new anti-strike legislation and the hacking away at the union shop in such areas as construction to hold back the wage offensive of the working class.

This is what lies behind last week's White House conference of Nixon and the steel industry, which demanded that Abel hold back the demands of the steel workers who are fed up with years of being squeezed more and more while inflation soared.

### CONTROLS

While the Administration has temporarily rejected the demand for "wage-price controls" put forward by Arthur Burns, John Kenneth Galbraith and other liberal "friends of labor" as the best means of shackling the trade unions, Nixon is only biding his time. The ruling class under both Nixon and the Democrats has plans not only for the establishment of compulsory arbitration but for using unemployment, racism, the police and courts to smash the growing strike wave

and bring about the scab shop conditions of the 1930s in the U.S.

While the U.S. ruling class prepares its new arsenal of weapons against the unions in order to increase productivity and bolster profits which are hard hit by the recession, they also prepare a war against the European and Japanese capitalists.

An ever growing sentiment for a sharp tariff retaliation, the erection of new tariff walls to protect U.S. industry, is now coming to the fore.

The threat of a trade war with Japan and Europe, the holding of the club of protectionism over the head of these powers in order to extract concessions for U.S. industry, is accomplished by an ever sharper drive by American corporations to lower the real wages and destroy the conditions of American workers. They hope in this way to increase productivity and undercut their competitors.

### COMMON MARKET

Meanwhile the European and Japanese ruling classes are forced into renewed attacks on their own workers in order to meet the U.S. offensive. This is the meaning of the proposed entry of Britain into the Common Market.

The turn of the U.S. toward some form of protectionism will only pose the threat of an all-out trade war with a round of competitive currency devaluations by the different capitalist powers. The result can only be the repetition of the 1929 crash on a far greater scale, and the turn toward fascism in an attempt to restore the rate of profit.

### ALTERNATIVES

The only alternative to the deepening recession and threat of crash is for the working class in the U.S. to take forward the struggle to run the economy in its own interests based on nationalization of basic industry, beginning with all those plants and industries shut down by the owners, and the launching of a nationwide campaign for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to be brought into every union contract struggle. These demands must be at the heart of the campaign for the formation of a labor party to challenge Nixon and the Democrats in the 1972 elections.

## STEEL. . .

(Continued From Page 3)  
verment while in fact he is their complete servant.

The aim of this fraud is to strengthen Abel and the USWA bureaucracy in their attempts to hold back the ranks who want to go far beyond the can-aluminum pattern. The Communist Party in its paper, the Daily World has completely given its assistance to Abel in the perpetration of this hoax.

Abel has refused to prepare for any strike at all. He has recognized the sacred right of bosses to lay off thousands of steelworkers from all the major companies without lifting a finger. As he and the companies well know, this serves to knock out the younger workers who are the most militant and class conscious.

These layoffs also serve to attempt to demoralize the remaining workers. While letting the companies and steel buyers build up huge stockpile inventories, he is planning to let 25% of the domestic steel industry to operate full blast under a "me-too" contract agreement.

The ruling class in a further attempt to demoralize the ranks through their newspapers like the Wall Street Journal, the New York Times and others have been putting forth the myth that a strike in steel at this time would be "insignificant." They cite "foreign imports," the huge stockpiles, the fact that I.W. Abel leadership is letting 25% of the industry operate, that the men have no heart for a strike, and that the companies, being "sensible" will give the workers the same as aluminum and can workers.

But the real situation is that a strike in steel, shutting down the whole industry either through an "official" call or through a local wildcat movement has the ruling class scared to death. This is the kind of struggle the ranks in steel want.

This is the only strategy that can win the essential demands that the workers need: the \$2.00 an hour increase across the board, the full cost of living clause starting the first day of the contract, the right to strike over local grievances, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, the complete elimination of racism towards Black and Spanish speaking workers in regards to upgrading and all working conditions, and 30 years and out regardless of age at a

\$500 per month pension.

### PROGRAM

This is the program and strategy put forward by the Committee for a Decent Contract of Local 1845 as part of building a national rank and file movement and a new leadership inside the union.

The CDC points out that the employers with Nixon's backing, are using their private ownership of the industry more and more against the interests of the steelworkers and are concerned only with profits. The answer to the bosses' continued operation at only 75% of production or less, to the mass layoffs and threatened plant closings, the destruction of wages and conditions, must raise the demand for nationalization of the steel industry, without compensation to the employers and operated under workers control in the public interest.

The struggle for this program as the CDC also points out, brings the steelworkers into a sharp political conflict with both Nixon and the Democratic and Republican Parties as a whole who differ only on what methods to use to break strikes, maintain the war in Vietnam and mount an attack on the working class aimed at reverting to the conditions of the '30s. The struggle in steel thus raises the struggle for labor's own political party which must be taken forward now with the calling of a mass convocation of labor in Washington to launch a labor party campaign in the 1972 elections.

Growing numbers of steelworkers are refusing to accept the Abel-Nixon sellout settlement, laying the basis for a massive movement for rejection—for a "NO" vote on this sellout. The local leaders can be forced by the intervention of the ranks at every plant and local union meeting to demand a strike.

The ranks must let these leaders know that wildcat action will be taken if necessary to stop Abel's sellout.

Central to the strategy for this strike must be the demand to shut down the entire industry, not just the "Big Nine," and for the longshoremen and teamsters to refuse to handle imported steel.

Preparations must be made now to meet any government injunctions or other actions to break a steel strike with the demand for

a general strike of the entire labor movement, shutting down the entire country if necessary in defense of the steelworkers.

### BLOW

For the ruling class, the attempts to prevent a strike in steel and fasten a sellout on 550,000 workers is part of their strategy to cut down the developing wage offensive and strike wave. They fear that a steel strike together with the 30,000 copper workers, the 15,000 West Coast longshoremen, and the 20,000 Western Union workers now on strike would pose a serious blow against the whole capitalist system.

If the steelworkers take matters into their own hands and develop a widespread wildcat movement, there is no doubt they will be joined by the East and Gulf Coast Longshoremen (ILA) and the 80,000 soft coal miners whose contract expires Sept. 1. This is the kind of general strike movement that can develop out of the steel struggle and bring the Nixon government and the bosses to their knees.

This is the kind of struggle every steelworker must prepare for now. This program and strategy must be taken into every local and mill with a fight for the immediate formation of rank and file caucuses to lead this struggle.



Ernest Mandel:

## The Fraud of Neo-Capitalism

by Dennis O'Grady

50¢

**THE International**  
Monthly organ of the Workers League Canada

## Rebirth of the 4th International in Canada



POUR UN GOUVERNEMENT  
NDP-A OTTAWA  
SUR UN PROGRAMME SOCIALISTE

**L'Internationale**  
L'Organe mensuel de la Ligue des Travailleurs Canada

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Canadian Communist Party. It is appropriate that this is the year when the Workers League (Canada) launches its monthly organ, *The International/L'Internationale*. Its first issue, out this month, is headlined "Rebirth of the Fourth International in Canada."

The fate of the workers movement in Canada has always been intimately linked with that of workers in the United States. While the weak Canadian bourgeoisie has had to allow an extremely heavy investment of American capital, at the same time Canadian and foreign capitalists face a working class organized in unions which cross national boundaries. In this respect it is significant that Trotskyism was founded simultaneously in Canada and the United States through the joint collaboration of Maurice Spector and James P. Cannon.

### STRENGTH

The strength of the Canadian working class and the weakness of Canadian capitalism can well lead to extremely sharp struggles in the coming period, allowing political developments in Canada to have an important impact on those in the United States. It is therefore of great importance to the development of a movement here that the Canadian supporters of the International Committee have been able to take this important first step of launching their own publication.

Trudeau's imposition of the War Mea-

## Canada

# Trotskyists Launch Monthly Paper

asures Act in Quebec last year reflects the gravity of the crisis in Canada and the tendency towards dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. At the same time the War Measures Act could not prevent the Dominion Glass and Hydro-Quebec strikes. The inability of Trudeau to break this forward movement of the Canadian working class as a whole forced Trudeau to withdraw the War Measures Act. But the threat is still there. The struggle has only just begun.

The *International/L'Internationale* stresses that central to the struggle in Canada today is bringing about the political unity of the Canadian working class as a whole through the fight for an NDP government in Ottawa and in each province on a socialist basis. The New Democratic Party is Canada's labor party supported by the AFL-CIO unions.

### NDP

Only by taking the Canadian working class through the experience of struggle around an NDP government on a socialist program can the workers be unified and brought to an understanding of the necessity to go beyond reformism and recognize the leadership of the revolutionary party. Every tendency to divert the struggle into petty bourgeois channels and to divide up the working class along language and regional lines must be fought.

There is now an important turn of Canadian workers towards the NDP as they are attacked by the Liberal government of Trudeau and by inflation, unemployment and direct attacks from individual capitalist firms. The latest sign of this is the NDP sweep in Saskatchewan, the birthplace of labor politics in Canada with the formation of the CCF in 1933. This follows the NDP victory in Manitoba and growing strength in Ontario.

The militancy of all Canadian workers, their willingness to fight to the end, is illustrated by the LaPalme drivers of Montreal. This group of workers who used to operate trucks for the post office, have been on strike for 16 months. Even though their numbers have been reduced to 250 they are continuing the strike despite every pressure of the union bureaucracy and the government. The latest move was an ultimatum from the CNTU, the independent union separatist in outlook and based primarily in Quebec. The CNTU threatened to withdraw support from the strike unless the drivers accepted the same deal they were offered 16 months ago. The

strikers voted over 90% against acceptance and have vowed to continue their strike even if they have to go it completely alone!

The Workers League (Canada) sees the Quebec separatist movement as a middle class diversion which aims to break up this unity of the working class. While defending the democratic rights of all French Canadians to the use of their language on all levels of life and industry without any discrimination and truly equal to English, the Workers League (Canada) refuses to give any support whatsoever to Quebec separatism. It fights for the unity of the Canadian working class producing its publication in the two languages and publishing it in Montreal.

The *International/L'Internationale* states:

"Let us be clear—it is the historic unity of the working class in Canada and the historic weaknesses of the bourgeoisie which drive the middle-class to frenzy. When the nationalists and revisionists declare that the history of the working class in Quebec is distinct and separate from the history of the class in the rest of the country—they lie! We say that quite openly—they are liars and dangerous liars. They are, in actual fact, projecting on to the working class their own history—the history of the middle class and the ruling class, which is one of division, weakness, softness, an inability to play any decisive, independent role.

"Naturally, the workers' movement reflects this disunity. Canadian workers have suffered defeats precisely when they succumb to these divisions—the separation of the western and eastern workers in the whole period of the Winnipeg General Strike and the One Big Union.

"But we, as Marxists, don't begin from the weaknesses and limitations of this history. We begin from the organic unity of the working class in Canada, recognizing that this unity must take on a new form—the struggle for power, the struggle to construct the independent Marxist party. There is no bureaucratic, reformist, nationalist road to unity. There can only be unity on the Transitional Program, a program which can win over and mobilize masses of workers into a force capable of seizing state power and establishing its own dictatorship."

It is important, on the 50th anniversary of Canadian Communism, to note that separatism was first supported by "Marxists" when the Stalinized Communist Party sought mechanically to impose Stalin's

analysis of the national question to the French Canadians. This occurred at the same time the American Communist Party put forward the line of self determination for the Black Belt. Stalinism thus from its origins supported the petty bourgeois break-up of the working class just as they support the Canadian bourgeoisie then and today around slogans of Canadian nationalism.

### REVISIONISM

The position of the LSA-LSO, members of the United Secretariat, actually is an adaptation to this perspective of Stalinism. Today the LSA uncritically supports Quebec separatism. It refuses to fight for the NDP in Quebec and instead supports the reactionary demand of unilingualism—of forcing French upon Italian, Greek and English speaking workers. While it supports the NDP in other parts of Canada, this support takes the form of adaptation to the Waffle Caucus which in turn has a strictly Canadian nationalist perspective. It adapts to every surface movement of the petty bourgeoisie imported from the United States from feminism to gay liberation.

The Canadian working class is ahead of the working class in the United States in its support to a working class party. This struggle around the NDP can have a deep impact on the development of workers in the United States. At the same time the Canadian working class must move forward in unity with United States workers against many of the same employers and a government dependent on the American bourgeoisie.

Above all there needs to be a development of Marxist theory in Canada as well as the United States as part of the struggle to construct the Fourth International internationally. Pragmatic traditions weigh heavily on workers of both countries. This is why a study of the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party is just as critical to the development of a movement in Canada as it is in the United States. We are sure that as the Canadian Trotskyists begin to deepen their work among Canadian workers—French and English alike—they will at the same time deepen their theoretical and philosophical struggles.

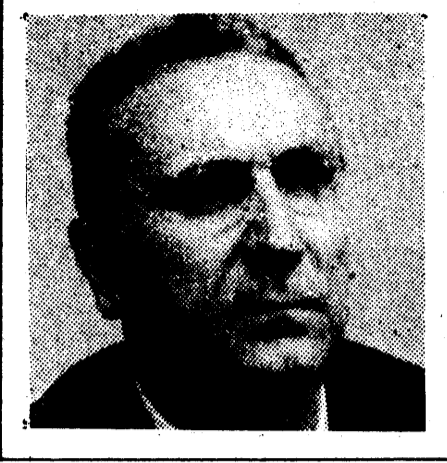
Anyone wishing a subscription to *The International/L'Internationale* should send \$1.00 for six months or \$2.00 for a full year to: Workers League (Canada), 3410 Workman St., Montreal 207, Quebec, Canada.



Fifty persons attended the Workers League Mid-Atlantic educational outing in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania last weekend. After a presentation on "In Defense of Marxism" (left), participants broke up into smaller groups to discuss the lessons of Trotsky's struggle against the petty bourgeois opposition in the Socialist Workers Party in 1940. The necessity to take up the struggle for dialectics which Trotsky urged on the SWP at that time is even more urgent today as capitalism enters a crisis unprecedented in history. The development of Marxist theory can now be made only through the struggle to penetrate the working class and build Marxist leadership.

## Poland

# Workers And Youth Defend Gains



Gierek

BY MELODY FARROW

ONE OF THE most important delegations at the Essen rally of revolutionary youth on July 3-4 were the supporters of the Liaison Committee for Students of Eastern Europe.

Their participation in a new Revolutionary International of Youth is particularly important in light of the development of political revolution that began in Poland last December.

The Polish workers who went on strike throughout the country last year against massive price increases have not retreated one step from the gains they won. The gains made last year have only led to more demands for change from the workers and youth.

Recently General Moczar, the Minister of Internal Security, who was chiefly responsible for the shooting of the strikers last December has been removed from his post. His removal was one of the main demands of the workers.

On June 26th, leading officials of the Lodz Communist Party organization met to discuss complaints sent in by the workers. This was the city where the determined strike of women textile workers forced the bureaucracy to cancel its price increases.

Seventy percent of the complaints which

dealt with poor working conditions, medical facilities and vacation benefits have begun to be implemented.

### THREATENING

At the same time the Gierek bureaucracy is threatening to bring Kaminiski and Stepien, leaders of the Gdansk uprisings, to trial. In Gdansk special legislation has been instituted against "hooligans who set fire to cars and assassinate the militia."

The bureaucracy is torn apart, on the one hand forced to concede far more than it would like to the workers and on the other hand attempting to reassert its authority with threats of trials and repression. Above all the bureaucracy fears the strength of the workers' movement.

One of the most important results of the December struggles was the enormous influx into large sections of party organs

by the students and young workers.

Elections were held in February in Lodz, Gdansk and Szczecin in which trade union and Communist Party positions were won by young workers. Many local organizations are now in the hands of these militants.

The same is true among the students. The Communist Youth, the party youth organization, was forced to support the student demands to avoid becoming completely isolated. In March an unprecedented 4,600 students joined the Communist Youth.

This was expressed by a leader of the Gdansk youth organization in an interview in which he said:

"Another reason that our organization was not broken up and destroyed is that people came to us who had political conceptions they couldn't express before... People who led the events of December

have a great deal of authority whereas before they didn't belong to our organization... We have guys who aren't afraid of anything...."

At the University of Warsaw in April, the students protested the elections and refused to recognize them whereas before December 1970 they would simply ignore and boycott all elections.

The bureaucracy is so concerned about this rapid politicalization among the youth that the Political Bureau has set up a special commission to come up with a program they would accept.

### UNIFY

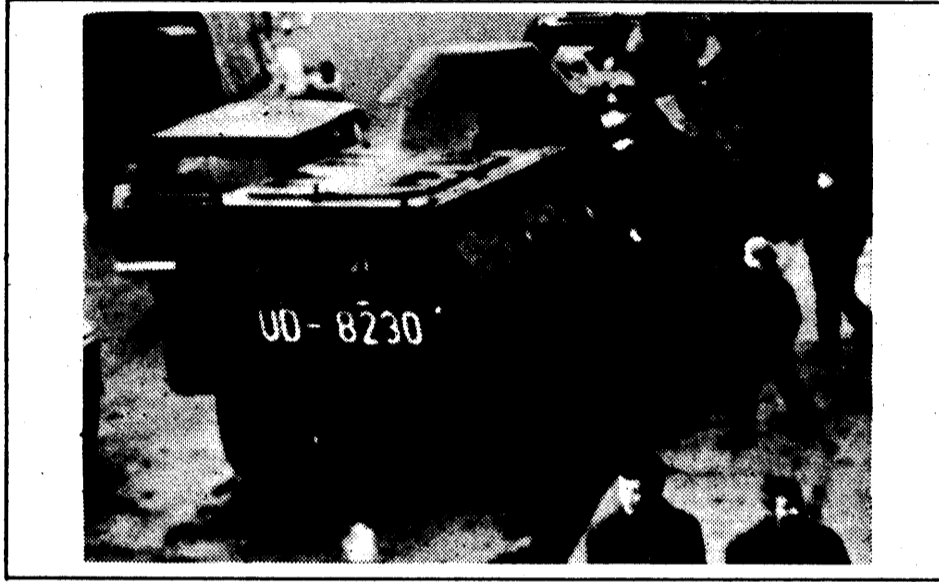
These developments which are taking place not only in Poland but throughout Eastern Europe can now be taken forward through the Liaison Committee and the newsletter which they publish. Their aims were outlined in the British Trotskyists' paper, *Workers Press* which interviewed some Committee members at the Essen assembly:

"The most important thing about the Committee is that we are young people who want to fight the bureaucracy in Eastern Europe and struggle for socialism.

"The purpose of the Committee is to unify and link the different struggles of the youth of Eastern Europe.

"It is only with an international perspective that we can work. Basically we want to unify the struggles of the past, present and future for the demand made here for the Socialist United States of Europe, the struggle against bureaucracy and imperialism and the fight for the leadership of the working class.

"Now the youth are trying to give a political expression to their struggle and asking for their own independent organizations. Our Liaison Committee is very encouraged by this move."



Stalinist bureaucracy in Poland brought tanks against workers.

## Soviet Union

# Hacks Attack Left Wing Writers

verberating throughout the bureaucracy, we must take note of the fact that Yevtushenko now comes out in pious opposition to "Stalinism" for reasons which benefit the Soviet bureaucracy.

Yevtushenko has never been more than a carefully nurtured apologist for Brezhnev-Kosygin, taking care to poke fun at precisely those aspects of Soviet life which avoided the central question.

That is why he denounced Sinyavsky and Daniel in 1966, after they had decried not only the rehabilitation of Stalin but the Stalinist policies of the bureaucracy, and agreed that they "should have been punished." He sneered: "Should they be allowed to wash their dirty linen outside their own country?"

The bureaucracy needs their Yevtushenkos to counter the genuine and growing opposition to the bureaucracy amongst students, intellectuals, and increasingly among the Soviet working class and channel this opposition into safe protest politics.

The first words of opposition were expressed on the eve of the Fifth Writers' Congress, when a critic challenged the official view that all Soviet literature must be written in the style known as "socialist realism." This represented the first signs of opposition to official cultural policy within the leading cultural organizations themselves.

### DEBATE

Alexander Ovcharenko, a member of the editorial board of *Novy Mir*, literary magazine of the Soviet Communist Party, writes in the current issue an article entitled "Continuation of a Debate." The article is written in reply to a critic whom Ovcharenko takes to task for declaring that "in our literature there is only one method—socialist realism." The phrase was coined by Stalin in 1934, two years

before the Moscow Trials, but was given theoretical prominence by Zhdanov, Soviet general and cultural "expert" in 1947 when Pasternak's writings were circulated outside the Soviet Union.

Ovcharenko declared in a personal capacity, that "some of the most important Soviet writers did not write in the vein of socialist realism." He said it is wrong for dogmatic critics to say they did. Socialist realism, long in dispute in Russia, was basically confined to academic debates and lectures. For the first time a prominent cultural journal has allowed this article to appear. This is evidence of the deepening crisis within cultural circles, particularly over the public censorship, first of Sinyavsky and Daniel, but most prominently of Solzhenitsyn.

It has created an even more profound opposition to Stalin and the political and cultural methods of the bureaucracy which seek to stifle both independent and critical thought and art. Ovcharenko contends that the great Soviet writers Alexander Blok, Mayakovsky, Bulgakov, Akhmatova, Mandelstam, Babel, Bely, Platanov and Pasternak "can hardly be regarded as realists." He thus openly defends the persecuted victims of Stalin's regime who were murdered, sent to freeze to death in exile, isolated like lepers, publicly shunned and censured. But even citing these names, all of which either have been removed from official histories and documents, or referred to in the most calumnious tones, Ovcharenko places his reputation and future at stake.

Indeed the Fifth Writers' Congress took up Ovcharenko and those like him very harshly. At the Congress Georgi Markov denounced those who support Solzhenitsyn and other Soviet writers who are in official disfavor. Markov, in the major report heard by Brezhnev, Kosygin and other Politburo members, called for maintaining

orthodoxy in the arts. He was cheered wildly by this crew of cynical and cultural hacks as he intoned:

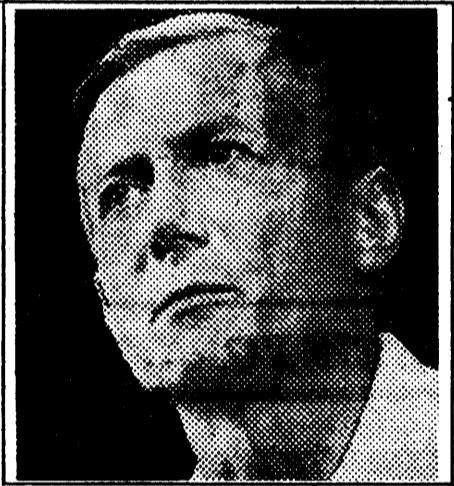
### SOLZHENITSYN

"No matter how great a talent a writer may possess, it can't be expressed with full clarity only in an atmosphere of struggle for implementing the great social transformation that is waged by the Soviet people led by its militant vanguard—the Communist Party." In other words not only does this Stalinist cretin defend the official policies of Stalinism historically, but declares war against Solzhenitsyn who was expelled from the Writers Union in 1969:

"In all these years, Soviet writers were the object of furious ideological enemies. Bourgeois propagandists organized campaign after campaign to undermine confidence in Soviet literature, to split it from the world literary process...." Terminating this attack on all dissenters in Russia, he says: "When for instance, Soviet law enforcement brought to account some dyed-in-the-wool idlers for their parasitic life, someone abroad suggested these ignoramuses and lazybones were writers."

Alluding to Solzhenitsyn's Nobel Prize, he cautioned "Let those gentlemen from foreign ideological centers realize that their provocative strategem will fool no one. The Soviet writers will decide themselves who should be a member of the Writers' Union and who should not."

The bureaucracy's open vilification of all dissident elements from amongst the working class youth and artists represents a policy based not on optimism or strength but is based on tremendous weakness and fear. The dissenters openly challenge all return to censorship and are prepared to sacrifice their lives for socialism in Russia.



BY LOU BELKIN

AT THE FIFTH Writers' Congress of the Soviet Union held recently a vicious attack was opened up by the hacks and literary hatchet men of the Soviet bureaucracy on the left oppositional elements that have sprung up in Soviet literary circles the past several years.

But at the same time the Congress had to reflect the swelling oppositional trend as manifested in the speech of world famous poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko. Yevtushenko stated: "There must only be a forbidden approach to themes, but there must be no forbidden themes."

It was understood that one of the "forbidden themes" alluded to was that of Stalin and the Stalin era. Yevtushenko also condemned the ultra-Stalinist trend in control of the literary apparatus which continues to shut out writers of the younger generation. The way must be cleared, he said, for a deeper analysis of problems.

Yevtushenko's speech to the Congress is of importance not so much in and of itself but as a testimony of the strength of the oppositional trends that Yevtushenko, considered in recent years something of an "Establishment rebel," feels he must speak out.

While Yevtushenko's speech undoubtedly reflects the profound contradictions re-

# Construction Workers Shut 200 Job Sites

## West Coast News

# Portland Nationalists Aid Police

BY A CONSTRUCTION WORKER

SAN FRANCISCO—The major confrontation between the construction unions and Nixon's wage policies is shaping up in Northern California.

Led by the carpenters, seven unions which were working without a contract have stopped work on over two hundred job sites in Northern California and idled over a hundred thousand construction workers, after a lock-out by the Associated General Contractors and the Engineering and Grading Contractors. The carpenters must be joined

on the picket line by all crafts now working without a contract. It must be no contract, no work and agreements must be reached with all unions before anyone goes back. All agreements must be on the level of the carpenters agreement with the Home Builders, or better. No contract should be signed with the implementation of new techniques and processes without an agreement for no job cuts. The painters must reject their contract offered in this light.

To conduct this battle the Building Trades Council must be turned into a council of war and must fight for unity between the crafts. Open meetings must

be built with the participation of the rank and file.

The unity in the fight has to be seen as the only way to proceed in what is a political fight. This is a fight against Nixon and his policies.

Any attempt to fight in the old narrow craft way is inadequate but more so dangerous. The full strength of the construction unions must from the beginning be turned against the employer and the federal government which stands behind them. All union representatives must be recalled from Nixon's wage review boards immediately.

BY JOHN LACH

PORTLAND, ORE.—An interview with Lee Brown, the Black director of the Law Enforcement Program at Portland State University, appeared in a recent issue of the local newspaper.

The occasion for the interview was the naming of Brown as a winner of a Danforth Foundation award as one of the top 175 college and university teachers in the nation. He heads what is planned

to be the major police institute in the Northwest.

The program is a product of a U.S. Justice Department division known as the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration which was set up after the rebellions of Black workers and youth which took place in 1967. LEAA was developed by the Institute for Defense Analysis, an agency of the U.S. Defense Department.

It was the LEAA that conducted the biggest mass arrest ever on an American campus, with all Black officers. The incident, in which 889 students were arrested and illegally detained for at least one night in the Mississippi State penitentiary, happened at Mississippi Valley State College in 1970. The students were arrested for nonviolently boycotting classes on behalf of demands such as for new shower curtains, washing machines and pay phones in the dormitories.

The PSU Law Enforcement program as of 1970 received \$100,000 from LEAA. Most of the money is used to provide loans to about 50 students. Brown has received full cooperation from the reactionary cultural-nationalists in the PSU Black Studies department who help sucker Black students into the program with the line that the system can be changed by working within it, that Black cops can better handle incidents in the ghetto, and that their loans will be canceled by doing law enforcement work upon graduation.

In the newspaper interview, Brown said he believes that "We have a leadership crisis in law enforcement, a fear to experiment with new things. If we had more imaginative police chiefs, we'd have more organizational changes." It was the 1967 Commission on Law Enforcement that recommended that the nation set itself the goal of making every cop in the country a college graduate. But along with sophistication in the "humanistic," liberal arts aspect of the law enforcement program goes even more sophistication in the mechanics of police repression such as "riot" control and firearms.

It is the logic of Black nationalism that is expressed in this grooming of Black youth to suppress Black workers and youth in the ghetto, while U.S. rulers prepare a dictatorship against the movement of the working class.

# State Workers Demand Strike Action Against Cuts

BY A CSEA MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Nearly 500 state workers jammed into a tiny auditorium in San Francisco State Building yesterday and demanded by a 90% vote that the CSEA Board of Directors call a statewide strike if Governor Reagan's budget cuts are not restored by the legislature.

Similar meetings held in other areas of the state produced votes from 75% to 98% for statewide strike action.

The CSEA leadership is now clearly exposed before thousands of workers. With this overwhelming mandate to call a strike they continue to lobby and pressure the politicians for a "friendly vote" on the override issue.

This can only demoralize the mass of state workers who are willing to fight now against Reagan's attacks on wages and jobs.

The last time a budget cut by the governor gained the necessary two-thirds vote to override was in 1946. The Board of Directors is meeting now to decide what action they should take when the

override attempt fails. Immediate statewide strike action must be CSEA's answer.

This extreme California budget crisis reflected in the denial of any raise to state workers has produced an unheard-of militancy among state employees.

This militancy now threatens to break apart CSEA's history of reliance and enslavement to the politicians of the two capitalist parties. The bureaucracy has always bragged about its ability to work politically within the system. Now the system itself is breaking apart.

Reagan becomes bolder in his attempt to resolve the crisis by destroying everything state workers have gained. Liberals like Burton and Brown, while voting for CSEA sponsored bills will stand with Reagan on the illegality of strike action.

The lessons of the New York City strike must be learned. The "friends of the people" like Baddillo, Chisolm and Abzug did not lift a finger when Rockefeller and Lindsay threatened the National Guard. The Burtons and Browns are cut from the same cloth.

What is now required is a decisive break from the capitalist parties. The fight to bring out state workers in strike action must be accompanied with a

struggle to force the labor bureaucracy to prepare for the 1972 elections with a fight for a labor party.

# CP Silent On Berkeley

BERKELEY—As has been reported in the Bulletin, the Berkeley city council is involved in a debate over the city's budget.

This last week the debate, centering around the question of the police budget, resulted in the predictable compromise of bourgeois politics. Some \$176,000 (out of 4.2 million dollars) was cut from the police budget. The 4th platoon, Berkeley's version of the Tactical Squad, was not abolished, and Councilman Bailey's proposals to replace white cops with Black cops was defeated.

The question which must be asked in the face of these maneuvers is: what will change if these reforms are made? If the

4th platoon is abolished the rest of the department will take over their duties. If more Black and long haired cops are hired, they will do the same job as the white cops they replaced, with a bonus to the city in terms of available agent-provocateurs.

Besides their big "issue" of the police, Bailey, Simmons, and Hancock have proposed new budget allocations for various projects: \$150,000 for a Senior Citizen center, \$150,000 for a drug rehabilitation center, \$77,000 for the various health clinics in Berkeley, \$300,000 for city attorneys to prosecute polluters, and \$50,000 for the beautification of Berkeley. The insignificance of these proposals is overwhelming. Today people on fixed incomes, generally "senior citizens," are being strangled by rising prices, and the April Coalition offers a senior citizen's center.

The intent of these maneuvers is made clear by the sealed lips of these radicals concerning the wave of strikes in California, unless you consider their votes against raises for Berkeley employees to represent their opinion of all these struggles.

The Communist Party continues to maintain a most deafening silence on the developments in Berkeley.

(Continued From Page 16)

that this strike is simply a matter of shutting the ports down for many months till the PMA is starved into capitulation.

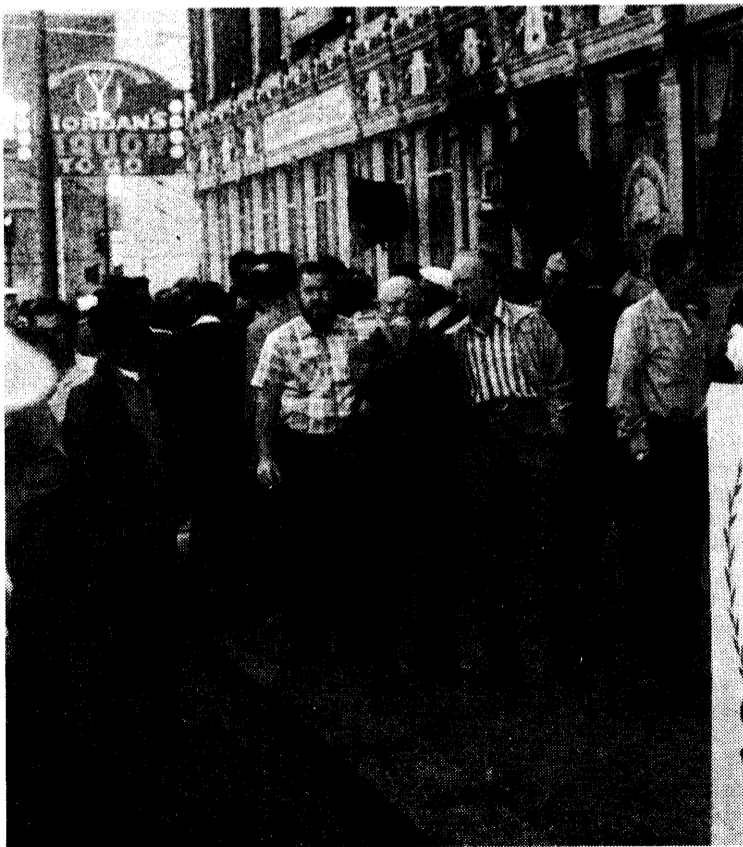
It must be understood that the longshore demands for shorter hours and wages threaten to reduce Nixon's economic policies of recession wage controls and unemployment to rubble.

If the PMA is not able to starve out the strike the government will come in with every weapon at its disposal to break it. This is a strike against the Nixon government and its Democratic Party supporters.

Dockers have allies throughout the labor movement, as section after section come into this clash with the government. Bridges must be forced by the ranks to begin an immediate campaign to call a congress of labor to construct a labor party that can bring down Nixon in 1972.

Only a strategy based on the enormous independent strength of the labor movement directed into a political showdown with Nixon and his class can win this strike.

# STOP CARGO. . .



Harry Bridges (right, striped shirt) before the start of dock strike. Now Bridges does everything to avoid confronting scabs and bosses, and to avoid mobilizing mass labor support for dockers to win.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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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

## STOP ALL SCAB CARGO!

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—As the ILWU dock strike rolls into the second week it is clear that the leadership intends to do everything possible to avoid a real showdown in the hopes that a compromise can be worked out.

As this is being written cargo continues to flow into the U.S. through the Canadian port of Vancouver and the Mexican government is bending over backwards to assist by using Ensenada and Mazatlan to handle scab cargo.

Meanwhile a number of Japanese firms such as Toyota are seeking arrangements to ship through Gulf Coast ports and big food processing companies such as Del Monte are considering similar policies.

Meanwhile the ILWU continues to load all mail, military cargo, passenger ships and certain perishable cargo.

The attitude of the leadership

was eloquently summed up in the "Bloody Thursday" observance in San Francisco with platitudes about a calm atmosphere and a dangerous complacency concerning government intervention.

In a vicious speech here the chairwoman of the Federal Maritime Commission attacked the strikers for endangering the U.S. export market and for refusing to buckle down to increase waterfront productivity.

While denying any government intention of moving in at this time she went all out to slander the strikers by claiming the strike was brought on by an internal power struggle in the

union rather than the fundamental interests of the dockers against the PMA.

The ILWU leadership is spreading criminal illusions with its policies. The demands of the dockers for wages and job guarantees mean a clash with the shippers and their government of the most fundamental nature.

The only way forward is in a fight to rally the entire labor movement to this struggle. Dockers must begin to build for this now. This means immediate action to halt all shipments destined for the West Coast.

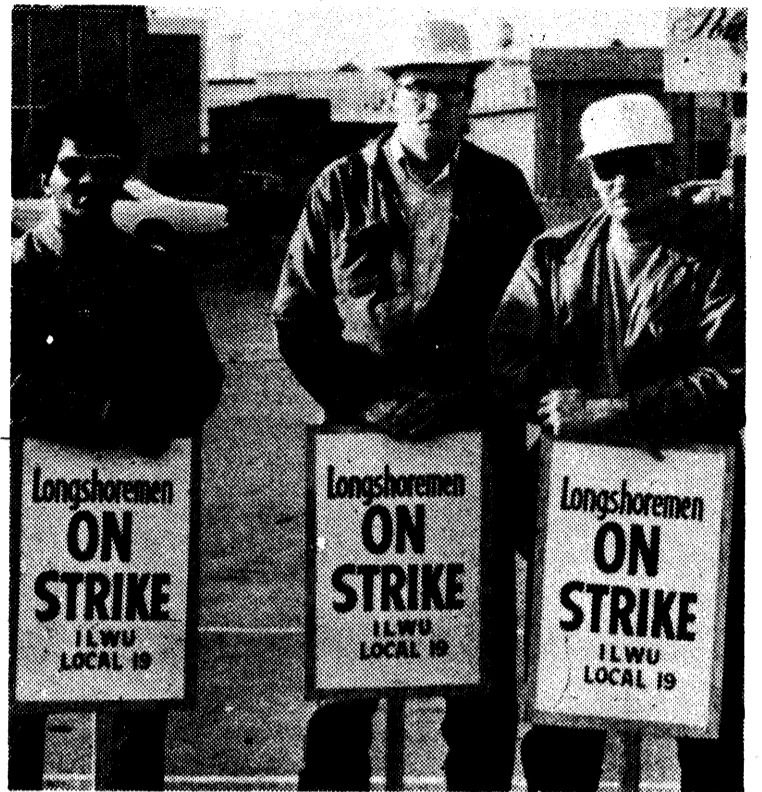
### SCAB

The People's World continues to back Bridges' scab policy. Treating the strike as a routine beef they simply report that Canadian dockers are not working too quickly and that any action taken in Mexico would involve a clash with the government. They are determined to cover up all political questions raised in this strike.

Dockers must force Bridges to call a halt to all scab shipping. This means a call on teamsters, railroad workers and Canadian and Mexico dockers to refuse to handle any hot cargo. Now is the time to obtain guarantees from East Coast dockers that no diverted cargo will be handled. All cargo shipments on the West Coast must be completely paralyzed.

Bridges continues to maintain

(Continued On Page 15)



Longshoremen picket Seattle docks as strike enters second week.

## Chavez And Schrade Threaten Democrats

"We cannot depend on the Democrats or Republicans to protect us. The only protection we have is our right and desire to be free men....Farmworkers are not going to continue to work for the Democratic Party unless they start to clean their own house....Grapes and lettuce are not the only things we can boycott."

These were the words of Cesar Chavez at a rally of thousands in Sacramento called to protest an anti-farmworker bill. This bill which would have literally destroyed every weapon of the union has been withdrawn.

At the same rally UAW spokesman Paul Schrade observed, "The Democrats submit a bill and the Democrats kill a bill and we're supposed to applaud....There is nothing to applaud for. Both parties have given us war in Southeast Asia; both parties have given us racism and repression and must be condemned for it."

These are not simply off hand comments. They represent the break up of all the old relations between the labor bureaucracy and the state as the movement of millions of workers poses the sharpest clash with the parties of capitalism.

Schrade and Chavez are squeezed to the wall between the rank and file and the absolute refusal of the government to come across with any concessions that can be sold.

Both of these bureaucrats are desperately seeking to warn that they are losing political control and can no longer sell the old parties.

The Stalinists, all too well aware of what is happening here come forward in the latest People's World with reports on a reformist gathering in Albuquerque that posed a new party for 1972 with the possible candidacy of Ralph Nader. The comments of Chavez and Schrade spur them on to head off any independent labor political development.

Schrade and Chavez, despite their intentions, reflect the development of something new. They express the fact that the fight for an independent labor party can now be taken up by millions of trade unionists if the leadership is built.

This perspective must now be brought to the fore in every labor battle. From the docks to the unprecedented movement of state workers, from construction to the struggle in steel, this movement towards general strike can only be taken forward with a preparation for a labor party in 1972.

## CWA Must Win 25% First Year

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Communication Workers of America Local 9410 president George Kirkpatrick revealed his true position on a fight for an immediate 25% wage increase.

The Workers League put forward a motion at a recent meeting to mandate the national president to take up Local 9410's stand on no return without a 25% increase, the original pension demands of 50% and cost of living guarantee. This met with wild cheers and applause from a good section of the membership.

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Kirkpatrick also revealed that the one sentence in the Workers League leaflet that irked him was the one that said that if he did not fight for 25%, he should step down, whereupon he cried "Kirkpatrick doesn't get out of anybody's way."

But this is precisely what is posed to the ranks as both Kirkpatrick and the national leadership draw closer and closer to a sellout deal.

## Worker Speaks On GM Layoffs

This interview is with a member of UAW Local 1364 at Fremont. GM just laid off 1600 workers at the plant out of a regular work force of 4500. Tom was a member of the truck lines from which he and several hundred workers have just been laid off.

**Bulletin:** Has the union done anything about the layoffs?

Tom: No, not a damn thing. All they're worrying about is the reduction in committeemen and union officials the layoffs will bring about. Actually the only thing we heard from them is when they passed out a leaflet saying it is a sad thing we got laid off and where we can get unemployment. We got more information from GM than from the union. You know at first they (the union) even denied the layoffs were going to take place, but the foremen knew what was going to happen.

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stuffed it. All the union officials care about is if they get the dues out of the members. That's the other thing the leaflet said, remember to pay your dues.

**Bulletin:** What is the attitude among the remaining workers since the layoffs began?

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get more info from him than I do from the union.

**Bulletin:** The most important question is how the layoffs can be stopped. We say that there must be a fight to force the International to reopen the contract and fight for the thirty for forty work week. This must be coupled with the fight for a general strike nationally since these attacks by the capitalist class are not isolated to just auto. This means a rank and file leadership that can fight against the bureaucracy must be built.

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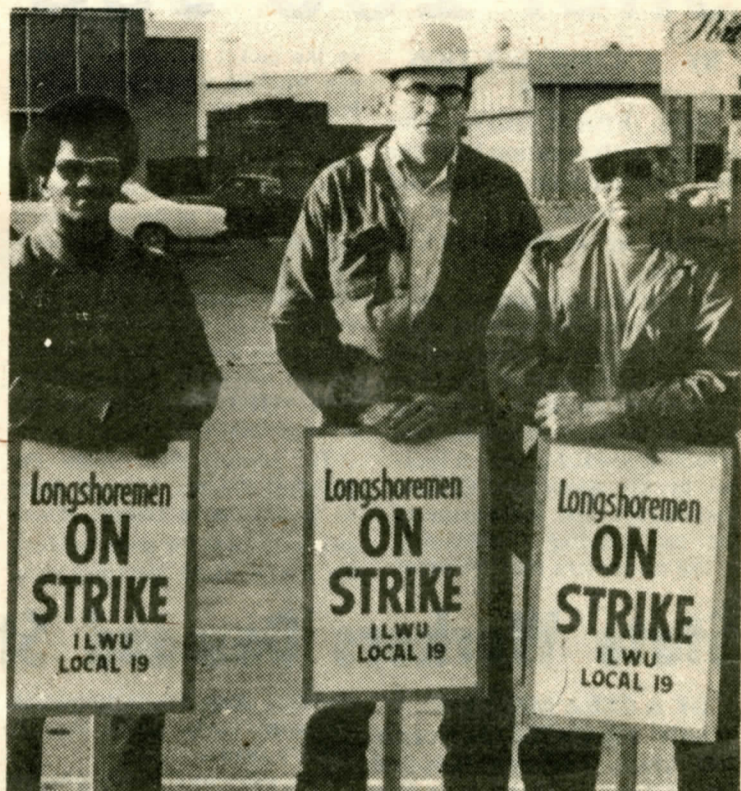
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